

1299
LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

PART 5 OF
HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING
ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
CREATED PURSUANT TO
H. Res. 298

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT
JUNE 27, 28, 29, AND AUGUST 25, 1950

Printed for the use of the
House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1950

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LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

TUESDAY, JUNE 27, 1950

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Lanham, Albert, Doyle, Halleck, and O'Hara.

Also present: Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., committee counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Before we proceed this morning with Mr. Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government, I want to outline the purpose and the procedure that we have followed in these hearings to date.

This restatement is particularly necessary today because of two things:

1. The echoes of the hearing of June 6, 1950 (to be found in pt. 4), which was called for the purpose of giving Mr. Rumely an opportunity to comply with a subpoena providing for the delivery to this committee of certain facts about his organization's financial backers. Mr. Rumely refused to provide the information requested.

2. An all-out attack upon this committee, by the Committee for Constitutional Government. Newspapers throughout the country, all Members of Congress, and other individuals have been receiving almost daily press releases against this committee from the Committee for Constitutional Government.

I want to make it emphatically clear that this hearing this morning is not based on either of the above two points. I do not intend to permit Mr. Rumely or the Committee for Constitutional Government to dictate the terms upon which this committee is to conduct its investigation. I do not intend to permit Mr. Rumely or his organization to divert this hearing into an argument over constitutional rights.

Long before Mr. Rumely and the Committee for Constitutional Government decided to turn loose their mimeographing machines with attacks upon this committee, I might say that we were conducting a continuous investigation into the operation of various lobbying organizations. These were organizations engaged in seeking to influence Congress directly, and in some cases indirectly through the medium of influencing public opinion on natural issues.

We looked at both techniques.

In doing so, we were not investigating opinions or ideas. That is not our function. We were investigating methods of getting a point

of view on legislation across to the people and to Congress. We have never assumed the position of regarding such methods as illegal or even improper. The right to influence public opinion is one of the keystones of our freedom. There is no argument about that. But we were interested and are interested in knowing how these views are spread, how the operation is financed, who pays for the propaganda.

We asked those questions of every group before us, and we got the answers. We pinned them down on the sources of their funds for either direct or indirect lobbying activity, including those for influencing public opinion. In every case we pinned them down on how they spent those funds. We played no favorites, and we persecuted no one.

These organizations permitted us to see everything in their files. Each in turn said it had nothing to hide. Each in turn said it was glad to cooperate with this committee in allowing its work and its methods to be examined as a guide to us in evaluating the operating of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act.

Although we have never made the list public, members of this committee know that we have made investigations into the files of a large number of organizations which have not yet been called up for hearings. We have made preliminary studies into a large number of other groups, registered and unregistered, under the Lobbying Act. So far as I know, there were no protests, no barrage of press releases from these organizations. We have an enormous amount of pertinent and confidential material from these groups.

They seemed to feel as every member of this committee feels that lobbying is essential in the democratic process, that efforts to influence legislation are assured rights of all citizens, and that organizations engaged in this activity are clothed with a public interest because they operate in a field affecting every citizen in the most vital manner, through the influencing of national policy. Most of them expressed a sincere desire to help us make the lobbying law not only clear and definite as to application but effective in disclosing the financial interests behind the legislative interests of various lobbyists and lobbying organizations.

To make that law clear—and effective—is the primary purpose for the existence of this investigating committee. All of my statements in committee and on the House floor last year in support of my resolution to establish this committee were directed at the need for clarifying and improving the law.

But in order to know whether the law is defective, we must know how modern-day lobbying techniques really work. That's why we decided at the very start to work both sides of the street in all investigations into any area of lobbying activity, because we did not want this investigation to go off on the same tangents as preceding congressional investigations of lobbying which were always directed at one organization or one point of view, in an effort to discredit or destroy the organization or its effectiveness. These were all single-minded in procedure and in purpose. Ours is the first broad-gaged look Congress has ever taken at all lobbying activities as such. We are trying to be just as broad in our approach as the subject matter itself.

At our very first series of hearings back in March, printed copies of which are now available, we discussed all of the fundamentals of

our two main investigative problems and made clear at that time the procedure we would follow and the approach we would take.

It will be found there that the very first witness in public hearings before this committee was asked to discuss the place of public opinion in influencing legislation and how public opinion is influenced. In picking that subject as the first to be explored, we had a definite purpose in mind—to lay the ground work for the investigation of organizations which may or may not be regarded as lobbying organizations under the express legal definition of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, but which certainly seek to influence governmental action through efforts at influencing public opinion.

Beginning last Tuesday with Mr. Merwin K. Hart, of the National Economic Council, Inc., we started a series of hearings into this so-called indirect technique of lobbying, through the influencing of public opinion as a means of influencing legislation and national policy. The Committee for Constitutional Government comes second on the list for this series. After them, we will have several other groups—the Foundation for Economic Education, the Public Affairs Institute, and the Americans for Democratic Action. There may be others. The list of five I have just enumerated are a good cross section. We will base all hearings in this series on the same sort of investigative foundation that was shown in the case of the NEC and will be shown today in the case of the CCG. All of our hearings so far have been based on complete file searches and investigation of their activities and methods and techniques.

So there is nothing different about our inquiry into the Committee for Constitutional Government—not one thing different from our previous studies of the real-estate groups on both sides of the street and of the contingent-fee type of lobbying and of the indirect type as shown particularly in the work of the National Economic Council.

Why do I make such a point of that this morning? I think the answer to that should be fairly obvious.

Mr. Rumely and his organizations, now before us, have used every type of public-relations technique in the past few weeks to impress newspapers and the public and Members of the Congress with the fact that they are being persecuted by this committee for their anti-administration views, that the names of their contributors and supporters have been demanded only for the purpose of smearing what they call "real patriots"—the implication being, I suppose, that we are unpatriotic.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, a group with which I have been in frequent disagreement over housing legislation for some years, was also at first convinced that any investigation this committee would make into their activities would be motivated by vengeance on my part for their legislative position. That organization told its members long before our hearings started that we were out to "get" the real-estate lobby, in the same way the Committee for Constitutional Government has been accusing us of being out to "get" anti-administration groups such as theirs.

I think the record of our hearings into the entire housing field, on both sides of the street, shows definitely that what we were after was not getting anybody but merely getting the facts, whatever they may be.

Now as to the issue of Mr. Rumely's refusal on June 6 to turn over to us certain information as to the contributors to the Committee for Constitutional Government:

The information we asked for is the identical sort of material requested, and obtained, from scores of organizations involved in lobbying activities directly or indirectly, including some which maintain emphatically they do not engage in any lobbying which could conceivably come under the provisions of the Lobbying Act. The Foundation for Economic Education is a good illustration of that, and also, on the other side of the economic picture, the Public Affairs Institute. We have it from every organization presently scheduled in this series of hearings except the Committee for Constitutional

This hearing into the Committee for Constitutional Government is not designed to continue the arguments of June 6 over whether we should or should not demand the information, an argument which Mr. Rumely and his organization have been vigorously carrying on for weeks.

This hearing instead is into the methods, the techniques, the operations of the Committee for Constitutional Government. It would have gone forward today whether or not Mr. Rumely had given us or refused us the information we asked on June 6, because it is based on the whole general operations of the Committee for Constitutional Government. The refusal of June 6 is not the issue here. If we had the material we requested from Mr. Rumely it would give us a broader picture of the organization.

Whether we have this information from Mr. Rumely or not, whether we get it or not, we do have a wealth of information on the organization and its activities, and we will illustrate it later this morning and in subsequent sessions. It will, I believe, establish the relevancy of the disputed material to our investigation, because this material goes to the very heart of the Committee for Constitutional Government's fund-raising techniques.

We will show that as we go along, because it is fundamental to an understanding of the Committee for Constitutional Government as a lobbying organization. We have not yet discussed in executive session the matter of citing Mr. Rumely for contempt. We have decided to let that whole question in abeyance for the present and to proceed with our scheduled hearing into the Committee for Constitutional Government as one of the organizations involved in this series of hearings on indirect lobbying techniques.

There was some discussion here on June 6 on the complaint which had been filed by the Committee for Constitutional Government in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia seeking an injunction against certain staff members of our committee asking the Committee for Constitutional Government for this disputed material. In its motion for a preliminary injunction, the Committee for Constitutional Government maintained that our staff investigators, in asking for this information, were violating the constitutional rights of the Committee for Constitutional Government and of its members and supporters.

I want to bring the record on this up to date by pointing out that on June 19 a hearing was held in the district court on a motion to dismiss the complaint. The staff members of our committee named as defendants in the Committee for Constitutional Government action

were represented at that court hearing by our staff director, Attorney Lucien Hilmer.

After listening to oral arguments lasting less than an hour, the court dismissed the complaint.

Our counsel for this hearing this morning, Mr. Benedict FitzGerald, is prepared now to outline briefly for the committee just what the material we have accumulated on the Committee for Constitutional Government will show. It would probably be best from a procedural standpoint to allow Mr. FitzGerald to make that statement and then to permit Mr. Rumely to make a statement before we go into the actual documents and material.

First, I would like to ask if any member of the committee cares to make comment at this point?

Mr. LANHAM.

Mr. LANHAM. I approve heartily of the chairman's statement, Mr. Chairman. I don't care to add anything to it. I think it is full and complete and does set forth exactly the attitude of this committee toward all of the organizations which have been investigated during the course of this investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Halleck.

Mr. HALLECK. I have no comment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. ALBERT. I have no comment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Hara.

Mr. O'HARA. I have no comment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No comment at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Then Mr. FitzGerald will make a brief statement, after which we will permit Mr. Rumely to make a statement.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I would like to begin by briefly summarizing what we expect to show through the testimony of the witness and the documentary material to be offered for the record.

The Committee for Constitutional Government is an organization which has reported spending close to \$2,000,000 for lobbying purposes since the Lobbying Act went into effect.

Over one 7-year period (1937-44) the committee distributed 82,000,000 booklets, pamphlets, and so forth, or at the rate of about 12,000,000 pieces a year.

Our study of this organization indicates very clearly that its most important function is the distribution of books and pamphlets in order to influence legislation directly and indirectly. It attempts to influence legislation directly by sending copies of books, pamphlets, and other printed materials to Members of Congress. It attempts to influence legislation indirectly by distributing hundreds of thousands of copies of these printed materials to people throughout the United States.

It has various types of mailing lists to which it sends this material. One list, for example, is composed exclusively of millionaires. It also solicits contributions from these mailing lists and from other sources.

The committee accepts two types of contributions:

1. Those under \$400.
2. Those over \$400.

Contributions under \$400 are accepted in any form: i. e., cash, check, for the general fund of the committee, or for specific purposes, like distribution of copies of *The Road Ahead*.

Contributions of more than \$400 are accepted in only one form; that is, for specific purposes. Anyone wishing to give the committee more than \$400 must state the specific purpose for which the contribution is to be used, and that purpose must be to distribute one or more of the committee's pamphlets, books, and so forth. The committee then applies the term "sale" to such contributions and does not report them as contributions under the Lobbying Act.

In order to get complete information about these practices the committee subpoenaed Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government, to produce—

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, at that point he says the committee subpoenaed Mr. Rumely. I think it would be more accurate if it were said that the chairman, acting for the committee, presumably, subpoenaed Mr. Rumely.

The CHAIRMAN. Note that on the record.

Continue, Mr. FitzGerald.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The subpoena covered—

1. The name and address of each person¹ from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received during the period from January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose, including but not limited to (a) receipts for the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature; (b) contributions; (c) loans.

2. As to each such person,¹ the amount, date, and purpose of each payment which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more.

Edward A. Rumely has flatly refused to produce the information relating to "sales of books, pamphlets, and other literature." He has given to the committee a document which purports to constitute a complete answer to the portions of subpoena dealing with loans and contributions. This list shows that they received loans of over \$1,000 from Frank Gannett, Sumner Gerard, Irénée du Pont, and others, which were not reported as receipts on their Lobbying Act filings, although the Lobbying Act states that loans are contributions which must be reported.

In 1944 the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., published a pamphlet entitled "Needed Now—Capacity for Leadership, Courage To Lead." It is the most revealing single document they have published. It deprecates the value of such old lobbying techniques as "noisy delegations * * * which buttonhole legislators" and "stunts which attract some popular attention but persuade no Congressmen." This booklet makes the following simple but profoundly true statement: "The place to persuade Congressmen is back home."

In keeping with this maxim, this lobbying group, in one 7-year period, sent out—

"82,000,000 pieces of literature—booklets, pamphlets, reprints of editorials and articles, specially addressed letters, and 760,000 books.

More than 10,000 transcriptions, carrying 15-minute radio talks on national issues, besides frequent national hook-ups for representatives of the committee.

350,000 telegrams to citizens to arouse them to action on great issues.

Many thousands of releases to daily and weekly newspapers—full-page advertisements in 536 different newspapers with a combined circulation of nearly 20,000,000.

¹ The term "person" was defined in the subpoena so as to include "an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, and any other organization or group of persons."

In recent years the activity of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., has increased, and undoubtedly Edward A. Rumely will be able to give us accurate figures for the last few years when he testifies.

I wish to say that Rumely has been very consistent in the position he has taken toward congressional committees. His present refusal to produce the requested financial data is in line with previous refusals.

Of particular significance is the fact that Edward A. Rumely and the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., in recent years have devised a scheme for raising enormous funds without filing reports pursuant to the provision of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. This scheme has the color of legality but in fact is a method of circumventing the law. It utilizes a system whereby contributions to the Committee for Constitutional Government are designated as payments for the purchase of books, which are transmitted to others at the direction of the purchaser, with both the contributor of the money and the recipients of the books totally unaware of the subterfuge.

The members of this committee will undoubtedly be interested in the legal aspects of the right of a congressional committee to inquire into the machinations of such individuals as are before us today.

The freedoms guaranteed by the first amendment are not absolute; they may be the subject of governmental inquiry or control in the interest of restraining abuses within the constitutional ambit of governmental activity.¹

In *Oklahoma Press Publishing Co. v. Walling*, supra, the validity of a subpoena requiring a publisher to disclose the source and receipt of advertisements was upheld against the same constitutional objections asserted here.

The breadth of Congress' right of inquiry, and specifically its right to find out the source of an individual's or corporation's receipt of funds as against the same constitutional objections raised here is also demonstrated by the recent cases against the Hollywood writers Lawson and Trumbo; certiorari denied April 10, 1950. These cases established that a congressional committee may compel disclosure of one's political beliefs and associations. Surely Edward A. Rumely is not entitled to a greater immunity from disclosure of the names of the purchasers of the literature of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Halleck.

Mr. HALLECK. First of all, I want to say, for myself, here and now, that I am not at all sure that the present Lobbying Act, by its terms, undertakes to control what has been referred to all along through the hearings as indirect lobbying or the persuading or influencing of public opinion at home.

As the chairman has pointed out, we have been attempting to find out something about that field of operation; but, again, as I say, I haven't been under the impression that there is any general agreement that that is lobbying under the terms of the act.

¹ *American Communications Association, C. I. O. v. Douds* (U. S. Nos. 10 and 13, October term 1949, decided May 8, 1950); *United Public Workers v. Mitchell* (330 U. S. 75); *Rovaco v. Cooper* (338 U. S. 77); *Oklahoma Press Publishing Co. v. Walling* (147 F. 2d 658 (C. C. A., 10)); affirmed (327 U. S. 186).

And so, Mr. Chairman, I don't know whether the use of the "scheme" here by Mr. FitzGerald, and the use of the word "subterfuge," even assuming that the Lobbying Act does undertake to deal with the indirect influencing of public opinion or the creating of public opinion, I don't know whether those words carry quite the right connotation or not, because, clearly, it would seem to me to be highly questionable whether or not the sale of books, it being a sale for distribution, would come within the terms of the Lobbying Act.

I think, probably, the intendment of Mr. FitzGerald's statement here is that it wouldn't come within the purview.

In any event, I am constrained to say at this point that I recently had, from a friend of mine in a Western State, who is in the publishing business, who prints books for sale, a letter in which he expresses grave concern as to the right or authority or desirability of the committee inquiring into the individual transactions of all publishers.

In other words, he, referring particularly to the Committee for Constitutional Government, sent me a list of some of the books that he has published, and, clearly, they deal with great, fundamental problems that are of interest to the people of the country and have some indirect bearing, at least, on legislative matters coming before us. He wondered whether or not all of his transactions could be made the object of scrutiny by the committee and a revelation as to his whole operation, as to whom he sells the books to; who buys them.

I wanted to make that statement, Mr. Chairman, at this point, not to challenge anything that Mr. FitzGerald has suggested here, but simply to point out some of my views with respect to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further comment by any member?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, at that point, it seems very pertinent to me that the committee be reminded—and the witness, too—that under title III of the Lobbying Act, section 302, reads:

The term "contribution" includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution,

And, jumping to section 303, reading, again, from the act [reading]:

It shall be the duty of every person who shall in any manner solicit or receive a contribution to any organization or fund for the purposes hereinafter designated to keep a detailed and exact account of—

And, finally, under the text of the act, section 307 [reading]:

The provisions of this title shall apply to any person (except a political committee as defined in the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, and duly organized State or local committees of a political party) who, by himself or through any agent or employee or other persons in any manner whatsoever, directly or indirectly, solicits, collects, or receives money or any other thing of value to be used principally to aid, or the principal purpose of which person is to aid, in the accomplishment of any of the following purposes:

(A) The passage or defeat of any legislation by the Congress of the United States.

It seems to me perfectly clear, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that any act which is designed to, directly or indirectly, by this committee or by any committee, or by any person, to influence legislation, directly or indirectly, comes within the purview of our investigation.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. In connection with Mr. Halleck's statement, it occurs to me that, if his friend were a registered lobbyist, as the Committee for Constitutional Government is, he might be subject to investigation; but, if he is a bona fide publisher, I think not.

Mr. HALLECK. Judge, I don't think it would make any difference. In other words, the Committee for Constitutional Government, or Mr. Rumely, might register to cover certain activities that would be, clearly, under the Lobbying Act.

Now, as we know from our investigations, there are a great many organizations who register and who report certain things they do, but who carry on a tremendous number of activities other than those having to do with lobbying, and so, as to those, they do not report. But, if it can be fairly contended that the influencing of opinion back home is really a form of indirect lobbying which is presently within the purview of the act, then, whether the man has registered or not—of course, if he were registered, why, he would not be subject to any prosecution under the statute—but, if he were not registered, he might be subject to prosecution for not having registered, if it should be determined that that sort of effort to persuade opinion back home is really lobbying within the purview of the statute. Personally, I don't think it is.

Mr. LANHAM. Isn't that one of the purposes of this investigation?

Mr. HALLECK. That is right.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word in that connection.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Hara.

Mr. O'HARA. In view of what is a publisher's business, whether it be in the form of books or pamphlets or newspapers, I don't know where you are going to draw the line and say one has to be registered and the other not. I think we are getting, certainly, into a field here where the freedom of the press and freedom of speech is involved. I don't know just what is intended. It isn't clear to my mind, at least.

Mr. LANHAM. I can't agree with the gentleman. There is no question of freedom of the press, at all, involved here. Here is a lobby organization whose primary purpose is that of influencing legislation. Then, incidentally, they turn to trying to influence legislation indirectly by trying to help form public opinion. That, too, is no doubt perfectly legitimate; but it seems to me that if an organization, whose primary purpose is stated to be that of lobbying, incidentally engages in the publication of books to influence public opinion, especially where the record will show, as I believe it will in this case, the accepting of payments, of contributions, of not more than \$490, and anything above that being used to purchase books, it seems to me that certainly is subterfuge in the collection of funds for lobbying purposes, and I think that is what the record will show.

Mr. O'HARA. Well, of course, we will see what the record shows.

Mr. HALLECK. As I understand it, Mr. Chairman, there is no issue raised today as to this matter of the sale of books, from your opening statement?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. HALLECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman would like to incorporate into the record here some memoranda prepared by the staff of the committee on the booklets and pamphlets distributed by the Committee for Con-

stitutional Government, as samples of some of the material and comment thereon.

Mr. O'HARA. Has the witness seen this?

The CHAIRMAN. These are materials put out by them. It is just for the enlightenment of the committee.

Mr. O'HARA. I see.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I suppose it is all right for this memoranda from Mr. FitzGerald to go into the record; but, speaking for myself, I wouldn't want to be bound, as a member of the committee, by the conclusions he reaches.

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. HALLECK. That is my responsibility.

The CHAIRMAN. It is supplementary. Will you identify the exhibits, Mr. FitzGerald, and introduce them into the record?

Will you step forward, Mr. Rumely, please.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the record the exhibits mentioned by the chairman, the memoranda dated June 26, 1950, pertaining to the Committee for Constitutional Government, captioned:

Some of the booklets and pamphlets distributed by this lobby are as follows:

It discusses 'The Road Ahead, Why the Taft-Hartley Law, and Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State.

Mr. HALLECK. Is it intended to raise any question as to the philosophies presented in those publications?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No, sir; none whatsoever. We are not concerned in this hearing with philosophies, so far as I am concerned, Mr. Halleck. We are merely concerned with techniques, lobbying techniques.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the exhibits referred to will be included as part of the record of this morning's hearing.

(The material above referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 26, 1950.

Memorandum for the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities

Re Committee for Constitutional Government.

Some of the booklets and pamphlets distributed by this lobby are as follows: 'The Road Ahead, by John T. Flynn; 'Why the Taft-Hartley Law, by Irving G. McCann; 'Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State, by Melchior Palyl.

Postal cards, dodgers, and leaflets are used to stimulate contributions to aid the Committee for Constitutional Government distribute these books. These solicitations tie the books in with legislation. For example:

(a) A post card (exhibit A) soliciting mass purchases of 'The Road Ahead states that " * * * If you and others help distribute to millions this eye-opening book; they will see the perils ahead and reverse our movement into socialism."

(b) A leaflet (exhibit B) entitled 'Rent-Control Plunderbund sets out arguments against rent control, notes that "rent control is one step leading to socialism in the United States of America. Read 'The Road Ahead' if you want to know the entire story. * * * Send this folder to others and help accomplish wide distribution * * * Write for a quantity of these folders and send one to your councilman—to your mayor, your Congressman and Senator; and to your State legislators. Send them with a brief note expressing your own opinion; distribute them to friends, members of service clubs, to tenants and landlords, fellow employees or stockholders; to your physician, dentist, and lawyer; mail a copy to the editor of your newspaper. * * *

(c) A leaflet (exhibit C) entitled "Our Medical Schools—Will They Be Next?" "S. 1453 Would Set Pattern for Nationalization of All Professional Schools" gives arguments against this bill (which is also H. R. 5940), the so-called Emergency

Professional Health Training Act of 1940. It notes that many physicians have reexamined their position on this bill—"Such reappraisal has been sharply stimulated by John T. Flynn's current book, *The Road Ahead* * * * (which) leaves no room for doubt as to the inevitable destination of our present course. If every thinking person could be induced to read this book, to use it as a text, and to tell his Senators and Congressmen what he expects of them, it might turn the tide."

(d) A leaflet (exhibit D) promoting Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State contains quotations in praise of this book and a reprint of an editorial, *Sugar Coated Tyranny*. The editorial notes that the book "is of primary importance to America today. * * * Armed with such material as is included between the covers of Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State, you may be able to ward off this calamity. * * *"

This book was not published by the Committee for Constitutional Government, but is being distributed by that group.

(e) A leaflet (exhibit E) entitled "Why the Taft-Hartley Law?" outlines the nature of the book, which favors that law. It notes:

"As soon as the book comes from the presses, free distribution must be made to top level, opinion-molding groups such as 10,000 editors and publishers of daily and weekly newspapers—religious, labor, farm, etc., to Members of Congress, to 7,000 State legislators and governors, to 40,000 farm leaders, 1,700 presidents of universities, etc. * * * This book, distributed widely and immediately, can crystallize a sound national opinion on the need for upholding the Taft-Hartley law."

A note at the bottom of the order form reads: "Purchase of educational literature to educate public opinion in upholding constitutional principles on which our free-enterprise system rests, is legitimate corporate expenditure."

(f) A leaflet (exhibit F) entitled "Wagner Act Should Be Repealed" states five reasons why this law should be repealed, then advertises Labor Monopolies—or Freedom, by John Seville, which shows why you cannot have both.

The leaflet continues: "Express your convictions to your Senators and Congressmen. Enclose with your letter a copy of this leaflet. Also send them the book, Labor Monopolies—or Freedom."

(g) A confidential memorandum (exhibit G) setting forth the importance of the dissemination of the book *The Road Ahead*.

These leaflets, coupled with the books themselves, are evidence that their distribution by the Committee for Constitutional Government constitutes an attempt by that organization to influence legislation, directly and indirectly. It would appear that this committee and the Congress are entitled to know the identity of the large financial backers of this group. The mere identification would not in any way restrict or curb these activities, but would permit the Congress to know the source of the indirect pressures created by this distribution. That knowledge will put the Congress in a better position to evaluate those pressures.

Respectfully submitted.

BENEDICT F. FITZGERALD, Jr.,
Counsel.

(C. C. G. postcard.)

EXHIBIT A

If you want to stop socialism in United States of America you must read in February Reader's Digest 20-page condensation of most important book of our time, John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead*. Please give above message to friends and associates.

You will want immediately to own the complete book—208 pages, indexed to give names of men and organizations working, on secret plan, to destroy private enterprise and push America into socialism, just as British labor unions have done in England.

If you and others help distribute to millions this eye-opening book, they will see the perils ahead and stop and reverse our movement into socialism.

Order copies for yourself and friends today at special February-March introductory price of 50c per copy on orders of two or more. (Regular price, single copy, \$1; 2 to 15, 70c each; 25 to 100, 60c each.)

Just fill out the blank below, and enclose this card with your remittance.
Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York
17, N. Y.

Send me.....copies Flynn's book "The Road Ahead," for which I enclose \$.....

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State..... Zone No.....

I recommend this book.....
(Sign Here).

(C. C. G. leaflet.)

EXHIBIT B

RENT-CONTROL PLUNDERBUND HELPS CREATE POLITICAL ILLUSION "HOUSES FOR ALL"

IS RECONTROL OF RENTS DANGEROUS?

(by Willford I. King)

The CIO demands extension of rent controls. By some strange coincidence, Governor Dewey and President Truman both agree on the necessity of such action. As they see it, it is imperative to hold in check grasping landlords who, if unrestrained, will take advantage of the housing shortage to fleece their tenants unmercifully.

Of course, if those calling for rent-control extension were really to examine the question carefully and impartially, they would soon realize that:

1. The housing "shortage" was largely a product of rent control.
2. Such housing shortages as actually existed have largely been wiped out by the huge volume of building which has occurred since the war.
3. Competition will prevent landlords from increasing rents to unreasonable levels.

Ample proof of this last statement is furnished by a six-city survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for Housing Expediter Tighe B. Woods, and reported in the CIO News of January 23, 1950. Here is what happened when rents were decontrolled:

	Percent increase
Dallas	35.4
Houston	41.8
Topeka	30.8
Knoxville	28.8
Salt Lake City	16.2
Jacksonville, Fla.	26.2
Average of percentages	29.4

But, between 1939 and the date of decontrol in 1949, house rents in the United States had, on the average, risen nearly 16 percent. The relative increase in the six cities was probably not far from this average. $1.294 \times 1.16 = 1.50$. Therefore, it appears that, in decontrolled areas, landlords have probably forced rents to a level approximately 50 percent higher than that of 1939. Terrible, isn't it? Little wonder that President Truman and the CIO feel that extension of rent control is a must.

WHAT ABOUT OTHER ITEMS?

But wait. Before drawing definite conclusions, let us see what has happened since 1939 to wages and other items of income.

Here are the official figures:

Percent increase since 1939

Prices received by farmers	162
Average hourly earnings in factories	122
Average hourly railway wages	115
Average hourly wages of unskilled construction workers	116
Average hourly wages in bituminous coal mining	126
Average per capita personal income	152
Estimated average rent increase in decontrolled cities	50

So, when we get down to cold figures, it becomes obvious that, even if all controls were removed, landlords would have little chance to receive anything approximating a fair return on their property. The experience of the six sample cities indicates, indeed, that they are able to advance their rents only 50 percent above the 1939 level, even though, in the interim, the general price level has roughly doubled and the incomes of their tenants are now on the average from 115 percent to 152 percent higher than the level prevailing a decade ago.

NO INCENTIVE TO BUILD

Why are landlords in decontrolled cities unable to advance rents to reasonable levels? One reason is that rent restriction has prevented the construction of rental housing and has thus forced families who would normally be tenants to buy homes. This has cut down the number of persons in the market for rental property. Another factor preventing landlords in uncontrolled areas from securing rents high enough to yield reasonable returns is the fear that controls will be reinstated.

As matters stand at present, it seems clear that landlords in controlled areas are unable to secure more than 60 percent of the income which they would receive if they shared in the general prosperity of the Nation. In the decontrolled areas, the landlord may attain a standing equalling something like 70 percent of that of an ordinary citizen.

* * * "Those who have become imbued with the spirit of communism see nothing sacred about property rights, but consider that it is a proper function of government to transfer property from those who have it to those who need it more. So, in their eyes plunderbunds of various types seem entirely respectable."

How does it happen that society has thus consigned landlords to a subnormal status? Not many decades ago, the man or woman who was thrifty and saved enough to buy or build apartments or houses for lease to others was looked up to as a superior citizen. Why the change?

Doubtless one reason is the development of large apartment buildings, the owners of which are not known by the tenants, and hence come to be regarded by the latter as abstractions. Stealing from a soulless corporation seems to many a much less serious crime than stealing from a man or woman with whom one is acquainted.

THE COMMUNIST PHILOSOPHY

Another reason is the widespread growth of the Communist philosophy typified by the slogan: "From every man according to his ability; to every man according to his needs." Clearly, this precept is sharply at variance with the basic principle of competitive capitalism—a principle which holds that rewards should be based upon production, and that it is the duty of the state to protect to the limit the right of every citizen to hold any property which he has honestly acquired.

Those who have become imbued with the spirit of communism see nothing sacred about property rights, but consider that it is a proper function of government to transfer property from those who have it to those who need it more. So, in their eyes plunderbunds of various types seem entirely respectable. Farmers unite to rob the urban dwellers; tenants combine to fleece the landlords; and the labor monopolists extract tribute from the public in general.

Does not the Nation need to revive a spirit of respect for the eighth commandment—"Thou shalt not steal"? Unless and until this is accomplished is there much hope of obtaining fair play for any minority group?

MIDDLE INCOME HOUSING BILL A FRAUD

(By Ralph W. Gwinn)

Buying votes with promises is a profession. Those who do it skillfully can keep themselves in office indefinitely. The art is to keep new promises before the voters while making them forget unfulfilled past ones. Better yet, keep a few promises, and create the impression that all have been kept. The administration's program of houses for all is just such a political illusion.

One trick in stirring the emotions of people of good will is to give the impression that the Central Government is the only power that can remove slums

and dry up disease, by itself building houses. But the Government propagandists do not show this forces the tenants to vote for the political party which builds the houses, and charges the costs of all municipal services and deficits to the folks across the street from the political housing. Thus it creates more slums than it clears.

ALWAYS MORE RENTERS

There is another trick which has worked well from the beginning of all time. Obviously, there are more renters than landlords. So all Socialist governments force landlords to subsidize their tenants. This scares any future landlord, and creates a housing shortage. Then the government can rush in to meet the need. It can build some houses, lend money for others, and insure loans for the rest. In short order, it controls the nation's housing. Then those who want to enjoy government low-rent subsidies must vote to retain the party in power. It is all a blindfolding fraud, which causes us to surrender the freedom our forefathers cherished so much.

First, an appearance of a housing shortage must be created. Rent control did this by forcing landlords to sell their property. The total number of new dwelling units in the United States increased 4,000,000 from 1940 to 1947. Yet the number for rent actually decreased by 2,000,000. This meant a shortage for those who wanted to rent.

ONLY ONE-FIFTH FOR RENT

Most of the post-war housing was built by Government loans or "insurance" but only one-fifth of its was built for rent. The cost was such that many families could not afford brand new homes. Few people wanted to move from bargain rents in the old houses under rent control.

The cunning politicians rushed in and promised "cheap" public housing for the low-income families. They posed as the saviors of those whose distress they had caused. After much talking and promising, the Eighty-first Congress, last year, passed a public housing bill. The politicians felt they had delivered the goods for the low-income families. With scarcely a pause, they next advanced a Government plan for housing the middle-income groups.

NEGLECT LOWER THIRD

This promise of Government aid for middle-income families is built on several frauds. First, it assumes the Government has already taken care of the lower third. And, second, it claims that middle-income families cannot now afford to house themselves. Both of these premises are clearly false.

The Public Housing Act of last year provides for housing less than 1 out of every 10 low-income families. Even so, homes for this tenth will not be completed for at least 6 years and not until local communities agree to grant tax exemptions and free education for the children. So, it would take 60 years or more and many more billions before the lower third was housed.

As to middle-income families not being able to house themselves, we need only look at the Department of Labor's cost-of-living index. Since 1929 this index for all items has gone up more than 38 percent. Yet, the rent item has actually dropped almost 15 percent. So, rent is certainly not the reason for our high cost of living. Perhaps it's taxes. They have gone up 1,000 percent.

A STUDY OF BUDGETS

Administration leaders admit that shelter rent, not including heat and utilities, should be about 20 percent of a family's budget. Last year the Labor Department studied budgets in three typical cities, Houston, Denver, and Detroit. It found that families with incomes from \$3,000 to \$4,000 a year were spending only 12.1 percent, 13.9 percent, and 16.3 percent for rent, including heat, light, and refrigeration. The Federal Reserve Board, in its 1940 Consumer Survey, shows that home-owning families, with incomes of \$2,000 to \$5,000 a year, paid only 17 percent of their 1948 incomes for housing while those who rented paid a bare 13 percent.

This indicates that housing is available at prices middle-income families can well afford. The idea that middle-income families, the Nation's largest taxpayers, need a housing subsidy is a fraud. The bills now before Congress would not aid more than 1 in every 32 middle-income families. But it sounds

nice. Before election most middle-income families will think they are going to be helped. They won't wake up until they get their next tax bill. And that can be blamed on the cold war.

Politics is a great game. Unfortunately, it is played for keeps. Ask any European who listened to deceptive promises like those being made by our own Fair Deal and do-gooder politicians of both parties.

WHAT "THE ROAD AHEAD" WILL DO FOR YOU

Tell you just what groups are trying to change the United States into a Socialist country on the British pattern.

Furnish you with facts on the present plight of England under its Socialist planners.

Enable you to make sense out of today's headlines.

Tell you what you as an American can do to save this country from destruction.

Buy and distribute quickly and widely John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead*. This is one of the most important books of our decade. It exposes the unannounced plan of a revolution by stealth, engineered by planners in Washington in collaboration with labor monopolists; a plan that would drive America to collectivism—as the Socialist trade union leaders have done in Great Britain.

Send this book to Members of Congress with your endorsement, to opinion molders in your community. Distributed widely *The Road Ahead* can stop the Socialists in their tracks.

PRICE LIST

Fibre-bound (unabridged)

(Published and sold only by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.)

Single copy.....	\$1.00
2 to 15 copies, each.....	.70
25 to 100 copies, each.....	.60
200 to 500 copies, each.....	.55
1,000 or more copies, each.....	.50

Special price for April 1 to June 15, 50 cents, when two or more copies are ordered.

Rent control is one step leading to socialism in the United States of America. Read *The Road Ahead* if you want to know the entire story.

SEND THIS FOLDER TO OTHERS—HELP ACCOMPLISH WIDE DISTRIBUTION

A fundamental difference: Advocates of capitalism believe that the precept: "Thou shalt not steal," applies equally to governments and to individuals; collectivists, on the other hand, consider it perfectly legitimate for governments to seize what they want whenever and wherever they can get it.

Fair Dealers think they are justified in violating the commandment "Thou shalt not steal" to pile up votes by depriving landlords of a fair return on their investments, thus giving tenants income to which they have no just claim.

Vote-seeking politicians take property unjustly from millions of thrifty people who have invested savings in rental housing. They choke off new building by making it unprofitable and then point to that situation as justification for putting the Federal Government into housing projects.

Rent control undermines the value of real estate in our cities and thus narrows the tax basis from which municipalities must derive their revenues.

This vicious circle destroys local independence and forces local governments into dependence upon the Federal Government for "handouts"—and it has long since been demonstrated that the Federal Government controls that which it subsidizes.

If you agree with the viewpoint of Dr. King and Congressman Gwinn, write for a quantity of these folders and send one to your councilman—to your mayor, your Congressman and Senator, and to your State legislators. Send them with a

brief note expressing your own opinion; distribute them to friends, members of service clubs, to tenants and landlords, fellow employees or stockholders; to your physician, dentist, and lawyer; mail a copy to the editor of your newspaper and say that permission has been granted for reprinting in whole or in part.

Ask for the Plunderland folder—10 copies free on request; 40 or more 2½ cents each.

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

A DIVISION OF THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

Room 300, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

(C. C. G. leaflet.)

EXHIBIT C

OUR MEDICAL SCHOOLS—WILL THEY BE NEXT?

S. 1453 WOULD SET PATTERN FOR NATIONALIZATION OF ALL PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

(By Dr. James E. Buckley, president, Oregon State Medical Society)

Recent statements by Senators Thomas, Humphrey, and Douglas indicate lessened pressure for immediate passage of the administration's omnibus national health bill. This has lulled some doctors into a false sense of security. Not enough publicity has been given to Representative Dingell's comment that the aim is now to enact the program piecemeal, a section at a time.

An example of this new approach is the so-called Emergency Professional Health Training Act of 1949 (S. 1453 and H. R. 5940). This measure lays the groundwork for complete nationalization of our medical, dental, nursing, osteopathic, optometric, and public-health schools.

FLYNN SHOWS PARALLEL

Growing concern over deficit spending by the Federal Government has caused a number of physicians to reexamine their position on this school-subsidy bill and on other health legislation. Such reappraisal has been sharply stimulated by John T. Flynn's current book, *The Road Ahead*. In this book, Mr. Flynn calls attention to the close parallel between (1) the 80-year chain of events leading to present-day socialism in Britain and (2) the more rapid but less noticed sequence of events toward the same end in the United States.

Many who oppose the administration's omnibus health bill (S. 1679) have failed to oppose S. 1453. They seem not to have noticed that S. 1453 is lifted, with only minor changes, from the omnibus bill.

POWER TO ONE MAN

S. 1453 maps out a system of Federal grants-in-aid to medical schools. In section 373 (a) is the following significant statement: "The Surgeon General, after obtaining the advice and recommendations of the council, shall make such grants in the order of the estimated importance * * *". The council referred to is advisory only; so all power is vested actually in one man, the Surgeon General. He would estimate needs, authorize funds.

Of even greater significance is the parade of weakness this bill would require on the part of the medical schools. Each school would compete with the others in trying to show "proof of need" in the political scramble for Federal funds.

Testimony presented at congressional hearings has consistently emphasized the schools' inadequacy, rather than their strength. No doubt this testimony was offered in good faith; yet it follows closely the policy of the socializers in accumulating admissions of weakness that will discredit our free institutions.

NAILING AN UNTRUTH

Sponsors of S. 1453 have told Congress that their bill not only would save the country's medical schools from financial ruin but would relieve the acute shortage of doctors. A Senate debater for S. 1453 said that a chief cause of the

shortage was a "hiatus of about 6 years when very few medical men were trained"; but recently compiled figures indicate that there was no hiatus. The augmented war program, in fact, graduated many more physicians than usual. In the 5-year period 1937-42 there was an increase of 6,920. In the succeeding 5 years (1942-47) there was an increase of 16,442.

Talks with State medical society secretaries indicate, moreover, that the scarcity of rural doctors, aggravated by the war, is rapidly being relieved. No one doubts the excessive number of physicians in some cities. But many of our medical societies are doing excellent work in showing young physicians the advantages of small-town practice and in helping them to become established in such towns.

[Reprinted from the December number *Medical Economics*, which carries the following editor's note]

EDITORS' NOTE

The bill providing Federal aid for medical schools (S. 1453) was passed by the Senate without formal opposition from the AMA. In this respect it is similar to the bill providing Federal grants for school health services (S. 1411).

Last June, however, the AMA delegates voted strong disapproval of S. 1411. And they may this month disapprove S. 1453, although such action was by no means certain as of early November. The AMA trustees were understood then to be generally against the bill, but had yet to crystallize their stand on it.

Many medical leaders interviewed see a grave possibility of domination of medical education through Federal grants. For this reason, and because of other objectionable features of S. 1453, they oppose it vigorously.

Both this measure and S. 1411 now await action by the House of Representatives.

EXCESS OF PHYSICIANS

A leading statistician has spotlighted a related factor, and a frequently overlooked one: namely, the increased medical-care output of today's average physician. The physician is likened to a quarterback calling signals for a team of technicians, nurses, internes, and residents—a team with a veritable battery of new drugs and techniques at its command.

The statistician cited points out also that the total size of the freshman class in all medical schools averaged 6,016 for the 10 years preceding the war. But with new schools and with increased enrollment in our older schools, the figure will soon exceed 7,000. He adds that during the years 1910-48 the general population increased 12 percent and the physician population 14 percent—a relative increase of more than 16 percent. He believes that, rather than the shortage predicted by Government planners, we will soon have an excess of physicians.

FEAR SCHOLARSHIP CRAFT

Among the bounties of S. 1453 are Federal funds for scholarships. Innocent though these may seem, they open the door to political pressure on admissions committees to accept unqualified students. A further hazard is pressure on the schools to continue the education of failing students with political scholarships. The effect of loosing on the public a horde of poorly trained, politically favored practitioners is not hard to estimate.

To combat S. 1453 will require an all-out effort in every State. This measure is going to be a lot more difficult to defeat than the omnibus bill, S. 1070.

Consider, now, another dangerous bill cast in the same mold. I refer to S. 1411 (the National School Health Services Act of 1949). This measure promises prevention and treatment of the "physical and mental defects and conditions" of "all children between the ages of 5 and 17, inclusive, attending school." It would thus socialize the medical care of a large segment of the population.

VIOLATE STATES' RIGHTS

S. 1411 would also allow the Federal Security Administrator to withhold funds allotted to the States and to pay such funds directly to private schools.

This would violate the rights of the States and would permit Federal domination of the policies of the private schools. At its Atlantic City session in June, the AMA house of delegates voted unanimously to oppose S. 1411. They attacked the measure as "socialized medicine by the back door."

Both these bills—S. 1453 and S. 1411—have been passed by the Senate. Both are now in the hands of the House Rules Committee and may be brought to the floor of the House immediately after Congress convenes on January 3, 1950. If enacted into law, they will constitute another irrevocable step toward crushing Federal control and increased deficit financing—leading inevitably to moral and economic chaos.

THE INEVITABLE RESULT

Mr. Flynn's documented treatise, *The Road Ahead*, leaves no room for doubt as to the inevitable destination of our present course. If every thinking person could be induced to read this book, to use it as a text, and to tell his Senators and Congressmen what he expects of them, it might turn the tide.

Meanwhile, we are approaching rapidly the point of no return.

One of the most active workers for socialized medicine in Washington said recently: "We can't move into the house of socialized medicine all at once. We must move in our furniture piece by piece and equip one room after the other."

The bills S. 1453 and S. 1411 are steps in just this program. They can be stopped if you and each person reached by this statement will immediately exert your personal influence to the utmost. Take these four steps.

First: Make the dangerous implications of these bills a matter of discussion in your family, among your friends, with opinion-molding individuals and in service clubs of your community.

Second: Explain the situation to the editor of your local paper.

Third: Urge your alma mater and other educational institutions not to sell their children's future freedom for a mess of Federal pottage now in the shape of so-called Federal aid for medical education.

Fourth: Distribute this folder widely.

Ten copies free upon request. Forty for \$1. In bulk, 100 or more, 2 cents each. Postage prepaid anywhere.

Sign yourself and have others sign below and send to your Congressman.

I am convinced that the viewpoint in this folder regarding bills S. 1453 and S. 1411 is sound and that these bills will be a further dangerous step toward bureaucratic control of health services and medical education. I am, therefore, opposed to their enactment. I ask that my Representatives in Congress work actively in opposition to this legislation and I pledge that I will never forget the stand they take on this issue.

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Buy and distribute the great book, *The Road Ahead*. Single copy, \$1; 2 to 15 copies, each, 70 cents; 25 to 100 copies, each, 60 cents; 200 to 500 copies, each, 55 cents; 1,000 or more copies, each, 50 cents. Special price to physicians, dentists, educators, clergymen, and Fighters for Freedom; 50 cents per copy when four or more copies are ordered.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.
205 East 42d Street, New York 17, N. Y.

(C. C. G. leaflet.)

EXHIBIT D

[From Times-Herald, Washington, D. C., April 27, 1950]

SUGAR COATED TYRANNY

If someone asked you what dictators have in common, you would probably say they are tough, ruthless characters with an overwhelming desire to run the lives of everyone they can get under their control.

And you would be so right, but what one thing do you think all of them have used to gain their power?

THE TOOL OF DICTATORS

You can find the answer in *Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State*, by Melchior Palyi, published by the National Institute of Professional Services, Inc., and distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y. Price of one to five copies, \$2 each. Larger orders at reduced prices.

Dr. Palyi, an American citizen of Hungarian descent, spent 25 years in Europe as a political observer. While there he taught in the Universities of Kiel, Goettingen, and Berlin. In this country he taught in the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin and Northwestern.

Dr. Palyi writes in the opening chapter of his book:

"Watching the world-wide growth of compulsory health insurance, from Iceland fishermen to coal miners in China, I noticed something that seemed to be overlooked; that all modern dictators—Communist, Fascist or disguised—have at least one thing in common. They all believe in social security, especially in coercing people into governmental medicine."

To prove his contention Palyi furnishes a list of those who supported compulsory medicine which includes Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm, Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Laval and Peron.

And then Palyi gives a historical account of the rise of compulsory health schemes in Europe. The volume is a clear story of how socialized health first began. Why it was proposed. How it was expanded and used in the interest of "power politics."

Following the historical account, the book contains an analysis of the results of such proposals, including the corruption, the bad effect on the general health of the country, and the lowering of the morale and efficiency of medical practitioners.

WELFARE STATE TO POLICE STATE

Palyi's study is of primary importance to America today. We are being urged by the Truman administration toward an all-out expansion of the social-security measures now in effect. And, we are being constantly harangued by Harry Truman and his followers to accept the final step and adopt compulsory health insurance.

Armed with such material as is included between the covers of *Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State* by Melchior Palyi.

It's a book worth study, for as Dr. Palyi wrote:

"In democracies the welfare state is the beginning and the police state the end. The two merge sooner or later, in all experience, and for obvious reasons."

Everyone interested in the future of America should read the book described by Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn on the reverse side of this page: *Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State* by Melchior Palyi.

Here is what foremost authorities say about it:

"Dr. Palyi puts socialized medicine in its historical and practical perspective where it belongs, and where it shines forth, not as the humanitarian enterprise that it pretends to be, but as the time-honored tool of tyranny. The whole issue of the welfare state is going to stand or fall upon this issue of socialized medicine."—*Clarence Manton, Dean of the College of Law, University of Notre Dame.*

"One of the most fascinating books yet written on socialism by small doses is Dr. Melchior Palyi's *Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State*.

"Its interest is definitely not limited to those who are most directly concerned with socialized medicine. Dr. Palyi has developed a mass of historical material showing how the concepts of the welfare state and the police state have grown since the days of Bismarck, through a long list of sponsors including Czar Nicholas II, Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, Peron, Laval, and Tito.

"Of them, Dr. Palyi says, 'All modern dictators have one thing in common. They all believe in social-security, especially in coercing people into governmental medicine.'—*Emerson P. Schmidt—director, economic research, Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America.*

To get your copy of this monumental work, fill out and mail form below with your remittance: Prices: single copy, \$2; 2 to 15 copies, \$1.80 each; 25 or more, \$1.50 each, postpaid anywhere.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, 205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET,
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Please send me Melchoir Palyl's Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare
State. -----
How many? ----- How much? -----
Name -----
Address -----
City ----- Zone ----- State -----

(From Editor and Publisher, April 20, 1950)

THE SAME OLD MORTAL SIN

(By Ralph W. Gwinn)

The eighth chapter of First Samuel tells how the people of Israel wearied of personal responsibility and freedom. They said, "Make us a king to judge us like all the nations." And they put their trust in foreign, heathen deceivers who made their controls seem better than self-government under God's moral law.

In Dr. Melchoir Palyl's new book, "Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State," is a study of how modern nations have been similarly deceived. It was Bismarck who introduced worship of the new golden calf—governmental old-age security, medical care, and hospitalization. The German bureaucrats took the money from the people to build up the power of the Kaiser. Then they failed to give the care they promised.

The same device was used to build up power by Lloyd George in Britain, Franz Josef in Austro-Hungary and Admiral Horthy in Hungary; King Alexander and Tito in Yugoslavia; by the Czar, Lenin and Stalin in Russia; Vargas, would-be dictator in Brazil; Salazar, dictator of Portugal; Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, and Peron; King Carol of Rumania; Dimitrov in Bulgaria; and Gottwald in Czechoslovakia. These are the modern health kings who promise to help the people. New or old, the promise of the tempters is the same: "Give us your money and we will manage everything." And the modern ones added: "You will have more doctors and nurses, hospitals and drugs to meet every need."

Palyl shows the gross degeneration of the art of healing that sets in under compulsory management of doctors and patients by the State. German physicians thought they would have more income, more professional opportunity, more chance for advanced study—just what young doctors in our country are promised today. This was dream planning. There was no way to get it. The number of German patients for free treatment mounted. The state retaliated, as it always does by reducing the doctors' compensation. Some of the doctors organized a union, and strikes, lockouts and boycotts followed. The Government set wages, quotas of eligibility, and the right to enter the profession.

"The system has led to the unprecedented proletarianization of the German profession," says Palyl. "Even under the stable monetary conditions of the late 1920's a doctor was paid for consultation less than one-half of what a barber received for a haircut."

The same thing is now happening in Britain. Every dental operation is timed to the minute, and dentists are paid a standard fee for each. By these mass-production techniques, dentists reaped a temporary harvest, but the Minister of Health has caught up with the bureaucrats' miscalculations, and arbitrary cuts in earnings have been ordered.

This is the story of compulsory social security, socialized housing, health insurance and compulsory medicine everywhere. The "strong men" who promised the Hebrew people "to fight their battles" actually took from them freedom and self-government in the time of Samuel as so-called strong men have done ever since, and are doing now. America stands today in the same place as the Israelites a thousand years before Christ. The question is: Will we fight the sin within ourselves? Will we hold to the faith of our forefathers, who set up the constitutional republic?

Senator Mundt, of South Dakota, and Representative Nixon, of California, both of whom have had much experience in the Committee on Un-American Activities, spoke brilliantly in Congress on the shocking influence of the Communist cell in our Government, led by Alger Hiss. They placed upon this cell the responsibility

for the loss of China to the Soviets, and the imminent danger that India and Burma may follow, with Africa later. But even more dangerous to our immediate future is the revealed influence of the cell on our domestic labor policy.

Among those listed by Whittaker Chambers as members of this Communist cell, along with Hiss, were Nathan Witt and Leo Pressman. Witt was a lawyer on Wallace's staff and later became secretary of the National Labor Relations Board under the Wagner Act. Pressman was a classmate of Hiss at Harvard Law School and after working for Wallace and Harry Hopkins became general counsel of the CIO. These two men occupied top places of influence on the labor policy of the Socialist New Deal. The Wagner Act, a bad bill drawn by political and labor monopoly bosses, was made far worse by its administration. By its decrees, our free unions were transformed into political organs of the State and the party, as in Germany and Russia.

Who brought about this strange transformation? Who made our labor unions wards of the state, as the Fabians did the British unions? Nathan Witt, as chief administrative officer of NLRB made the rules under which the Board's staff acted. Leo Pressman directed the CIO's legal battles, its political policies, and in effect its publicity. Propaganda for the Wagner Act and other New Deal collectivist policies was sent out all over the Nation through the labor press.

The New Deal transformed the American labor unions of free workers of Samuel Gompers' time, into the European system of state unionism and political party compulsions. Congress forced the resignation of Nathan Witt in 1940 because of belief that he was a Communist. Pressman resigned from the CIO when union members, through the Taft-Hartley Act, regained the right to elect their own leaders and began a real effort to remove Communists. Now, we are told by a first-hand witness that Witt was head of the Communist underground in Washington and that Leo Pressman, like Alger Hiss, was a member.

When will our country be free of the damage wrought by these men? Long after Witt resigned, NLRB carried on policies he had set. Though Pressman has left the CIO, the same old influences are still at work in many unions and labor papers, planting class hatred and building up support for the Communists' spending program.

When will American workers see that the same influences that caused us to lose China and to abandon Poland and Czechoslovakia to the Soviet Union are still at work here in our domestic political life? Our disastrous taxing and spending policy is theirs. So is the bitter class war of labor against management. The true friends of labor know that workers can never gain by giving up their liberty to the Central Government.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

(C. C. G. leaflet.)

EXHIBIT E

WHY THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW?

The most timely and one of the most important books of our period. Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn, himself a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor that wrote the Taft-Hartley Law, says about the author:

"Probably no one is so well qualified to present the full story in defense of the Taft-Hartley law as Mr. Irving G. McCann."

Mr. McCann was general counsel for the Committee on Educational and Labor in the Eightieth Congress. In this capacity, among other things, he screened most of the witnesses who testified before the House Committee on amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. This testimony, by about 184 witnesses, covered approximately 4,000 pages and brought out the facts that became the basis of the Taft-Hartley law. For every provision of the law there was abundant and conclusive testimony showing the necessity for such a provision. It has been a tragic omission that the facts brought out before the Eightieth Congress have not yet been presented to the public in an understandable and authoritative way.

Congressman Gwinn has written the foreword to the book, copy attached hereto. He has been most active in defense of the Taft-Hartley law; his judgment of the importance of this book is, therefore, authoritative.

The Committee for Constitutional Government will promote "Why the Taft-Hartley law?" using the methods perfected in distributing a million copies of

Pettengill's three books, *Jefferson the Forgotten Man*, *Smoke Screen*, *For Americans Only*, and, in a 4-month period commencing last December 1, 550,000 copies of John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead*—with an additional 200,000 in process for April and May distribution.

With the Taft-Hartley law an issue of Nation-wide discussion, it is tremendously important that the facts contained in this book, *Why the Taft-Hartley Law?* be made available to editors, publishers, educators, teachers of economics, clergymen, farm leaders, supervisors, foremen and rank-and-file workers; in fact, to all opinion-molding individuals who will be required, regardless of party, to formulate a sound judgment, including 90 percent or more of the Members of Congress who had no direct contact with the material presented in the 4,000 pages of the testimony before the Education and Labor Committee.

All Members of Congress who voted for and are now called upon to defend the Taft-Hartley law are keenly interested in having available the record presented in this book. Except for the few who had direct contact with its formulation, they must rely upon others or have before them an authoritative statement. None has been presented except in the manuscript of this book. For example, anyone reading the last three pages, summarizing the abuses under the Wagner Act, will have adequate material to present the need for the Taft-Hartley legislation.

It is a tragedy that this authoritative book, with the wealth of material it contains, was not available two years ago for the guidance of national public opinion. The problem now is, how can 300,000 to 500,000 copies be placed in circulation before the end of the year? The law has been misunderstood and wilfully misrepresented for 2½ years, by the leaders of labor monopolies and politicians who, under pressure or promises from labor Socialists, have joined in the fight against this law. This book contains records showing how many leaders in our public life who voted for the Taft-Hartley law have been forced and induced to turn around. It proves how close we are to losing the last free branch of Government—the Congress—to the control of labor monopolists.

In order to enter at once a print order for upward of 100,000 copies, it will be necessary to sell immediately 50,000 copies at a special introductory price of 60 cents per copy. As soon as the book comes from the presses, free distribution must be made to top level, opinion-molding groups such as 16,000 editors and publishers of daily and weekly newspapers—religious, labor, farm, etc., to Members of Congress, to 7,000 State legislators and governors, to 40,000 farm leaders, 1,700 presidents of universities, etc. Regardless of their party, many who are in contact with the labor unions' problems will wish copies for their libraries, so that they may have at hand, for ready reference, the invaluable information that this book contains.

This book, distributed widely and immediately, can crystallize a sound national opinion on the need for upholding the Taft-Hartley law.

ORDER FORM FOR

"WHY THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW?"

AT PREPUBLICATION PRICES

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Please enter my order for *Why the Taft-Hartley Law?*, by Irving G. McCann, at special prepublication price of 60 cents per copy. (Prices after publication: 1 copy \$1; 2 to 15 copies, 75 cents each; 20 to 500 copies, 70 cents each; 500 copies or more, 65 cents each.)

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-----These books to be shipped in bulk to address shown below.

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(Please make check payable to the Committee for Constitutional Government and mail with this blank to 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.)

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(Purchase of educational literature to educate public in upholding constitutional principles on which our free enterprise system rests, is legitimate corporate expenditure.)

(C. C. G. leaflet.)

EXHIBIT F

WAGNER ACT SHOULD BE REPEALED

Here are some of the reasons:

1. *It was not written in, and it does not serve, the public interest*

"We helped write it. We thought of it as 'Our Baby'."—William Green in signed article, *Liberty Magazine*, March 18, 1940.

"The A. F. of L. is wholly and fully responsible for the enactment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. We and Senator Wagner drafted it and supported it."—William Green at Glass Blower's Convention, Atlantic City, July 11, 1938.

2. *Its purpose was to give labor union organizers a monopoly*

"It does not accomplish to the degree intended the outlawing of company unions."—Report of A. F. of L. Executive Council, Houston, 1938.

"Before we can have anything like cooperation, * * * company unions, whether employer-dominated or not, have got to go."—Joseph Padway, A. F. of L. General Counsel, at Herald Tribune Forum, 1938. (A "company union" being any union limited to employees of one company.)

3. *It created a fictitious "vested right" in a job*

Strikes may be in violation of contracts, against public health, safety and welfare; against government. They may be a conspiracy to cripple or destroy the employer's business and incidentally to destroy others. Strikes may, and often do, deprive employers and the public of liberty and property without due process of law. Strikes may be planned revolution. Nevertheless, under the Wagner Act, strikes must be reinstated.

The underlying principle of the Wagner Act is this fictitious "vested right" in a job. Competition cannot make either prices or wages serve the public interest as long as the Wagner Act remains.

4. *There is no "god-given right to strike"*

Proponents of special privileges and exemptions for "Labor" confuse what they call "the God-given right to strike" with the constitutional right to quit work. They are not the same. The right to quit is the right of any free man or woman—to quit singly or en masse, provided quitting is voluntary and is not in violation of contract, is not in conspiracy to injure others, and does not endanger the health or safety of others.

But the labor monopolists say they can't sell unionism on a voluntary basis. They insist that the constitutional right to quit work shall be distorted for their benefit by giving them the unconstitutional power of compulsion. To them, the "right to strike" means forcing everyone to quit work and preventing others from taking their places.

5. *The Wagner Act is not needed*

The right to organize, voluntarily, and the right to bargain collectively or individually with any employer willing to bargain, and the right of the worker to go to and from his work unmolested, are amply protected under the Constitution—if enforced. The Wagner Act makes "collective bargaining" collective coercion. A free society cannot exist under it.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

(By Dr. Willford I. King, professor of economics, New York University)

A national labor policy, to be workable, must be based upon a sound philosophy regarding the relations of man to man. The philosophy which made America the magnet, attracting ambitious young men and women from all parts of the world, was liberty coupled with equality of opportunity.

In the early days of our Republic men were, as a rule, promoted solely on the basis of merit. Here there were no economic barriers which the diligent and competent immigrant could not surmount. He could start as a laborer, be promoted to foreman, then to superintendent, and eventually become the proprietor. Everyone had an equal chance to climb the economic ladder—and, as decades passed, it became a very tall ladder.

Freedom of contract prevailed. The employee took the best job available at the best wage obtainable. The employer hired, at as low rates as possible, workers of the types that he needed. No one was frozen out of the right to get a job on his merits.

Employers and employees alike were responsible for breaches of contracts. In the absence of a contract to the contrary, any worker could quit when he pleased, and the employer could discharge a worker at pleasure. Thereafter, neither employer nor employee had legal obligations to the other.

Following the common law principle that conspiracies to injure others were illegal, employers were forbidden to combine to keep down wage rates, and employees were forbidden to combine to push up wage rates. Both were treated as equals before the law.

Then someone unfamiliar with the fact that under free competition wage rates inevitably reflect the productivity of labor, invented the doctrine that the wage level was dependent upon bargaining, and that wages were low merely because the bargaining power of the individual employee was inferior to that of the employer. Accepting this fallacious point of view, our legislators began granting to labor special privileges and immunities not enjoyed by employers. For example, the Clayton Act exempted employees from the penalties imposed by the Sherman antitrust law upon those forming monopolies and conspiring to restrain trade. The Wagner Act went further and compelled employers to bargain with labor monopolies. The theory grew up that an employee had a vested right in a particular job, whether he worked or struck.

The result of this special privilege legislation has been to stifle individual initiative, to hamper the upward progress of the talented young man or woman, to cut down efficiency, to generate mass unemployment, to reduce production and hence the level of real annual wages, and to deny freedom of movement and freedom of contract to millions of our citizens. Moreover, it has brought to America the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle, and has subjected our Nation to ever recurring periods of industrial strife.

To hope that we can regain good national health by clipping from the malignant growth a bit of tissue here and there is to place wishful thinking before facts. To achieve recovery the evil thing must be rooted out, and we must return to the system of equality before the law for all citizens of the Republic. Then America will once more become the land of liberty, opportunity, and progress.

TODAY LABOR MONOPOLIES THREATEN THE NATION'S SAFETY

During the 148 years before the Wagner Act was enacted America was the land of opportunity, leading the whole world forward. We can have a greater America tomorrow if we restore our constitutional system of competitive free enterprise, with fair dealing for thrifty investors, and equal opportunity for all.

We must decentralize our labor unions. No man, like John L. Lewis, should have the power to take the Nation by the throat. Instead of building up the power of government over huge labor unions, which is the road to fascism, we should build down the power of labor unions over government. No one union should have the monopolistic power of industry-wide collective bargaining. On this issue every right thinking person should make his citizen's influence count.

First, buy John Scoville's book *Labor Monopolies—Or Freedom*. It shows why you cannot have both. One copy for \$1; 3 copies for \$2; 5 to 80 copies, 60 cents per copy; 100 or more copies, 55 cents per copy. Distribute it widely. Get at least 10 others to read it.

Express your convictions to your Senators and Congressmen. Enclose with your letter a copy of this leaflet. Also send them the book *Labor Monopolies—Or Freedom*.

Distribute this leaflet widely to friends, fellow workers in unions, stockholders, clergymen, members of your church or lodge. Ten copies free upon request, postpaid; 150 copies for \$1; 1,000 for \$8. Ask for Equality Before the Law.

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EXHIBIT G

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC., AND FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM
205 East 42d Street, New York 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

Confidential—Not For Publication

John T. Flynn's book, *The Road Ahead*, is the most important book of this decade. It exposes how, in secret, planners at top level in Washington have been working for a stealthy revolution in collaboration with labor monopolists. The legislation they have forced through fits together as the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, each piece part of a general plan to drive America into collectivism exactly as have the Fabians in collaboration with British trade unions in England.

This book has been put to test and found the most effective statement yet made to wake up the American people. Already it is a best seller in the book trade; has been widely quoted in the press and by men in public life as the most important book of recent times. (See Pegler article on back page.)

The Road Ahead can dispel the mass delusion that has been fastened upon national consciousness by decades of propaganda to bring about "The Welfare State" as something desirable. It shows that, in reality, the mislabeled "Welfare State" is a *hand-out, pickpocket state*, by which bureaucrats buy, with other people's money, control of the entire nation and subject citizens to serfdom to the state.

Lenin wrote the introduction to John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook The World*—saying "I hope that this book will be translated into all languages and distributed in all countries in millions of copies."

Karl Marx' *Das Kapital* was circulated in millions of copies in all countries to lay the foundation for the world-wide Communism movement. Now it is time to expose the fallacies of socialism and collectivism by reaching millions with *The Road Ahead*. If its message can reach the minds of the majority of average Americans, socialism in the United States will be stopped in its tracks.

Therefore, millions of copies of *The Road Ahead* must be distributed quickly to save our constitutional system of free enterprise. This book tells what you, as an American can do to save this country from destruction.

The Road Ahead (at \$2.50 a copy in bookstores) will be read by hundreds of thousands through the book trade. But it should be read by millions.

The Committee for Constitutional Government has developed by long experience effective methods for such mass distribution, having put out Pettengill's books—*Jefferson, the Forgotten Man*—78,000; *Smoke Screen*—427,000 (in 4 months); *For Americans Only*—467,000 (5½ months); Norton's *The Constitution of the United States*—600,000.

The first printing of 150,000 will be sold before delivery and a second printing of 250,000 will be delivered at the rate of 25,000 copies per day beginning December 26th.

The goal should be to make *The Road Ahead* dominate national thinking and do its important job soon after the next session of Congress opens. One-half million copies should be placed in circulation by January 20, 1950. With your help, this goal can be reached.

Distribution should be made by the methods used with the Pettengill books, sending them to the opinion-moulding leadership individuals of the nation who wield the greatest influence and who will buy in large quantities and distribute in their respective circles. It should go to all physicians (150,000), all dentists (65,000), all lawyers (150,000), to clergymen of all denominations (100,000), to executives, directors and presidents of business enterprises large and small (150,000), heads of service clubs, farm leaders (40,000), editors of dailies, week-

lies, religious, labor, business and periodical publications (17,000) to public officials, congressmen, senators, judges, governors, etc., (5,000), state legislators (7,800) and to everyone in a position to disseminate ideas; to foremen, supervisors, salesmen, insurance agents and when these have been reached, to housewives and industrial employees so that, if possible, every family in the nation may have a copy.

Cover stock has already been purchased for our third printing of 350,000 to be ordered for delivery in January provided we can find purchasers immediately for the second printing of 250,000 copies to be mailed to the above lists designated by purchasers, or lists supplied by the purchasers.

Our tests with this book show tremendous public interest. We included a circular of the \$2.50 clothbound edition to a list of 40,000 which included 3,500 physicians. Hundreds have purchased single copies, scores multiple copies ranging from 5 to 25. An Indiana surgeon bought 100 copies for distribution to his townspeople. In 10 days physicians have purchased more than 1,000 copies, indicating the great interest for the book.

From the Committee's past experience, this public response indicates that the distribution of 600,000 copies by the end of February will bring about the purchase by those reached of an additional 400,000 quickly. By direct mail promotion, advertising and radio, we should be able to push the special edition to a total circulation of more than 1,000,000 by early spring and another 2,500,000 by January 1, 1951.

But, to finance this operation, we must sell for cash and delivery in December and January our first two printings of 150,000 and 250,000 copies at 50¢ a copy. We will ship to you in bulk, mail at our expense to addresses you supply or to leadership individuals you designate, preferably in the order listed. The Committee will bear postage and mailing cost, with supplementary material showing just how the books can be used most effectively, estimated at 12¢ per copy, pay royalty of 10¢ per copy and printing and production costs. As the Committee is an educational, non-profit organization, any small surplus can be applied to the further bulk distribution of the book.

Citizens in all walks, business leaders in all fields, must give their immediate cooperation if this program is to be carried through in volume adequate to stop socialist planning and reverse the trends of national thinking. Great books have swayed the destiny of nations. *The Federalist Papers* molded public opinion during the years before the adoption of the American Constitution. Karl Marx', *Das Kapital*, has been distributed since 1848 in millions of copies in all languages, while there was a wholly inadequate distribution of books explaining and upholding free enterprise.

Will public-spirited American citizens have the insight and drive to disseminate a book that exposes the fallacies of socialism and the welfare state widely enough and quickly enough to check and reverse the drive into socialism during the next 6 months?

Send this book to your friends and associates as a Christmas Gift. Nothing you could select would be more timely, more effective, and more appreciated by any true American.

How many copies will you, your associates and/or your organization buy and pay for immediately at 50¢ per copy? Make check payable to the Committee for Constitutional Government and designate where books are to be shipped in bulk or supply addresses for individual mailing on which we pay postage. Or, better still, allocate all or part of your purchase for distribution to the leadership lists enumerated herein. We will ship or mail the books you buy as rapidly as they come from the presses.

Our ability to place the order for additional 350,000 copies for December delivery depends upon the immediate purchase by you and others of 250,000 copies at 50¢ per copy.

After this special pre-publication offer expires on January 31st, 1950, the regular prices on the new fibre bound edition will be as follows:

Single copy	\$1.00
2 to 15 copies, each	.70
25 to 100 copies, each	.60
200 to 500 copies, each	.55
1000 or more copies, each	.50

Tear here and mail

To: The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.,
205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York.

Herewith my order for your special edition of John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead*, 208 pages at pre-publication price of 50 cents per copy-----

How Many? \$-----

Clothbound book store edition (one copy \$2.50; 4 to 20, \$2.18 each; 25 to 50, \$2.00 each; 60 to 80, \$1.88 each; 100 or more, \$1.75 each; 500 to 800, \$1.67 each; 1000 or more, \$1.63 each.)-----

How Many? How Much?

Please send me free one copy of the statement by educators and national leaders showing the dangers in federal aid to, and the subsequent control by the federal government, of all education. One copy free, 8 for \$1-----

How Many? How Much?

Total amount enclosed. Make check or money order payable to Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.-----

How Much?

Shipping Instructions

(Please indicate below method of fulfillment desired)

1. Ship copies ordered direct to me at address given below-----
Check Here
2. Send the books prepaid to the addresses furnished (Supply list on separate sheet)-----
Check Here
3. Send the books prepaid to names on the leadership list suggested-----

(Identify the list)

Names can be selected from more than one list if desired.

Name ----- Firm -----
Address ----- City ----- Zone ----- State -----
(Distribute this "Memorandum—Confidential, Not for Publication" widely among your friends. 10 sets free, with "Gerard Letter" and "The Road Ahead" Order Form" postpaid anywhere. Additional quantities 1¢ per set to cover handling costs.)

JUNE 26, 1950.

MEMORANDUM

To: Hon. Carl Albert.
Hon. Clyde Doyle.
Hon. Henderson Lanham.
Hon. Charles A. Halleck.
Hon. Clarence J. Brown.
Hon. Joseph P. O'Hara.

From: Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., Counsel.

Subject: Committee for Constitutional Government.

Certain statements which the witness Rumely made on June 6 would seem to indicate that he maintains that his organization does not distribute books and pamphlets dealing with current legislative issues.

For your information, I have had some brief references made to several of the works distributed by that group. They are attached hereto and indicate that the Committee for Constitutional Government does deal with current legislative matters.

However, I believe that we should not lose sight of the primary question. A book may not contain a single word dealing with any specific legislation, and yet its distribution may constitute a very strong attempt to influence legislation. General principles enunciated in a book can be applied to current legislation in leaflets or post cards circulated in the same period of time.

Even without concomitant leaflets, a book containing nothing but general statements not related to specific bills may be used to influence legislation, and, if so, its distribution would constitute an attempt to influence legislation. Assume that a group distributes a "study" of rent control in European countries

which presents hundreds of reasons and examples of rent control which would lead people to believe rent control will not work, will result in poor housing, etc. Although this book never mentions the United States, it would constitute an attempt by the sender to influence legislation directly if it were sent to Members of Congress, while a rent-control law is in effect or under consideration. Similarly, it would constitute an attempt to influence legislation indirectly, if, while rent controls were in effect, it were sent to editors of newspapers, clergymen, and other community-thought leaders.

THE ROAD AHEAD

The Road Ahead opposes all of the principal legislative objectives of President Truman by characterizing them as steps on the road to socialism. While The Road Ahead must be read and understood in full context to properly appreciate that its distribution in these circumstances constitutes an attempt to influence legislation, it should be noted that specific legislative matters are dealt with in The Road Ahead:

1. Emergency powers of the President: "We must restrain the grasping hand of the Executive. And our very first step must be to make a list of the emergency powers granted to the Executive for war purposes and then repeal every one of them" (p. 158).

2. Compulsory national health insurance (pp. 137, 148-151, 159).

3. Public housing (p. 151).

4. Reduce Government spending (p. 155).

5. Public power (pp. 88, 134, 137, 150).

6. Government regulation of credit (Federal Reserve Board) (pp. 131-134).

7. "Government lending agencies," which are stated to include: Farm Credit Administration, home-loan banks, Federal savings and loan associations, Home Owners Loan Corporation, Federal Housing Administration, Public Housing Administration, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and Export-Import Bank (pp. 131-134).

8. The Spence bill (H. R. 2756) (pp. 140-142).

9. The Brannan plan (pp. 140, 143, 145).

LABOR MONOPOLIES OR FREEDOM

This booklet specifically urges the following legislative action:

1. All labor legislation

"What we should do is to repeal all Federal labor laws on wages, hours of labor, collective bargaining, minimum wages, etc., and abolish all boards, bureaus, and commissions that result from these laws * * *" (p. 152).

2. Strikes

"A strike should be considered as an offense against society * * *" (p. 153).

3. Collective bargaining

"* * * the abuse to be eliminated is collective bargaining itself. * * *"

COMPULSORY MEDICAL CARE AND THE WELFARE STATE

This book was published by the National Institute of Professional Services, and distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government. It is an analysis on a special study of governmentized medical care systems on the Continent of Europe and in England.

A foreword ties the book in to present-day America. It notes:

"The doctrine of the welfare state is being offered in the United States. * * *

"For more than 10 years there has been under way a relentless drive to impose a nationalized medical service on the American people. * * *

The book itself does not deal with any legislation now pending before the Congress. But the book is not in question. Assuming that the book was not written as an attempt to influence legislation, the primary question remains:

Does its mass distribution by the Committee for Constitutional Government constitute an attempt by that group to influence legislation?

This book contains a solicitation for amounts of over \$500 for copies of the book. It requests that orders be sent to the Committee for Constitutional Government and not to the publishers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rumely, will you be sworn, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God, to the last great day?

Mr. RUMELY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD A. RUMELY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The CHAIRMAN. We have consumed about 35 minutes, Mr. Rumely, and I think you should be accorded the same amount of time. You have a rather lengthy statement. You may proceed without interruption, if you so choose.

Mr. RUMELY. I would very much like to make comment on Mr. Fitzgerald's statement. There are two or three inaccuracies in it that I would like to correct in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. RUMELY. First, he says that our book sale is a device to cover up contributions. That is absolutely false. We published books 8 years before this lobbying law was passed.

We have a rule that no contribution of more than \$400 is accepted; but, if somebody wants to buy 2,000 or 3,000 books, we permit him to buy the books. But that isn't a concealed contribution.

Mr. LANHAM. Why do you limit it, then, to \$400? It looks very suspicious, in connection with the limitation under the Lobbying Act, that you have to report everything over \$500.

Mr. RUMELY. We didn't want to get into the position of reporting our contributors. Why? Because our average contribution is about \$20 per person. We receive 15,000 to 20,000 contributions a year, and we get, on the average, over-all, \$15 or \$20, about what a union-labor member pays. If we took the few names that give \$500, it would look as if our committee had millionaire support.

(The following exhibits relate to the size and form of large contribution to the Committee for Constitutional Government:)

JULY 13, 1950.

Mr. W. M. WHEELER, Jr.,
*Secretary and General Counsel, Eli Lilly & Co.,
Indianapolis, Ind.*

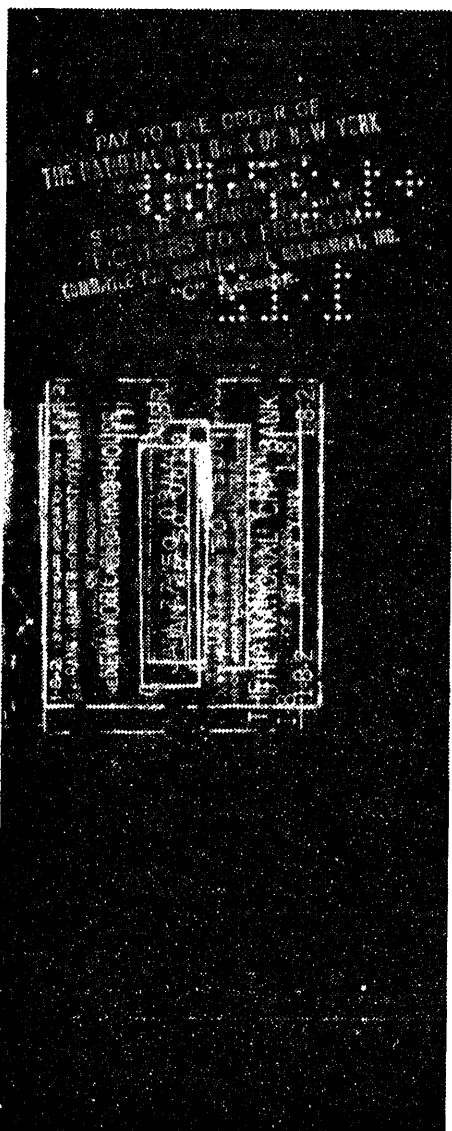
DEAR MR. WHEELER: Your reply to the committee's questionnaire letters of May 31 and June 10, 1950, has been received. Your courtesy in furnishing this information is sincerely appreciated, as it will materially assist us in our attempt to clarify and improve the Federal Lobbying Act.

I have noted your statement that your organization has contributed \$25,000 in 1950 to the Committee for Constitutional Government. Please furnish the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities with photostatic copies of correspondence and other material relating to this contribution, as well as photostatic copies of the check or checks by which the contribution was made. This information is desired in connection with our hearings on this organization and is not intended to be and should not be construed as any investigation of your organization, nor does it constitute any reflection on your right to make such a contribution.

Very truly yours,

FRANK BUCHANAN, *Chairman.*

ELI LILLY AND COMPANY		No. 322816
INDIANAPOLIS 6, U. S. A.		
PAY	<i>Lilly</i> \$25000 AND 00 CTS	
TO THE ORDER OF		
322816	10	25,000.00
CHEMICAL BANK & TRUST CO.		1-12
NEW YORK		
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT		25,000.00
ELI LILLY AND COMPANY		



ELI LILLY & Co.,
Indianapolis 6, U. S. A., July 21, 1950.

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House Office Building,
House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BUCHANAN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 13 which was not delivered to our offices until July 17.

In accordance with your request we are enclosing herewith photostatic copies of correspondence relating to our payment of \$25,000 in 1950 to the Committee for Constitutional Government. A photostatic copy of the cancelled check by which the payment was made is included with this material.

Very truly yours,

W. M. WHEELER, Jr.

JANUARY 10, 1950.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
205 East Forty-Second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: This is to advise you that our budget committee has approved a contribution of \$25,000 to the Committee for Constitutional Government for the calendar year 1950.

In approving this contribution, it was the consensus of opinion of our budget committee that we should like to have you use some of these funds in distributing books, pamphlets, Paul Revere messages, etc., to a mailing list which we will supply you with. Such a mailing list would include school teachers, members of the clergy, and other influential groups of our local community. Can you advise me as to how large a mailing list this contribution will supply with the educational material which your committee publishes?

It is also our opinion that perhaps distribution of every publication to these individuals might be so excessive as to do more harm than good. The tendency might arise for these people to throw everything that comes in the mail into the nearest wastebasket. Therefore, would it be possible, in case we so desire, to supply you with a mailing list and to have you mail to them only those publications which we designate.

With all good wishes for a very successful year, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. L. NOYES.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
January 17, 1950.

Mr. E. L. NOYES,
Eli Lilly & Co., Indianapolis 6, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. NOYES: Your letter of January 10 announcing a \$25,000 purchase of our educational material was a source of great encouragement to Dr. King and myself. Because of Mr. Gannett's frequently expressed admiration and friendship for you, we sent him a copy of your letter. On Monday morning he telephoned from Miami Beach greatly pleased over this news.

Your substantial purchase so early in the year will enable us to lift our committee's activities to higher levels of effectiveness. We have found that money put to work in January multiplies itself several fold during the year by bringing in additional support. This purchase of material should be charged on your books as an outright purchase and not as a contribution.

The firm of Farabaugh, Pettengill, Chapleau & Roper have given us an opinion that such purchases of material to uphold our free-enterprise system are legitimate corporate expense, like other advertising, and the Treasury Department has accepted in hundreds of cases such expenditures as legitimate corporate purchases. When purchasing, it is necessary for the purchaser to do exactly what you suggest, namely to designate the material purchased and the direction of its distribution.

We will service a list of 5,000 names at \$4 per individual name 22 times between February and December 1950; or a list of 10,000 eleven times; or of 25,000 four times. In connection with this we will include the distribution of 5,000 copies of Norton's great book *The Constitution of the United States: Its Sources and Its Application*, and 8,000 copies of Pettengill's *For Americans Only*. We stand ready to cooperate with you in working out in detail, as may best suit your wishes, the servicing of such lists as you designate.

We suggest that you set aside \$8 per name for the full Paul Revere messages service to 300 including all State legislators in Indiana (150), the balance of 150 to go to names that you particularly designate in your own organization or in the city of Indianapolis. We will include in this service a copy of the Norton book and a copy of Dr. King's *The Keys To Prosperity* which should have a special value to State legislators.

With \$20,000 for the mailings, \$2,400 for this Paul Revere service to 300 names, there would be left \$2,000. We would suggest that you set aside this amount, at \$1 per copy, for 2,000 copies of *Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State*, by Melchior Palyi. The report upon which this book is based was worked up at a substantial expenditure by the National Physicians Committee before it disbanded. We expect to have shortly 20,000 copies in book form, publication price \$2. Our price to you will be \$1 per copy.

The contents of the book are of such great importance that distribution to key leaders in national thinking and in positions of public influence should be made soon. If you agreed to allot \$2,000 to this distribution we will bear distribution cost and send to all Members of Congress, all Governors, to selected editors, newspaper columnists, and radio commentators, and to 600 of the top level leaders in the medical profession, including all officers of State medical associations.

Any portion of this distribution where you desired it we would be glad to include your courtesy card as donor. Otherwise we shall distribute over the name of the committee itself. In the case of Palyi's book we shall seek some individual of public influence to write an accompanying letter calling attention to the book and its great importance. In the distribution to Congress we might have Congressman Smith himself—the head of a medical clinic and highly respected in both Houses of Congress—write the accompanying letter asking that every Member read the content. Please note copy of the telegram to members of the Rules Committee enclosed herewith.

Our trustees will meet on January 25 and it would be a matter of great encouragement if we could have this transaction closed by that date.

In the meantime, if you or any other member of your organization come to New York City, do give Dr. King and other members a chance to exchange thought with you.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, *Treasurer.*

JANUARY 24, 1950.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

205 East Forty-second Street,

New York 17, N. Y.

(Attention: Mr. Sumner Gerard, Treasurer)

DEAR MR. GERARD: Thank you very much for your reply of January 17, which fully answered the questions which we raised. Therefore I am enclosing our check for \$25,000 and with it goes our best wishes for success in the committee's efforts.

I am turning over your letter to Mr. J. F. Modrall of our industrial relations division, who is working very closely with the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce on the community part of our company's over-all program. You will undoubtedly hear from him at some future date concerning the mailing of your various publications.

Very truly yours,

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

February 20, 1950.

Mr. NIKOLAS L. NOYES,

Treasurer, *Ell Lilly & Co.,*

Indianapolis 6, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. NOYES: Attached hereto is your receipt for \$25,000 for which a credit is being set up on our books against which you may draw for any literature we distribute.

We have available now in a preliminary fibre-bound edition Dr. Palyi's *Compulsory Medicine and the Welfare State*. We have entered the printing order and have in process a second printing of 100,000 copies with the Perma-board

covers. The retail price is \$2; bulk price \$1.10. You may wish to draw against this book supply for distribution to lists in which you are interested, charging to the credit established.

We have just mailed the 810 top leaders of AMA the letter Dear Fellow-American, copy of which is enclosed.

Thanks again for your helpful cooperation in the purchase and distribution of the Committee's educational literature.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

ELI LULLY & COMPANY

Office of E. L. Noyes, Asst. Treas.
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

Distribute the Committee's Literature. Government by citizens can work successfully only if citizens are informed, interested, willing to make effort and sacrifices. . . . There must be leadership on national issues in every locality. We as voters must exercise our rights and fulfill our duties or democracy will fail. . . . Make yourself a Committee of One in your circles and community; send for any or all of the items of literature described on the back of this receipt; up to 10 free, postpaid, of any piece; for a larger supply you may wish to make some remittance to cover cost. Use this material to arouse and inform others. The Committee's leadership will become increasingly effective if you and citizens everywhere respond and give support.

Help enlist others.

We are deeply grateful to you for your support of the committee and your help in the distribution of its educational literature.

Voluntary aid such as you have given makes it possible to intensify and broaden the scope of this nonpartisan educational effort.

----- Tear here -----

No. 81164

We hereby acknowledge receipt of \$25,000.00.

Your remittance has been applied as directed for one or more of the following purposes:

- A—General Work of Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.
----- B—For books, literature or special purpose or fund, as directed by you.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
205 E. 42d St., New York 17, N. Y.

Per (Signed) H. HIMSWORTH, Auditor and Assistant Treasurer.
Date: 1/26/50.

Ask for free literature listed below, sent anywhere, postage prepaid:

"I Am The Bill of Rights" folder. Up to 20 free; 150 for \$1; \$5 per thousand; postpaid anywhere.

"Bismarck's Golden Chain." Leaflet showing evils of compulsory health insurance. Up to 10 free. \$1 for 300; \$3 per 1,000; postpaid anywhere.

"Webster Leaflet. A More Glorious Edifice." Up to 20 free. \$1 for 400; \$2 per 1,000; postpaid anywhere.

"What American Democracy Means to Me." How much Americans gain from the Constitution and American way of life. Valuable for school children and adults. Up to 20 free. \$1 for 200; \$4 per 1,000; postpaid anywhere.

"The Church and Business—Friend or Foe." Up to 10 free. \$1 for 150; \$5 per 1,000; postpaid anywhere.

"Free Prices and Full Employment." A common sense analysis showing why price controls check employment and prosperity. Up to 6 free. \$1 for 60; \$2 for 150; \$8 per thousand; postpaid anywhere.

"The Man on the Street." Holds America's fate in the hollow of his hand. Folder showing benefits of private enterprise and need for thrifty investors. Up to 6 free; \$1 for 100; \$2 for 225; \$8 per 1,000; postpaid anywhere.

"The Only Path to Tomorrow," by Ayn Rand. Collectivist doctrine that supremacy of common good enslaves men. Only one source of progress: Indi-

vidual Man in Independent Action. Up to 5 free; 40 for \$1; 100 for \$2; 200 to 700 at \$1.00 per 100; 1,000 for \$15; postpaid anywhere.

"Why Democratic Socialism Breaks Down" (leaflet)—Politicians controlling jobs promise high wages and low prices, hence bankruptcy or inflation. 5 copies free; 40 for \$1; 100 for \$2.50; 200 to 700, \$2 per 100; 1,000 or more, 1½¢ each.

"Politicians Put This Burden On Your Back." Shows how each 100 families had to support 2 jobholders in 1930, 3 in 1940, and 5 today; also why bureaucratic horde fostering needless waste must be kicked off citizens' backs by taxpayers' rebellion. Up to 20 free. \$1 for 100; postpaid anywhere.

"Extracts from Hearings By House Committee on Labor and Education." Testimony by Dr. Willford I. King on harmful effects of labor monopolies. Shows why we should return to equality before the law to get maximum production and highest real wages—44 pgs. \$1 for 10; 25 to 200, 8¢ each; larger quantities, 6¢ per name, if address is supplied on gummed labels; postpaid anywhere.

"What the Election Did Not Prove" (leaflet)—Analysis showing how vital issues were not presented to the voters. 20 copies free; 200 for \$1; \$4 per 1,000.

"What Is Ahead—Inflation or Deflation?"—Proves last two years' price rise based on velocity, which may end with falling prices if confidence gives way to pessimism. 2 copies free; 10 for \$1; 25 to 700, 8¢ each; 1,000 or more, 6¢ each.

"Political (Socialized) Medicine"—Shows how Washington politicians controlling health funds will undermine the medical and dental care that all citizens' families will receive. 6 copies free; 25 for \$1; 100 to 700, 3¢ each; 1,000 or more, 2½¢ each.

"Warning." Description of best book on "The Constitution of the United States; Its Sources and Its Application." 20 copies free on request; postpaid anywhere.

"Suggestions For Changes in the Federal Tax Laws," by Robert B. Dresser (booklet). Sets forth nine steps that should be taken immediately, and the reason why. Immediate wide distribution important. 24 page booklet. Ask for 3 copies free; in bulk, 20 to 800, 5¢ per copy; 1,000 or more, 4¢ per copy; postpaid anywhere.

Continued on reverse side under Leaflets, Folders, Booklets
(See Other Side)

MAKE YOUR HELP MOST EFFECTIVE BY PURCHASING AND DISTRIBUTING THE COMMITTEE'S EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL AND SERVICES

Corporate or individual support can be effectively and usefully furnished by purchase of any or all of the items or services provided by the Committee. Such purchases do not fall in the category of contributions.

SERVICES

PAUL REVERE MESSAGES—two or more a week mailed bi-weekly. Authoritative comments on the vital issues confronting the United States. An informative service calculated to guide the thinking of readers in a constructive and persuasive fashion. Forceful and convincing writers with backgrounds on the subjects covered.

Single subscriptions, one year \$10; Two one-year subscriptions \$17; 3 to 24 subscriptions @ \$8 each; 25 to 80 @ \$7.50 each; 100 or more @ \$7 each. (Send lists of names with multiple subscriptions).

KING ECONOMIC PUZZLES (10 separate bulletins). A course in fundamental economics discussing the all-important wage and profit structure. Done in plain English and attractively printed in brief form. Adapted for employee lists, for school and college work and desirable for teachers, members of the clergy, state and national legislators.

Mailed at stated intervals to lists furnished @ \$1 per name.

ALL COMMITTEE RELEASES—News bulletins, reports, special research data including reprints from the Congressional Record, roster of Congress by States and Districts and selected Paul Revere Messages.

Serviced to lists furnished @ \$10 per name for one year.

AMERICANISM SERIES (six separate mailings). Comprising material that strengthens appreciation of our Constitutional system and the American Way of Life; series featured by initial presentation of a book and Bill of Rights wall piece.

Serviced to lists furnished @ \$2 per name.

BOOKS

Book price schedule

Title	Single copy	3 copies for—	5 to 80 copies, per copy	100 to 700 copies, per copy	1,000, or more, per copy
1. "Labor Monopolies or Freedom"— <i>John Scoville</i> ...	\$1.00	\$2.00	\$0.60	\$0.55	\$0.50
2. "Constitution of the U. S."— <i>Thomas J. Norton</i>....	.69	2.00	.63	.62	.60
3. "For Americans Only"— <i>Samuel B. Pettengill</i>.....	.60	1.38	.42	.40	.35
4. "The Keys to Prosperity"— <i>Willford I. King</i> : Fibre-bound.....	2.00	5.70	1.80	1.70	1.60
Clothbound.....	4.00	9.60			
5. "Hunger and History"— <i>E. Parmelee Prentice</i>	1.00	2.85	.90	.85	.80

1. "Labor Monopolies or Freedom" (*Scoville*) card-bound, pocket size 108 pages. A sledge-hammer attack at the fallacies underlying the evil of Labor monopolies. Scoville makes his economics of freedom understandable, to the simplest mind on the Bowery, or on Main Street.

2. "The Constitution of the United States" (*Norton*) card-bound, pocket size, 320 pages. Every home, office, school and library should have this volume. A thoroughly accredited text and reference book about "Our Constitution—the Civil Bible of America." (Available, also, in clothbound edition.)

3. "For Americans Only" (*Pettengill*) card-bound, 192 pages. A staggering revelation of what totalitarian planners have done to undermine constitutional liberties; for all who love this country and are willing to fight encroachments of national socialism, this book is indispensable.

4. "The Keys to Prosperity" (*Willford I. King*) Economic Principles for a Modern Society. As basic as Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations." A "must" book. Distribute widely. (Available also in clothbound edition.)

5. "Hunger and History" (*E. Parmelee Prentice*) How Economic Freedom brought food abundance.

PARTIAL LIST OF EDUCATIONAL LEAFLETS, FOLDERS, BOOKLETS

FACTUAL DATA ON FEDERAL TAX ISSUE

Would you Like to Double Your Income? (*leaflet*)—30 for \$1; 100 or more @ 3c each.

On Income Taxation, as presented by Dr. Willford I. King to House Ways and Means Committee (*leaflet*)—5c each or 100 for \$4.50.

Congress Can Provide Tax Relief (*open letter by R. B. Dresser*)—40 for \$1; 60 for \$2; 100 or more 2c each.

Post-War Federal Taxes, analyzing proposed Constitutional amendment (*leaflet*)—100 for \$2; 300 for \$5; or \$12 per thousand.

Are Corporation Profits Too Large?—Exhaustive analysis shows for every \$3 received by stockholders, government takes \$5 in taxes while \$36 goes into wage-salary totals. 2 copies free; 16 for \$1; 100 to 600, 4c each; 1,000 or more, 3½c each.

Do You Want to Pay Higher Taxes? (*leaflet*)—Should go to millions. "Fighters For Freedom," ("grass-roots" F. F. F.) urges fighters for freedom forever to oppose politicians, regardless of party, squandering tax moneys to buy socialistic legislation the votes of minority groups. 5 copies free; 40 for \$1; 200 to 700, 2c each; 1,000 or more, 1½c each.

SPECIAL RELEASES ON LABOR ISSUE

"Why Not Arbitrate" (*leaflet*)—Shows why arbitration of wage rates by politically selected or influenced arbitrators will destroy stockholders rights, and lead to fascism. 5 copies free, 20 copies for \$1. Larger quantities 4c per copy, postpaid anywhere.

"Labor-Boss Candidates" and "You Make It. We Take It!" (*postcards*) 50 for \$1; 100 or more, 1½c each; \$10 for 1,000.

"The Housewife's Dilemma—No. 2" (*leaflet*)—25 copies for \$1; 200 to 700 copies, 8c each; 1,000 or more copies, 2½c each.

"Unions Defy Your Government" (*ad*)—2c a copy, in bulk.

"What Raises Wages?" (*leaflet*)—60 for \$1; 150 for \$2; or \$12 per thousand.
 "Equality Before the Law" (*leaflet*)—150 for \$1; 1,000 for \$6.
 "Labor's Bill of Rights Defined" (*folder*)—200 for \$1.

SPECIAL BULLETINS, MAIL "TUCK-INS", FOLDERS

"Statistical X-Ray Shows Up A Horseshoe"—Proves that cost of living since 1930 has gone up less than weekly earnings and average real earnings of industrial workers. 8 copies for 10c; 40 for \$1; in bulk, \$2 per 100.

"Freedom Train and Where Karl Marx Went Wrong" (*leaflet*)—Timely educational matter for youth and adults on the Constitution, and against communism. 3 copies free; 20 for \$1; 50 to 100, 4c each; 200 or more, 3c per copy, postpaid anywhere.

"Workers Republic" (*folder*)—125 for \$1; 275 for \$2; or \$7 per thousand.

"Raising the Workingman's Scale of Living" (8 *pages*)—10 for \$1; 24 for \$2; 100 to 800 @ 7c each.

"Capitalism the Creator" (32 *pages*)—12 for \$1; up to 100 @ 7c each; over 100 @ 6c.

"The Man on the Street" (*folder*)—100 for \$1; 225 for \$2 or \$8 per thousand.

"Roster of Congress" (*leaflet*)—100 for \$1; \$8 per thousand.

"The American Constitution and Its Significance" (*booklet*)—In any quantity, 1c each.

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Buchanan, on the air, said he was trying to find out Mr. Rumely's financial angels. We have no financial angels. You misrepresent the sources of support when you pick out a few rich men, able to give \$500. Therefore, we said we wouldn't take \$500; we will take no more than \$490.

The CHAIRMAN. For that reason, you ought to be glad to reveal your list.

Mr. RUMELY. We gave you everything on that side of the thing. When you asked for everything over a thousand, we gave it to you. But we will not give you the names of the people who have bought books in any quantity, because, under the free press, you have no power to inquire into who buys books of any publisher. You have no power to go into a newspaper publisher and say, "Give me your subscription list." And you have no power to come to us.

Mr. LANHAM. Let me ask: When did you adopt the policy of accepting nothing over \$490?

Mr. RUMELY. The moment the law went into effect.

Mr. LANHAM. That is all I wanted to know.

Mr. DOYLE. To what law do you refer?

Mr. RUMELY. We didn't write the law; you gentlemen wrote the law. You said you must report \$500 or more.

Mr. DOYLE. To what law do you refer?

Mr. RUMELY. The Lobbying Act of 1946.

Mr. DOYLE. Then, when that law went into effect, you changed your policy to \$490?

Mr. RUMELY. \$490; we did. But we were publishing books 8 years before that.

Mr. LANHAM. You don't think that shows you were trying to evade reporting?

Mr. RUMELY. We weren't evading; we did what you Congressmen legislated. You legislated that we have to report \$500. We said, "We don't want to report the names; we will keep our contributions down to \$490."

Mr. LANHAM. We will let the record speak for itself.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Rumely, I think, has been quite frank, Mr. Chairman. He said that when the law went into effect, they didn't

accept contributions of more than \$400, because the major part of their contributions, according to his statement, come from people in much lesser amounts than that, and that if he only reported those \$500 or over, under the Lobbying Act, the wrong interpretation might be put upon the activities of his organization and its support.

So, it seems to me, as Judge Lanham said, that stands in the record. In my opinion, it isn't a matter that involves any argument one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. But the list you furnished to the committee on June 6, Mr. Rumely, did have a number of contributions, loans, which are regarded as contributions, in excess of \$500?

Mr. RUMELY. We gave you that, completely.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. RUMLEY. And Mr. FitzGerald didn't bring that out.

The CHAIRMAN. He mentioned three or four names.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; but we complied with your request for the large contributions. Now, he brought up the question of loans. The form did not provide a request for loans until quite recently. We filled those forms out accurately.

The CHAIRMAN. In the first quarter of 1950 report.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; it didn't before.

Now, one other thing: He said we had had previous encounters with congressional committees, as if that were a reflection on us. But what happened? The Black-Minton committee came down and said, "We want everything in your office; you let us go through and pick out what we want; we want your correspondence with Frank Gannett and your correspondence with the Associated Press." I called Elisha Hanson and he said, "Can't you throw them out—how long are you open? Let them stay there until 5 or 6 o'clock, if you are open."

And then we came down here, and the Senate agreed with us. Mr. Minton made an attack upon us. The Senate abolished the Black-Minton committee because of that attempt to get from us that which they weren't warranted in receiving.

Mr. HALLECK. As a matter of fact, I might say, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. FitzGerald's statement, a rehash of some refusal on Mr. Rumely's part, cannot help us very much in our current investigation. I mean, there is an issue here, I assume, that might be presented to the Congress, and to the courts; if there is anything further to be done with it, that is where it will have to be done, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the chairman please—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. FitzGerald has an exhibit that can be introduced at this point, which bears out the reason why he made comment and used the term "subterfuge." If you will permit him to read this document, and introduce it, I believe there will be shown justification for the statement.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the chairman and the members of the committee please, I don't intend to pursue an argument on this point. I have shown what I intend to prove, by documents and other evidence, amounting to, almost, a mountainous amount. Everything that I mention in my opening statement will be proven, if given the opportunity and time, and can be corroborated by direct evidence. However, at this point, it seems that we should depart from the regular order of proof and put in, as our first exhibit, the minutes of the

Committee for Constitutional Government with respect to the so-called subterfuge.

So, if the committee please, at this time I would like to read into the record excerpts from the Committee for Constitutional Government's own minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the exhibit in its entirety.

Mr. DOYLE. Of what date?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Unfortunately, there is no date on this exhibit; but I assume Mr. Rumely will be able to furnish us with the date, when I have refreshed his memory by reading the exhibit into the record.

Reading from the minutes:

The committee then considered—

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the document you have in your hand is from the minutes of the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In which this procedure is set up?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in regular form, we asked Mr. Rumely to bring with him this morning his minute book, and he has that?

Mr. RUMELY. I sent it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we asked you to bring it with you this morning.

Mr. RUMELY. We sent it by registered mail, the minutes. Yes, sir; they were sent by registered mail.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have them here; but these do not have the dates on them.

Mr. LANHAM. Is that the minutes of the meetings of the board of directors of your organization?

Mr. FITZGERALD. These minutes—

Mr. LANHAM. The governing body of the organization?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe so. The minutes are signed by Willford King, chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the executive committee, Mr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. He is chairman of the board and president of the committee. He was, at that time, probably; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, if I read incorrectly, you may stop me at any time.

To read:

The committee then considered memorandum 3, from Dr. King, and after discussion recommended further study and consideration of the matters set forth in said memorandum which reads as follows:

"We have, in the past, been faced with the difficulty that the United States income-tax authorities have refused to rate the Committee for Constitutional Government as a strictly educational institution, and, hence, contributions to the committee have not been made deductible for tax purposes from the incomes of the donors.

"We are now confronted by the fact that all contributions of \$500 or over made to the committee must be reported under the provisions of the new act to regulate lobbying. It is also possible that book sales of \$500 or over to persons who ask the committee to distribute the books for them may be construed by the Government as contributions. In order to place the committee in a thoroughly safe position, and also to maximize its revenues, it is suggested that the following steps be taken:

"1. The foundation should be activated at once. Its activities should be confined to matters which are unquestionably educational in nature, and which cannot possibly be construed as attempts to influence legislation. At the earliest possible moment, a ruling should be secured that contributions to the foundation are deductible.

"2. The make-ups of the respective boards of trustees of the foundation and of the committee should be so arranged that personnels do not overlap widely. The two organizations should have different treasurers.

"3. The field men should immediately be furnished with blanks for subscriptions to the foundation, and instructed to have all sizable contributions made to the foundation. Commissions on such contributions should be paid by the foundation.

"4. Publication of strictly educational literature, such as Norton's book on the Constitution, should be the work of the foundation. If the committee desires to distribute such books, it should purchase them from the foundation."

What is this foundation, Dr. Rumely; is that one of your outfits?

Mr. RUMELY. It is not one of our outfits. It is a separate, independent organization, called the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is it in the same building?

Mr. RUMELY. It is in the same building.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Same suite, perhaps?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. It uses the facilities of the committee, where it can buy them more cheaply from us.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you have any connection with that outfit?

Mr. RUMELY. Oh, yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is your connection with it?

Mr. RUMELY. I have no paid connection with it, but when they want advice on how to distribute a book, they get it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. They take your advice?

Mr. RUMELY. Sometimes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is your daughter in an executive capacity there?

Mr. RUMELY. She has no connection with it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about Mr. Earl Harding; what does he do there?

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Harding is treasurer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And—

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Frank Gannett is president.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you have directors or trustees of the foundation?

Mr. RUMELY. There is a whole board of trustees, independent.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are not some of those individuals trustees of the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Which ones are?

Mr. RUMELY. Let me have a letterhead. Just a moment.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, to read on—

Mr. HALLECK. Let's finish with the reading. I think we should permit Mr. Rumely to make a statement in connection with the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. The reason we departed from our procedure is because Mr. Rumely wanted to take the time to answer Mr. FitzGerald. Having that document in our possession, I think we ought to put it in the record at this point.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes. Is this an accurate reading, Dr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. That was a memorandum that Dr. King submitted to the trustees, and which was not followed out in full. The founda-

tion was set up. It has published a number of books. I will give you the reason for the foundation, in just a moment.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If I may read on:

"The expenses of publication should, of course, be borne by the foundation. This will relieve the committee of a substantial part of its expenses. If the foundation has sufficient funds, it may find it desirable to distribute its own publications and pay the expenses of such distribution.

"5. To avoid the possibility that large purchases of books or literature from the committee may be interpreted by the Government as being contributions to the committee, it would seem desirable to have a separate selling organization to deal with the large purchasers. Preferably, this selling organization should be a reliable, established concern. If it did not conflict with its other activities, America's Future might take on the function."

What is that?

Mr. RUMELY. That is another organization——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that run by your organization?

Mr. RUMELY. It is not run. Some of the people are identical.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You mean, the directors?

Mr. RUMELY. The directors—no; independent directors; a few overlapping.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The same office help, perhaps?

Mr. RUMELY. No. We have a large——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you answer that question?

Mr. RUMELY. I am answering it, if you let me. We have a large mailing room, for example, the head of which is now receiving \$10,000 a year, and will receive \$12,000 a year after July 1—one of the most expert mailing men in the United States.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are you a member of that organization?

Mr. RUMELY. I am not a member of that organization. I receive no pay from it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you do work for them?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What do you do for them?

Mr. RUMELY. I took the president and few people to lunch—they wanted to talk over a direct-mail campaign; I gave them my opinion.

Mr. FITZGERALD. They are in the same building?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The same suite?

Mr. RUMELY. No; no. They are a floor above us.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is your daughter connected with that organization?

Mr. RUMELY. My daughter happened to have a radio station; she built a radio station, and when they needed expert radio opinion, they brought her in—not because she is my daughter.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who is your daughter?

Mr. RUMELY. Isabelle Rumely.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is she connected with America's Future?

Mr. RUMELY. She was brought in at Christmas time to do a job with a radio station, she having built a radio station, and operated one, in Detroit—one of the most successful.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is Mr. Earl Harding connected with it?

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Harding is treasurer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He is also treasurer of the other outfit?

Mr. RUMELY. He is treasurer of the foundation, but has no official connection with the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He is also in the National Economic Council, which is Merwin K. Hart's outfit?

Mr. RUMELY. He happens to be one of their trustees.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Rumely, did you complete the answer that you wanted to make in respect to the original observation by Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. RUMELY. No, I have not.

Mr. HALLECK. I think the witness ought to be permitted to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RUMELY. He is near the end of his reading; I would like to deal with that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You mean, you want me to finish reading?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. It is not much longer.

The CHAIRMAN. Continue, Mr. Fitzgerald.

Mr. FITZGERALD. With your permission, Mr. Halleck. [Reading:]

If, however, the trustees of America's Future believe that arrangement would be undesirable, the committee might arrange with some reliable outside concern to handle such orders for a small fee. Should it prove nonfeasible to make such an arrangement, the committee might purchase control of some established book concern which was being offered at a low price in the market. The book concern might hire the committee to do the actual mailing of committee publications which it sold. However, matters should be so arranged that purchases of books from the committee and sales of books by the committee to the book store should not match either in time or in amount. If the book store were incorporated, the majority of its directors should not be trustees of the committee, and the treasurer of the book store should not be the same as the treasurer of the committee.

Who wrote this?

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Willford I. King, chairman of the committee for constitutional government.

Mr. FITZGERALD (continuing reading):

6 After the arrangements mentioned above had been made, the committee should not, within any calendar year, either accept contributions larger than \$400 from any one contributor, or makes sales of books and literature amounting to more than \$400 to any individual or corporation other than the book store just mentioned.

Memorandum 4 was next on the agenda. It was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted to set up a literature account, showing profit and loss on literature sales. Clearly, this account should be debited, not only with amounts directly paid for the purchase of literature or for the printing and mailing of the same, but also should be debited with part of the overhead expenses of the committee, and especially with all advertising expenses incurred in the marketing of the literature. This account should enable us to approximate each month any tax liability which the committee is likely to incur. This estimated tax liability should be entered by the bookkeeping department as an item in the statement of current expenses mentioned under 1-b in memorandum 2 (above).

Revision and finalizing of Dr. Rumely's salary had been referred to this committee by the trustees at their last meeting. After discussion of the original financial arrangement with Dr. Rumely, his subsequent voluntary cut in salary, and waiving of payments due him in 1944, 1945, and 1946, averaging \$2,700 each year, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that in future Dr. Rumely be paid as follows:

A weekly salary of \$208.

A commission of 8 percent on amounts collected in excess of \$8,333 up to \$15,000 per month; and 4 percent¹ of the amount in excess of \$15,000 up; in case in any month the income falls under \$8,333, a deduction equal to 8 percent of the difference between the actual income and \$8,333 shall be subtracted in calculating the commission.

A weekly expense payment of \$96.50;

furthermore, that an increase of \$25 per week be made in Glen Hancock's salary.

¹ This reduction, from 5 percent to 4 percent, was suggested by Dr. Rumely.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was voted adjourned, at 2:30 p. m.

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman*.

The CHAIRMAN. You have covered the salient points?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUMELY. A large part of that was found not to be feasible. We decided to stand on our own publishing activities in the committee. The foundation was organized by some of the trustees, inviting in others.

Mr. Benkert is not on our board; Senator Burke, former Senator Burke; Brigadier-General Disque; Mr. Dennis—these are trustees of the foundation—Mr. Dennis; Frank Gannett; Earl Harding; Mrs. King—Isabella G. King, who was a Member of Congress for a long period, and the bridesmaid of Mrs. Roosevelt; Colonel McGuire, attorney for Comptroller General McCarl, now practicing law; Norman Vincent Peale, the clergyman; Fred Sexauer, the farm leader.

Those are the trustees.

Why did we do that?

The CHAIRMAN. Trustees of what?

Mr. RUMELY. Of the foundation.

The CHAIRMAN. The foundation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Give us the full name.

Mr. RUMELY. Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation.

Why did we do that?

At that time, we were giving away scores of thousands of books—the Constitution of the United States—to colleges and universities; Fordham College, 10,000; Yale College, 2,000; there is a whole list of them. The colleges would ask for them and then give them to the graduate class with the sanction of the alma mater.

We had to get money in larger amounts. You could get that only from people with larger incomes.

Your Mr. Little went to Ed. Hutton, recently, and said, "Did you buy 'The Road Ahead' in large quantities?" He said, "No; I have given all the money I had loose, to Freedom Foundation." He said, "I wish I had had more, I would have bought ten or twenty thousand copies." And he said, "Do you know anybody else that did?" And he said, "If I did, I don't remember it now."

You know, he didn't think very hard.

He said, "I did buy \$5,000 worth of Norton's book, to be given to colleges."

That meant 8,333 books, to be donated to colleges, to give to their students.

Now, to take that out of his income, after he had gone through the tax-wringer for about 70 percent, didn't seem fair. He wanted that deducted.

But I don't think your committee has any right, under the Bill of Rights, to go out and inquire as to who gave books. I think that you are obliged to uphold the first article of the amendments.

If Mr. Hutton had given the right answer, he would have said, "Go to hell."

I don't think your committee has any right to violate our right of privacy by revealing that this man bought books.

If the people who got that questionnaire, the 166 corporations, write you, "We bought 2,000 copies of The Road Ahead," I don't think you

have a right to reveal that; you are violating our right as publishers to privacy.

If any businessman, any one of those 100, is so unmindful of the Constitution, or so weak-kneed that he gives you it, if he gives you the book purchases, you still haven't the right to reveal it, because that is part of the privacy of the publishing business.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we might—we started out differently—as I understood the chairman's opening statement, there was no issue to be raised here today about the matter of June 6, although it has kind-of come in here; and I won't say how. But I think it would be well if Dr. Rumely were to go ahead with his statement.

Mr. RUMELY. You can put it in without my reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will accept the statement in full, if you don't care to read it, or you may read any part of it.

Mr. RUMELY. I will read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Or do you want to give us a summary of it?

Mr. RUMELY. I can give you a summary of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The entire statement will be incorporated in the record.

Mr. RUMELY. I will omit such portion regarding the subpoena and the time.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement may go in in its entirety, that is all right; we have no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It will all go in, Dr. Rumely, and you can read such portions as you wish.

Mr. RUMELY. All right.

Again, Chairman Buchanan, and members of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, I ask that you give me an opportunity to present this statement while I am under oath and subject to your cross-examination.

On June 16, Mr. Buchanan, during your hour-long report to the House of Representatives, you stated:

We have tried to be fair and completely impartial.

Yet, in your report there is a serious inaccuracy, unfair to us, due, possibly, to your lack of full information. You state that the Committee for Constitutional Government—

had no hesitation about opening books to show the total amounts of contributions and receipts of various kinds and also those showing their expenditures. But they steadfastly refused to divulge the names of purchasers of quantity orders of their propaganda publications.

While we were debating the next step, the Committee for Constitutional Government proceeded to file in the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia a petition for injunction seeking to restrain individual staff members of this committee, by name, from even so much as asking for this material. It should be noted, Mr. Speaker, that no subpoena up to that time had been issued for this information. A request for it had been made, a courteous request, but no subpoena had been issued.

When we were notified of the injunction petition, I consulted a majority of the members of my committee, discussed the matter with them, and we decided to issue subpoenas to compel the production of the information we requested * * *

Thus, Congress was informed that the subpoena was issued in consequence of our injunction proceedings. That is contrary to the facts.

On May 8, Mr. Louis Little appeared at my office, showed his credentials, stated that he wished material covering 26 points. He took out a paper and dictated to my assistant, point by point, these demands; then showed me typewritten copy of sections of a court decision, the purport of which was that a congressional committee had complete power and that we would be in contempt if we did not give your agents whatever they asked for.

I had heard of similar dire consequences when the agents of the Minton Senate committee came to our offices in 1938 and told me that if we did not immediately yield the information they wanted I would be in jail within a few days. That did not happen then. I was not cited for contempt—not jailed. Instead, the Senate ended the existence of the Minton committee, in consequence of its unwarranted demands upon us.

But the fact is that you had a subpoena outstanding against me on May 8, when Mr. Little first called. That same day, Mr. Little conferred with our New York attorney, Mr. Bigelow, of the firm of Gould & Wilkie, and showed him a subpoena making the same 26 demands that had been recorded that morning in our office.

It was because of the existence of this subpoena, and the fact that it might be served at any moment, that we permitted your agents to go through our files and books of account with reference to the points that had been enumerated—but with the distinct understanding that we questioned your right to ask the names of purchasers of books, literature, and those aiding in their publication. We had a gentleman's agreement with your agents that if they stumbled onto such names, there would be no record taken and no disclosure until we had agreed to yield them, because, we asserted, that "in our publishing activities we were under the protection of the first and fourth articles of the Bill of Rights."

It is wholly inaccurate, as stated in the report to Congress, that this short subpoena dated May 25 was issued in consequence of our complaint in court. Your agent was in New York City on May 25, holding two subpoenas against me—the original, long subpoena and the short subpoena dated that same day, May 25, the very day on which we filed complaint in Washington, so that even this second subpoena could not, as was related to Congress, have been issued in consequence of our complaint.

Quite the reverse is true. We yielded hundreds of letters and other documents, and gave access to our books because of the long, original subpoena presented to our attorneys on May 8—and it was because of this outstanding subpoena that we filed complaint in the Washington court, 17 days after your first subpoena had been presented.

However, after filing our complaint in Washington, I agreed to accept service of subpoena in New York late on the afternoon of May 26. When your counsel, Benedict Fitzgerald, Jr., arrived, he first served the long or original subpoena. I said:

But we have voluntarily given you 95 percent of all that you ask for in this subpoena.

He then withdrew it and handed me the short subpoena, dated May 25, calling for my appearance on June 6.

But now to the major point. Both to Congress and to the public you have presented a twisted account of our publishing activities, mis-

representing them as a source of funds for other activities. You said to Congress that the discussion turned on—

Whether the Committee for Constitutional Government, which is registered under the Lobbying Act as a lobbying organization, enjoys immunity under the Constitution from being required to reveal the names of individuals or corporations which furnish it funds through the purchase of books or other literature in large quantity orders.

On Monday, June 5, the day before my appearance before your committee, the American Federation of Labor provided you, in national hook-up, over Mutual Broadcasting System, the radio time to attack me. You said:

We know that the Committee for Constitutional Government has been deliberately withholding the names of its financial backers in the reports it files under the Lobbying Act. Rumely's outfit has adopted a phony sales dodge to make it appear as if it doesn't receive any contributions of over \$500. Under the lobby law, only those who give \$500 or more per year need be named as contributors.

In repeated interviews with the press, you kept stating that you were endeavoring to find out about "Rumely's financial angels." Thus, before my appearance even, in press and on radio, across the country, you prejudiced my case, just as, over the radio, the evening before my appearance, you prejudged the case by labeling our book publishing as "a phony sales dodge."

Now, let me tell you the facts. In 1938, after we had mobilized the Nation to help defeat President Roosevelt's court-packing bill and his one-man-rule reorganization bill, and the first attempt to put into effect the \$100,000,000 monthly Keynesian spending program, the trustees of our committee asked:

Why are the American people who, under the Constitution, have had for more than 160 years the highest scale of living, better housing, more food, greater freedom in their civil, religious, and personal lives than any people in history ever enjoyed, so ready to accept dangerous panaceas undermining constitutional free enterprise?

Investigation showed that more than 8,000,000 high-school students were being educated over the Rugg textbooks, which misrepresented our Constitution as the device of rich men to protect their property. We tried, in Rochester, N. Y., where we had the support of the press and radio, to dislodge this dangerous book from the public schools. It cost far too much effort and money to be carried through on a national scale. Our investigation showed lack of appreciation of the Constitution by citizens, and lack of proper instruction in our public schools on the constitutional principles of freedom, the chief sources of difficulty.

Our committee, therefore, decided to seek out the best book on the Constitution and to undertake its wide placement in homes and in schools as the basis for instruction. We found that the late Hon. James M. Beck, former Solicitor General, acting for the American Bar Association, had reported that the best book available for indoctrinating youth and adults in the fundamentals of our form of government was Thomas James Norton's *The Constitution of the United States; Its Sources and Application*. We also found that despite the excellence of this book and the high standing of its two previous publishers, it had reached a circulation of only some scores of thousands.

Al Smith said:

Our Constitution is the civil bible of Americans, and, like the Bible itself, should be in every home.

Six to eight million copies of the Bible are distributed annually in the United States. We analyzed the reasons why the Bible has such vast distribution and the best available book on the Constitution such limited distribution. We found that the Bible was generally purchased by organizations and individuals to present to youth and others. In 1938 and 1939, we worked out a plan to have this book distributed to the high-school students in public and parochial schools of Rochester, and then made the basis of competitive quiz contests with substantial prizes to the winners. Then tested in Hartford, we took the plan to Texas where, beginning with Dallas and Houston, tens of thousands of students of high-school age, in public and parochial schools, white and colored, received copies of the book and competed for war-bond prizes and a top prize of a university scholarship of \$1,000.

Parents, teachers, civic leaders, judges, presidents of universities participated in the final ceremonies. A new wave of interest in the Constitution spread through these communities, and, in some, citizens thus inspired 10 years ago, have annually distributed 1,000 or more copies to succeeding graduating classes.

We then modified the plan to solicit funds to present copies, upon their request, to the heads of schools, colleges and universities, with the understanding that they would present the books, with the sanction of alma mater, to the enrolled students or graduates. Here are a few of the hundreds of schools and universities that distributed hundreds of thousands of copies of the Norton book on the Constitution: Duquesne (3,000); Great Neck High School, New York (1,750); Bemidji State Teachers College, Minnesota (1,200); Fordham University (10,000); University of Nevada (1,000); Mississippi State College for Women (1,625); Yale (2,200); University of Notre Dame (3,500); Harding College, Arkansas (4,500); American Legion, Minnesota (1,000). And here are a few sentences from enthusiastic participants:

Enclosed is a newspaper clipping which shows the background we gave to the presentation of these books * * * a real contribution to citizenship. * * *

B. L. PARKINSON,
President, Mississippi State College for Women.

Your association is doing a remarkable service to our country and to its institutions by its efforts to make known and to circularize * * * The Constitution of the United States * * * one of the very finest things written on the subject, both scholarly and readable. * * *

EDWARD J. WHELAN, S. J.,
President, Loyola University of Los Angeles.

We plan to use these books in connection with our Citizenship Institute during the year 1947-48. This contribution toward the effectiveness of the institute * * * is greatly appreciated.

R. D. WELLON,
President, Pembroke State College, North Carolina.

May we assure you again that we feel this project is most worth while, and we sincerely hope that it will spread throughout all the educational institutions in our country.

JOSEPH T. CONEN,
*Secretary, Curriculum Research,
 Parochial Schools, Archdiocese of Detroit.*

The Legion has asked for and received thousands of copies of this book, for which we solicited support, and toward which it was often necessary to apply contributions coming into the committee's general funds in average amounts of \$15 to \$20. During the war, one generous Texan (a retired businessman) paid for, and, with the cooperation of Admiral Nimitz, distributed some thousands of copies of the Constitution book to the sailors at sea, on naval vessels.

This patriotic undertaking, to distribute the best available book on the Constitution, was begun by us in 1938. You, Mr. Buchanan, have the audacity to tell both the Congress and the whole Nation that this was "a phony sales dodge" to circumvent the Lobbying Act passed in 1946, 8 years later.

When former Congressman Samuel B. Pettengill (Democrat, Indiana, 1930-38) left Congress, he prepared, with an assistant supplied by our committee, his great book *Jefferson the Forgotten Man*, distributed by our committee to 68,000 in 1938. In 1940, he wrote *Smoke Screen* which we distributed to 450,000, and upon the basis of which John R. McCarl for 17 years Comptroller General of the United States, issued his plea to "Send strong men to Congress, who will hold the Nation's interest high above the demands of any self-seeking minority pressure groups." 450,000 copies of *Smoke Screen* were distributed in 5 months.

Pettengill's third book, *For Americans Only*, produced with the aid of Professor Bartholomew of Notre Dame, had a circulation of more than 400,000 copies; a total of more than 1,000,000 copies of these three Pettengill books between 1938 and the end of 1944. Anyone who knows the magnitude of this achievement will realize how utterly unfounded and misrepresentative of the facts is your statement that our book-publishing is "a phony sales dodge."

Finally, in November 1949, we acquired the right to publish a low-cost edition of *The Road Ahead*. In 5 months, more than 600,000 copies have been distributed. Socialist-minded labor monopolists dislike this book because it shows the disaster that British labor-union labor leaders have brought to the English people and how we, in the United States, are being pushed down the fateful road to socialism by the socialist-minded leaders of labor monopolies. It is easy to understand why they wish the distribution of this book curtailed.

But, so long as our committee can operate under the protection of the first article of the Bill of Rights, neither you nor the labor monopolists can stop the distribution of this book to millions more, until it has turned the mass mind of America against serfdom to the state, just as Uncle Tom's Cabin brought about a revulsion against human slavery.

While all the bookstores in the Nation distributed less than 100,000 copies of *The Road Ahead* in a 12-month period, we have placed more than 600,000 copies in 6 months, a phenomenal achievement in the history of book distribution. Ask any informed publisher. Yet, you call this operation "a phony sales dodge."

Last year, we had 22,000 orders for books, averaging \$15 each—80 percent for 1 to 10 copies, a small number for larger quantities. One great surgeon in the West, head of a medical clinic, who knows first-hand how socialized medicine impairs the care for the patient and undermines research and the medical profession, bought 5,000 copies, personally; wrote a letter of commendation about the book to his present and former patients and offered each a free copy, if they would send in the post card mailed with the letter. Isn't it his right to so distribute a book in which he is interested? Why should we tell you his name?

In Florida, a surgeon distributed 1,000 copies which, with other initiative, caused the distribution of tens of thousands of copies in Florida, and the distribution of 150,000 of the Reader's Digest condensation. What right have you to demand publication of their names.

In another city, a great surgeon bought 1,100 copies, distributed them and resisted domination of the city council and board of education by the bosses of labor monopolies. They had called upon him and demanded that he cease such activities under penalty of having the shop stewards pass a resolution boycotting him as a surgeon. He told them to go ahead and try—and then he went to work himself to carry his message and convictions about constitutional free enterprise from city to city. Why should we tell you his name, possibly to use in another broadcast paid for by the bosses of labor monopolies?

If we are within our rights in publishing the book, and they are within their rights in buying it, why should we be asked to reveal their names and expose them to the pressure of the labor bosses or the smear of left-wingers?

We sell our books at a price so low that it requires substantial investment of our general funds. We presented 50,000 copies of *The Road Ahead* to our top list to start interest in the book quickly. The copies sold brought an average price of 51 cents and entailed a loss of about \$36,000, or 6 cents a copy on the first 600,000 copies. Had we priced the book at 75 cents, we might have sold 200,000 or 300,000 and made a profit, but our low 50-cent price helped greatly to increase the volume.

You are completely wrong in your assumption that the sale of books is a device of the committee to secure funds for propaganda, and it is a misrepresentation of fact when you tell the country and the Congress that this operation is "a phony sales dodge."

We have published and/or distributed other books, such as: Robert Hunter's *Revolution*, describing the processes by which the modern dictators overthrew free governments; Edgar Queeny's *The Spirit of Enterprise*; Henry Wriston's *Challenge to Freedom*, and the Biography of Frank Gannett, a total of approximately 2,500,000 educational books—a monumental publishing feat.

I omitted *Labor Monopolies or Freedom*. It is in that list. It is included in that 2,500,000.

It is evident from the books and literature that we publish that we are endeavoring to uphold constitutional freedom and the American way of life. Our books and literature speak for themselves.

In our publishing activities, we are under the protection of the first amendment, which says: "Congress shall make no law * * *

abridging the freedom of speech or of the press * * *." How can you, the chairman of a committee of Congress, violating the basic law of the land, run roughshod through the first amendment into an area where the whole of Congress is powerless to act? The freedom that you would destroy is basic to all freedoms.

Let me quote for you the statement of Kenneth E. Olson, dean of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University, in his introduction to Frank Hughes' great new book, *Prejudice and the Press*—a restatement of the principle of freedom of the press:

The American press is probably the best in the world. Certainly it is the freest; its technical facilities are the best and, thanks to the competition engendered under our free-enterprise system, it provides its readers with more information about what goes on in our local communities, in the State, the Nation, and the world than the press of any other nation is able to give.

One of the great advantages of the American way is that every shade of opinion has a chance to be heard. With our thousands of newspapers, magazines, radio programs, pamphlets, books, periodicals of every kind, every American has the opportunity to get both sides of every story. That is a precious privilege which the people of many other lands do not enjoy. It is a right which belongs to the American people by virtue of the constitutional guaranty embodied in the first amendment. What many Americans forget is that it is one of the most fundamental of all rights, the one which safeguards all their other rights. It is a right which belongs to the whole people; editors and publishers are but the trustees of that right.

Editor & Publisher, in its editorial of June 10, 1950, says:

The Committee for Constitutional Government has availed itself of the right to use a printing press to print books on issues confronting the people just as other groups have done in the century and a half of our existence as a nation. The 100 corporations and many individuals have availed themselves of the right to hire the use of a press and the services of someone else to print and distribute their views.

The current investigation of the House committee is an invasion of the guaranteed right of the American people to own, hire, or use a printing press without interference.

If you persist in demanding these names of purchasers, I cannot do otherwise than refuse. If you cite me for contempt and Congress confirms the citation, I shall again have to stand trial, as I did before, when the jury decided we were within our constitutional rights in upholding a philosophy of government—and brought in a verdict of acquittal.

In this case, a far more basic constitutional issue is involved, in your committee's attempted violation of our rights under the first and fourth amendments.

I, therefore, respectfully beg that this select committee of the United States Congress will carefully consider the facts and data readily available to them, and seriously weigh the vital constitutional issues involved before pressing further for the particular information as to the names of the purchasers of our books and literature, for which I was originally subpoenaed before this committee.

Now, if you want to know anything about our methods of operation, I will be glad to tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; we are ready to proceed now into that phase of it.

Mr. HALLECK. I might say, Mr. Chairman, at this point, since this controversy has arisen, I have discovered that a lot of folks out in my district have bought numerous of these books and distributed them. I don't know whether they would have any particular objection to

their names being disclosed, but I do know, of my own knowledge, of many such small purchases.

Mr. RUMELY. Very many people have written, hundreds have written, and said, "We don't mind—put our names into the thing." But, if we cave in, when they try to violate a basic constitutional right, who else will stand up and fight? We are doing it as a matter of principle.

Ed Hutton said, "I don't mind telling the committee I bought \$5,000 worth." I said, "You shouldn't have answered that; it wasn't the business of the man." I said, "You should have told him to go to hell."

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may we go ahead?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. FitzGerald.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, what is your full name?

Mr. RUMELY. Edward A. Rumely, R-u-m-e-l-y.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, where do you reside?

Mr. RUMELY. I have one home in La Porte, and one in New York.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The street address in La Porte?

Mr. RUMELY. 211 Rose Street, La Porte, Ind.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In New York City?

Mr. RUMELY. 2 East Eighty-sixth.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is your connection with the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. I am the executive secretary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. At one time, were you not the general manager?

Mr. RUMELY. Well, I think at one time they voted that name. I never used it. It was never printed. I didn't like it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You didn't like it?

Mr. RUMELY. I am executive secretary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You are executive secretary? In that capacity, you are the administrative head of the outfit?

Mr. RUMELY. Carrying out the policies of the board of trustees; yes.

Mr. ALBERT. Could counsel speak a little louder?

The CHAIRMAN. Use the microphone.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How long have you held that position?

Mr. RUMELY. Since the committee was founded; since the predecessor committee was founded.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As executive secretary, your name appears on all the stationery, I suppose?

Mr. RUMELY. It does not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Why doesn't it?

Mr. RUMELY. Because the trustees and officers are the ones who deserve credit for the policies of the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you do most of the work there?

Mr. RUMELY. That is what I am paid to do.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And your name isn't on the correspondence?

Mr. RUMELY. It was, for a time, and people thought I was in private business, so I took it off.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When was that?

Mr. RUMELY. A couple of years ago.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And did the trustees suggest that to you?

Mr. RUMELY. No; they did not. My name was on the door as public-relations counsel.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now it is off?

Mr. RUMELY. Then people wanted to hire me, and I didn't want to be hired; so I said, "Take the name off of the door."

Mr. FITZGERALD. You have contended that the Committee for Constitutional Government is an eleemosynary corporation—

Mr. RUMELY. It certainly is.

Mr. FITZGERALD (continuing). Organized under the laws of the District of Columbia?

Mr. RUMELY. It is.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is the exhibit that I show you now the certificate of incorporation? [Handing document to the witness.]

(The document referred to above is as follows:)

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

(Under the laws of the District of Columbia)

We, the undersigned, being all of full age and citizens of the United States and a majority of whom are citizens of the District of Columbia, desiring to form a corporation pursuant to and in conformity with title 5, chapter 5, of the Code of the District of Columbia, do hereby certify:

First: The name of the corporation shall be Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

Second: The corporation shall have perpetual existence.

Third: The particular business and objects of the corporation shall be:

(a) To uphold constitutional government and the system of free enterprise, with equal opportunity for all, which the Constitution establishes, by nonpartisan educational efforts reaching citizens throughout the United States regardless of their political affiliations.

(b) In pursuance of and not in limitation of the general powers conferred by law, and the objects and purposes herein set forth, it is expressly provided that this corporation shall also have the following powers:

(c) To do all such acts as are necessary or convenient to attain the objects and purposes herein set forth, to the same extent and as fully as any natural person could or might do, and as are not forbidden by law or by this certificate of incorporation or by the bylaws of this corporation.

(d) To purchase, lease, hold, receive by gift, devise or bequest, sell, borrow, mortgage, or otherwise acquire or dispose of such real or personal property as may be necessary to the purposes of this corporation.

(e) This is an educational, nonprofit, eleemosynary corporation. No member or trustee shall ever derive any income or profit from its operations, other than compensation for services rendered. It is intended that the corporation shall be conducted so as to be entitled to receive any and all tax benefits or exemptions, Federal or State, which from time to time may by law be granted to educational eleemosynary corporations, or to persons, firms, or corporations making contributions, gifts or bequests thereto.

(f) To have office and promote and carry on its objects and purposes, within or without the District of Columbia, and in the States, Territories, or colonies of the United States and in foreign countries.

(g) To have all powers that may be conferred upon corporations formed under title 5, chapter 5, of the Code of the District of Columbia.

Fourth: The property of the officers, trustees, and members of this corporation shall not be subject to or chargeable with the payment of corporate debts or obligations.

Fifth: The board of trustees shall have power to make bylaws for the government of the corporation and to alter, change or amend the same.

Sixth: The principal office of this corporation in the District of Columbia shall be located at 558 Munsey Building, 1320 E Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Seventh: The meetings of the trustees of this corporation may be held in the District of Columbia, or elsewhere within the confines of the United States or its possessions.

Eighth: The number of the trustees of this corporation for its first year of existence shall be nine.

Witness our hands and seals this 5th day of March 1941.

Mr. RUMELY. I think it is; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that an accurate copy?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. One moment—I will give you one of ours, which I know is an accurate copy. Let me have a look at it. You got this from our office—yes; all right; that is a copy of it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The certificate of incorporation of the Committee for Constitutional Government states, among other things:

* * * that the corporation shall be conducted so as to be entitled to receive any and all tax benefits and exemptions, Federal or State, which from time to time may by law be granted to educational eleemosynary corporations, or to persons, firms, or corporations making contributions, gifts, or bequests thereto.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In 1936 and 1937, the National Committee To Uphold Constitutional Government was formed; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. 1937, on the date of the Roosevelt-announced Court packing.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What connection did that have with the present organization, your organization?

Mr. RUMELY. At the end of a period of time, it was found that the name, "National Committee To Uphold Constitutional Government" was a pretty long name to lug along; and, second, the trustees decided that they could operate better under an incorporated than under an unincorporated committee. Then we asked all members to suggest names, and the name that was most widely suggested was, "Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc."

Mr. FITZGERALD. So, basically, it is just a change in name?

Mr. RUMELY. It is the same outfit.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where are the principal offices of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.?

Mr. RUMELY. The principal offices are 205 East Forty-second Street, and in the—

Mr. FITZGERALD. New York?

Mr. RUMELY. New York City; and in the offices of the various trustees. Mr. R. B. Dresser is a lawyer up at Providence. He does work in that office and sends us the fruits of his work.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is the address of that gentleman, Mr. R. B. Dresser, the address of the Republican National Committee?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is his office, too?

Mr. RUMELY. His office in Providence, R. I. It is one of the old law firms in that area.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who is Mr. R. B. Dresser, again? He is a trustee of your committee?

Mr. HALLECK. He is the Republican national committeeman?

Mr. RUMELY. He is the Republican national committeeman, a trustee of the Committee for Constitutional Government, and he writes a great deal on taxes.

Mr. HALLECK. It certainly wouldn't be considered a reflection on Mr. Dresser, that he is the Republican national committeeman. I don't know whether it is pertinent to our inquiry or not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was wondering whether its offices were his.

Mr. RUMELY. No. Mr. Gannett has 18 newspapers—he has not been well recently, but—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Let's get back to the offices of the committee. Will you describe the offices of the committee at 205 East Forty-second Street? What kind of a lay-out do you have there?

Mr. RUMELY. We have a long mail room in the basement, out of which—

Mr. FITZGERALD. How long is it?

Mr. RUMELY. It is longer than this room, and about two-thirds as wide. It is about one-and-a-half as long.

Mr. FITZGERALD. One hundred yards, a block?

Mr. RUMELY. No; a block isn't that long. It is about 60 yards.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It runs the whole block?

Mr. RUMELY. A half block.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And that is on the first floor?

Mr. RUMELY. That is on the ground floor. We have all kinds of printed matter in reserve to send out; to send out when we need it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where are the executive offices?

Mr. RUMELY. The executive offices are on the third floor. We have more space than when you were there.

The CHAIRMAN. Business is picking up?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that on account of my visit?

Mr. RUMELY. You knocked down our book sales about 25,000 between April and May.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You don't blame me, do you, doctor?

The CHAIRMAN. I notice your collections for 1950 are way up.

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Buchanan did that, by his early publicity and radio programs; but we got publicity out of it that we couldn't have bought for a couple of hundred thousand dollars. So I hope we recover our book sales shortly.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Getting back to the physical structure, how many rooms do you have in your executive suite?

Mr. RUMELY. One minute—we have two, three, four, about six rooms.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And how many employees?

Mr. RUMELY. That varies; it depends on what we are doing—around 60 or 70.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Seventy employees?

Mr. RUMELY. About 70 employees.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is this [indicating] a fair picture of this mailing room that you have described?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. It is a little disorderly, but it is the mailing room.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you describe what can be seen in the picture?

Mr. RUMELY. You see cartons of printed matter as they come in, and—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Come in from where?

Mr. RUMELY. From the printers.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see. Any particular printer?

Mr. RUMELY. You see a few mail bags with some franked releases in them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is this a fair picture of the mail room?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. There are more mail bags. We try to keep them on hand not too long.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like to offer this in evidence.

(The photograph above referred to is as follows:)



Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, as executive secretary, Doctor Rumely, what is your salary?

Mr. RUMELY. Well, my salary is an expense allowance, about four-hundred-some a month and, depending on the volume, it amounts to \$25,000 a year, about.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Your salary?

Mr. RUMELY. Total salary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. About \$25,000 a year?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. It is one-fourth of what I earned in business before I went to the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to at this time show you the 3-page exhibit which I showed you earlier this morning, which purports to be the minutes of a directors' meeting signed by Willford I. King, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. RUMELY. It isn't a minute—

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is a memorandum, signed by Willford I. King, describing the activation of a foundation to place the committee in a safer position from a tax viewpoint.

Mr. RUMELY. It is a personal memorandum.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the date of that memorandum?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know the date.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What approximate date?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would it be 1947 or '48?

Mr. RUMELY. Let me look at it. One moment. That was filed before—one moment—prior to January 1, 1947, and is not part of the period covered by this committee's investigation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And this exhibit that I introduced into the record earlier, this reflects what your salary is, doesn't it

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know.

(Excerpt from minutes of directors meeting signed by Willford I. King:)

Revision and finalizing of Dr. Rumely's salary had been referred to this committee by the trustees at their last meeting. After discussion of the original financial arrangement with Dr. Rumely, his subsequent voluntary cut in salary, and waiving of payments due him in 1944, 1945, and 1946, averaging \$2,700 each year, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that in future Dr. Rumely be paid as follows:

A weekly salary of \$208.

A commission of 8 percent on amounts collected in excess of \$8,333 up to \$15,000 per month; and 4 percent¹ of the amount in excess of \$15,000 per month in excess of \$15,000 up; in case in any month the income falls under \$8,333, a deduction equal to 8 percent of the difference between the actual income and \$8,333 shall be subtracted in calculating the commission.

A weekly expense payment of \$96.50;

furthermore, that an increase of \$25 per week be made in Glen Hancock's salary.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was voted adjourned, at 2:30 p. m.

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman*.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Let me read this to you—maybe I can refresh your memory. This exhibit says that you were to be paid a weekly salary of \$208, plus a commission of 8 percent on amounts collected in excess of \$8,333.

The CHAIRMAN. What is counsel attempting to establish here?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am trying to establish the fact that the doctor's salary fluctuates, and depends upon the sale of books; he has a sort of contingent arrangement here, contingent upon—

Mr. RUMELY. That was cut down to 4 percent.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that not right, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. It is cut down to 4 percent—yet, it is. They didn't feel they could pay me the salary that I was worth, unless they had volume; so I said, "All right; I will take a small amount, and if I can succeed in building the business to a large volume, why, you pay me proportionately."

Mr. FITZGERALD. This reads:

A commission of 8 percent on amounts collected * * *

Mr. RUMELY. That has been changed. It is 4 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. May we move on, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. FITZGERALD. You are one of the trustees, are you not?

Mr. RUMELY. I am not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who are the trustees? There are 13 in number, are there not?

The CHAIRMAN. Are there 13 trustees?

Mr. RUMELY. I will get it; trustees are: Dresser—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Robert B. Dresser?

Mr. RUMELY. Robert B. Dresser, of Providence; Lamar Fleming, of Houston, Tex.; Harvey C. Fruehauf, of Detroit, Mich.; Frank Gannett, of Rochester, N. Y.; Sumner Gerard, of New York City—Sumner has been treasurer since the committee was organized; Gal-

¹ This reduction, from 8 percent to 4 percent, was suggested by Dr. Rumely.

laher, 81-year-old, very successful businessman in Connecticut; Willford I. King; former Senator E. H. Moore, of Oklahoma; O. A. Taylor, New York City, public-relations man; Louis J. Taber, for many years the head of the National Grange; Fred H. Sexauer, a leader in the farm organizations.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who is Mr. Fruehauf?

Mr. RUMELY. Harvey Fruehauf is the founder and builder of the Fruehauf Trailer Co. which gives employment to about 30,000 people.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you concluded?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you have Willford I. King?

Mr. RUMELY. Willford I. King; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Mr. Rumely, you registered as a lobbyist—did you not—for this organization, on October 7, 1946?

Mr. RUMELY. Under protest, we did.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Listing your salary as \$208 per week plus commissions and expenses at \$96.50 per week?

Mr. RUMELY. Expenses, \$96.50.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. I think so. The auditor fills that out.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You never did report what your commissions were; did you?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know. The net amounts paid are in there.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This is the first time this contingent arrangement has ever been out?

Mr. RUMELY. How do you mean?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The first time you have ever discussed it, either in your form or to this committee?

Mr. RUMELY. We filled out those forms accurately, to the best of our ability.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you indicate, on the quarterly report filed with the Government, the legislation that you supported or opposed?

Mr. RUMELY. No.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You have consistently taken the stand that you are not employed to support any legislation whatsoever?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; that is right, and—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Doctor—

Mr. HALLECK. Does the witness want to amplify that, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; I would. Doctor King wrote, with the first report:

The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., regards itself as strictly an educational organization. It attempts to teach the public sound economics and the principles of constitutional government. Its position almost exactly parallels that of the economics department of a college or university. Professors of economics not only teach their students economic principles but also, as citizens, exercise their rights to advocate legislation which will further the application of sound economic principles in such a way as to improve the welfare of the people of the Nation.

Thus, most economists have habitually advocated repeal of tariffs and other restrictions on trade. Not infrequently, groups of economists have banded together and signed petitions to Congress, requesting the repeal of laws which they have believed to be inimical to the interests of the people of the Nation. They have also frequently petitioned Congress to enact legislation which they considered beneficial to the public.

Similarly, the Constitution for Constitutional Government, Inc., has exercised its right to petition Congress for the enactment of or the repeal of legislation. Such action has not been taken to further the interests of the committee but has always been taken in an endeavor to benefit the public at large, and such action has constituted but an incidental part—and not a substantial part—of the committee's activities.

We therefore submit—

1. That the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., is just as truly an educational organization as is the typical department of economics of a leading university in the United States, and should be classed by the Government as being in such a category; and

2. That the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act is in violation of the Constitution of the United States and is, therefore, void and of no effect.¹

For these two reasons, we submit that the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., is not under any legal obligation to file reports under said act, and we request a ruling on this question for our guidance in the future. However, for safety, we now submit, under protest, a report in duplicate.

That is Doctor King's statement.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Dr. Rumely, your associates in the offices, and trustees of the Committee for Constitutional Government, are not as modest as you appear to be; they have frequently indicated that the Committee for Constitutional Government has been active, legislative-wise; have they not?

Mr. RUMELY. Oh, we fought the Court bill, the Court-packing bill, as probably no other organization.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have here—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Dr. Rumely, do you have a summary list of the legislative items you favored and opposed, for quick identification?

Mr. RUMELY. I haven't a list.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have one, Mr. Chairman, that I intend to put in at the appropriate time.

The CHAIRMAN. Prepared by the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right. Something that they subscribe to. It wasn't prepared by them, but it was prepared by a publishing house. I hope to identify that at the proper time. I don't have it in front of me.

The CHAIRMAN. All of them, of course, on pertinent legislative matters?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Dealing with national policy?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Exactly.

If we may go on to discuss this question that I just put to Mr. Rumely, about the activities. I have here a letter, under date of February 26, 1948, from Sumner Gerard, to Mr. Henry B. Bass, of Enid, Okla., in which Mr. Gerard makes some reference to the activity of the committee for the past 10 years. He refers to the fact that the committee has many "scalps." I wonder what is meant by that?

Mr. RUMELY. Many what?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Many "scalps."

Mr. HALLECK. Let's have the letter read, if we can.

¹ Reasons why the committee takes this position are given in the accompanying memorandum prepared by Thomas James Norton, a leading authority on the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. FITZGERALD [reading]:

FEBRUARY 26, 1948.

HENRY B. BASS, Esq.,
Bagg Building, Enid, Okla.

DEAR HENRY BASS: Yes, I am the very same Sumner Gerard who fought with you as a fellow soldier-boy in the Ninth Training Battery in the great battle of Camp Zachary Taylor.

This answers the inquiry in your recent letter to my colleague, Dr. Edward A. Rumely. Evidently you are one of the supporters of the Committee for Constitutional Government. Unlike most of those groups that flourish for a while like the green bay tree and then fade out of sight, our committee has been functioning for over 10 years, and we have many scalps in our belt. Twice have we been before congressional investigating committees who sought to learn how it is we manage to survive. We even licked them there and refused to give them the names of our supporters. We thought there was a constitutional question involved.

If ever I get to Oklahoma or if ever you come to New York, let us have a reunion and recount old times insofar as we can remember them.

With warm regards,
Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD.

"We have many scalps in our belt"—what does that mean?

MR. RUMELY. I don't know; Gerard talks in picturesque language.

MR. HALLECK. They did beat the Court-packing plan, and I was happy to join in that, myself; I certainly make no apology for it.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you take credit for defeating Senator Pepper in Florida, and Senator Graham in North Carolina, also?

MR. RUMELY. We do not; but the people that we have inspired over the years distributed a whale of a lot of the Road Ahead.

THE CHAIRMAN. How many, would you estimate, copies of the Road Ahead were distributed in North Carolina?

MR. RUMELY. I can't tell you, but I know that some friends of the committee down there bought about 60,000 of the condensation and put them into rural mail boxes; and some of Graham's friends said that it was with a wicked intent that that was done.

MR. FITZGERALD. I am not discussing the philosophy of these things. I am merely trying to show your success in the lobbying field. In line with that inquiry, I think we ought to put in evidence, at this point, a letter under date of October 1948, from one of your trustees, Mr. Fruehauf, Harvey C. Fruehauf, of Detroit Mich.—which is what I had reference to about 3 minutes ago.

MR. FRUEHAUF in this letter is attempting to solicit contributions for the Committee for Constitutional Government, and in this letter of solicitation he includes a planographed statement in page form from the Congressional Quarterly, which shows the batting average of the leading lobbyists.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do we have a photostat?

MR. FITZGERALD. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. Let's have it.

MR. HALLECK. Are we putting it in the record?

MR. O'HARA. Are these letters on the stationery of the committee or are they individual letters of people who happen to be trustees?

MR. FITZGERALD. We will give you copies. This particular letter is on the stationery of the Fruehauf Trailer Co., but it is a letter soliciting funds for the Committee for Constitutional Government, and it does point out what I mentioned.

Would you like to see this, Mr. O'Hara?

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to understand—I have no inclination to interfere with counsel's line of questioning—but I do think that, as a member of the committee, I ought to know, and that the committee as a whole ought to know, just what we are getting at. Is it contended that there has been violation of the requirements of the act in respect to reporting by this organization?

Mr. FITZGERALD. All I can say, Mr. Halleck, is that the exhibits speak for themselves. I am attempting here to show the technique, and the fact that they have been an effective lobby organization, as evidenced by the trustee, Mr. Harvey Fruehauf's letter, which was sent out by the thousands, indicating the fact that he, as a trustee, regarded the Committee for Constitutional Government as a very effective lobbying organization and which was not as modest as the remarks that Mr. Rumely mentioned a little earlier.

Mr. HALLECK. I happen to know Mr. Fruehauf quite well, but my interest in raising this question at this time is not, certainly, a personal one. Whether or not the lobbying is effective, I don't know, Mr. Chairman, whether that helps us very much. Maybe it does.

The CHAIRMAN. All through the hearings, of course, we have introduced into the record similar exhibits showing efforts to obtain contributions or funds for the effective functioning of any lobby organization. This is not peculiar to your organization, Mr. Rumely. We have done it with all the organizations that we have had before us.

Where did you obtain these, Mr. FitzGerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. These exhibits come directly from the files of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., Mr. Rumely's files.

The CHAIRMAN. And he, of course, freely turned them over to the committee?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes, sir; he freely turned them over. He was notified which particular ones were taken, and he is fully cognizant of the exhibits that we have in our possession, and has been for almost 1 month.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this is the Fruehauf exhibit?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes. This exhibit purports to show the effectiveness of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., as compared to 15 other top-ranking organizations which are carrying on lobbying activities on a national scale.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you have the Gerard exhibit? Let us have it, as members of the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes. We don't have the copies of that particular one, but we have introduced it into evidence.

Mr. RUMELY. Our lobbying consists of going out with a viewpoint to the country, and informing people and letting the people talk to their Members of the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The grass-roots approach?

Mr. RUMELY. It is helping people get the facts on which to do their thinking.

Mr. HALLECK. Of course, Mr. Fruehauf, in his letter here, says:

But 15 years of miseducation of the public have created a situation so critical that it seems to me that all of us should make a special effort to increase the funds available to this second most effective organization. * * *

Personally, I think such an organization deserves the wholehearted support of those believing in our free competitive enterprise system.

Nothing wrong with that, if he believes in it.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing at all.

Mr. HALLECK. As far as "Congressional Quarterly Ranks the Teams", I don't think, as I look at it, I don't think it claims that these organizations persuaded the judgments or brought about the results; it simply is a score on the positions they took and what finally happened. They might not have had a thing to do with the vote taken, or they might have had a lot of effect.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As we go on, we will show they had a great deal to do with the effect of voting in Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The Fruehauf letter will be received into the record. (The letter referred to is as follows:)

FRUEHAUF TRAILER CO.,
Detroit, Mich., October 1948.

You may have seen the attached results of the efforts of 12 lobbying organizations on 10 key issues.

Although I have been following the activities of the Committee for Constitutional Government rather closely for years, I was frankly amazed to find in a newspaper report from Washington that it ranked second only to NAM.

It made me realize again that the size of a budget is not necessarily a measure of the results achieved. You know what NAM spends each year for education. This amount should not be diminished.

But 15 years of miseducation of the public have created a situation so critical that it seems to me that all of us should make a special effort to increase the funds available to this second most effective organization. The Committee for Constitutional Government spends only about one-tenth what NAM spends, and yet it ranks a close second in results.

Personally, I think such an organization deserves the wholehearted support of those believing in our free competitive enterprise system. If we're already contributing to it, we should think about increasing our donations—and, if we're not yet supporting it, we should begin to right away.

I'm suggesting that Sumner Gerard, of the committee, write you and tell you about the great need for action that lies in the critical months ahead.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

HARVEY C. FRUEHAUF, *President*.

(Attachment to above letter.)

HOW THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT RANKS IN EFFECTIVENESS COMPARED WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

[From the St. Louis Star Times of August 25, 1948]

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY RANKS THE "TEAMS" NAM—CHAMPION OF LOBBIES—GROUP UNDEFEATED ON 6 ISSUES WHERE IT TOOK A POSITION—12 ORGANIZATIONS AND 10 KEY BILLS USED IN LISTING

(By Truman Felt, Star-Times Staff Writer)

WASHINGTON.—Undisputed championship among major lobbies on 1948 issues before Congress goes to the National Association of Manufacturers, according to standings announced by Congressional Quarterly, an independent news research organization.

Checking the stand of 12 organizations on 10 key issues with the action of Congress, it found that NAM did not suffer a loss. On the six issues where it took a definite position it won five clear-cut victories and on the other, Federal aid to education, failure of the House to act on the bill passed by the Senate enabled NAM to score a clean sweep.

Lobbies representing business, as Congressional Quarterly classifies them, won the first three places in the major league of pressure groups, with the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange finishing in a tie for fourth.

None of the other lobbies representing labor, veterans and miscellaneous groups, won half of its legislative battles and the lowest of all was the National Farmers Union with only one victory in eight contests.

Organizations are classified as lobbies in this tabulation if they have representatives registered under the Lobbying Act, although their work in influencing legislation may be, and in many cases is, only a relatively minor phase of their activities.

Second place went to the Committee for Constitutional Government, which Congressional Quarterly cites as "one of the top spending lobbies." It went to bat eight times and struck out only once, when it sought to prevent passage of the European recovery program.

In third place, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States lost only on universal military training, which it supported, and the Mundt-Nixon bill, which passed only the House. It took a definite stand on 8 of the 10 issues covered in the tabulation.

The Farm Bureau Federation and National Grange also were reversed only on two issues, tax reduction and aid to education, but their percentage in the won-and-lost column was lower as their position was recorded in only seven contests.

Both the A. F. of L. and CIO took a stand on all ten key issues and won on only three of them. The railway brotherhoods entered only seven legislative contests and had to settle for two victories against five losses.

Veterans' organizations, with one exception, fared even worse than the labor lobbies. The American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars lost four of the five major legislative contests they entered. The American Veterans Committee, with three victories out of nine contests, had the best average in this group. Lowest was the American Veterans of World War II, which had only one victory in six attempts on these issues.

Among miscellaneous groups, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was on the winning side in two of the five major issues on which its stand was recorded. The General Federation of Women's Clubs took a position on only four of the ten key issues and lost on three of these. The League of Women Voters of the United States was on record as to five of the ten key issues and was credited with only one victory.

The 10 issues chosen by Congressional Quarterly for this box score of pressure groups were price control, the Taft-Hillender-Wagner housing bill, the Taft-Hartley Act, universal military training, tax reduction, European aid, Federal aid to education, margarine tax repeal, the civil-rights program, and the Mundt-Nixon bill.

All of the major lobby groups except the Committee for Constitutional Government supported ERP, but there were several strong organizations lined up on opposing sides in each of the other contests.

Where an organization supported a measure that passed only one House, this was counted as a defeat. Where it opposed a measure that passed only one branch it was credited with a victory because the bill did not become law. Where lobbies qualified their stand or took a position on only one part of a program—as the chamber of commerce did in recording its stand only as to a fair employment practices commission in regard to civil-rights legislation—neither victory nor loss was marked.

STANDINGS IN LOBBY LEAGUE

Records of lobbies expressed in terms of baseball league standings for the 1948 season:

	Won	Lost	Percent
National Association of Manufacturers.....	6	0	1.000
Committee for Constitutional Government.....	7	1	.875
United States Chamber of Commerce.....	6	2	.750
Farm Bureau Federation.....	5	2	.714
National Grange.....	5	2	.714
Federal Council of Churches.....	2	3	.400
American Veterans Committee.....	3	6	.333
AFL.....	3	7	.300
CIO.....	3	7	.300
Railway brotherhoods.....	2	5	.286
General Federation of Women's Clubs.....	1	3	.250
League of Women Voters.....	1	4	.200
American Legion.....	1	4	.200
Veterans of Foreign Wars.....	1	4	.200
AMVETS.....	1	5	.167
National Farmers Union.....	1	7	.125

Each of these organizations became interested in some legislative matters not listed in this tabulation, but the Congressional Quarterly tabulation confined itself to the 10 issues which it regarded as best illustrating the clash of opinion and the questions that will be widely debated during the 1948 campaign.

BOTH CIO AND WASHINGTON PRESS WINES AGREE THE COMMITTEE GOT RESULTS FOR WHAT IT SPENT

(From Washington press dispatch as printed in the Chicago Tribune)

Next was the Committee for Constitutional Government, which spent \$244,012 in its campaign to reduce taxes, cut Federal expenses, and repeal the Wagner Labor Relations Act. The Eightieth Congress passed much of what it wanted.

(From the CIO News, official organ of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C., issue of August 9, 1948)

Some \$244,012 was spent during the half-year by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc. The committee asked for lower taxes, lower Government expenses, and repeal of the Wagner Act. It got most of what it asked for.

No one wishes to put his money on a losing horse. By contrast, the Committee for Constitutional Government fights for economic freedom as against encroaching big Government. It strives for lower taxes, for reducing the number of Federal employees by 600,000, for curbing the power of labor monopolies, and for restoring equality before the law to all citizens, and for ending confiscatory upper-bracket taxation, so that industry can obtain more capital to provide better tools, a higher scale of living, and more remunerative jobs for oncoming youth.

It has been effective in opposing socialized education, socialized housing, socialized medicine. It has distributed several million copies of Norton's Constitution of the United States and other important educational books to help in schools and colleges and universities to educate their students and adults concerning the principles of the Constitution and our free-enterprise system.

In view of this record of outstanding success, spending less than one-tenth as much as other major organizations, the committee feels confident that you will wish to do your part by voluntary support so that its result-getting work may be continued and extended.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman*.

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like to put in the record the carbon copy of a letter dated June 16, 1948, from Mr. Willford I. King to Congressman Gwinn, in which Mr. King, treasurer of our organization, Dr. Rumely—

Mr. RUMELY. Chairman.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman of the legislative committee, or chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. Chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In which Mr. Willford I. King, chairman, reports, among other things [reading]:

I hope that our campaign will be successful in blocking this nefarious legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see that particular exhibit.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 10, 1948.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Your speech delivered on June 4, 1948, on public housing—disastrous here and abroad is a splendid piece of work. It is hard to understand how any Member of Congress who either listened to your address or read it could conscientiously thereafter vote for spending billions of public money for housing. I hope that our campaign will be successful in blocking this nefarious legislation.

Cordially yours,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman.*

Mr. DOYLE. While the chairman is viewing that letter, will counsel experiment and see whether if, by getting a little further away from the loudspeaker, he can be heard more clearly.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. That seems to indicate pretty well that they are engaged in lobbying [indicating letter].

Mr. RUMELY. We don't deny that.

Mr. LANHAM. I think you said you registered under protest.

Mr. RUMELY. We don't come down to Congress. We went back to the people and told them what would happen if we got a contingent of our population housed by the power in power. Ninety-five percent would vote to keep the ins in; the housing would be expensive; it would disrupt our free-enterprise system. What we put out was sound information.

Mr. ALBERT. May I ask a question here, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. ALBERT. Does your organization take a positive stand on definite legislative proposals, such as rent control, the Taft-Hartley law, compulsory health, for instance?

Mr. RUMELY. When the Taft-Hartley law was under discussion, we published Labor Monopolies or Freedom, which we distributed—we distributed 250,000 copies. All Members of Congress got a copy. It went to publishers. People who could take opinion that way, and mint it into small coin to distribute to others.

Mr. HALLECK. There certainly was plenty of propaganda on the other side, on the Taft-Hartley Act, including an effort to make everyone who voted for it to appear as a sinister individual.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Maybe I am wasting the committee's time here, but Dr. Rumely, in his opening remarks, said he registered under protest; that he wasn't engaged in lobbying. That is the only reason I bring this out.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that you had in your possession and would introduce in the record at the proper time such things that the Committee for Constitutional Government lobbied for and against. Do you have that in your possession?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is set out in the Fruehauf letter, Mr. Chairman, in the letter from Harvey Fruehauf.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all that you have? I thought you said you had a complete compilation?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have other, but I hadn't planned it for this particular time.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make this statement, for myself: The question is raised as to whether or not the committee

does engage in lobbying, and whether or not the filing under protest is an admission that they are engaged in lobbying. Well, as far as I am concerned, I am not at all sure that, generally speaking, efforts to persuade public opinion in the country come within the purview of the statute; and I don't know, I have reached no conclusion as to whether or not the statute should cover that—possibly it should, although I can envisage many serious questions in trying to write any such requirement that wouldn't run counter to the guarantee of the right of free speech and free press.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I believe Mr. Rumely just testified that they did put on the desks of every Congressman literature which they had prepared, prior to the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law.

Mr. RUMELY. We didn't discuss the Taft-Hartley law. We discussed the principle of labor monopoly. We weren't discussing any specific legislation, but were trying to analyze the impact of union monopoly upon a society; whether it is good, or whether you will get higher production and more wealth if you don't have it.

Mr. ALBERT. The point I make is that you did, or somebody using your literature, did use that as a method of trying to get a labor bill that would suit your point of view; isn't that right?

Mr. RUMELY. One of the Senators from the South told us that 22 of his constituents have written him, sending him a copy of *The Road Ahead*, urging him to read it.

Mr. ALBERT. I have had several write me and send me copies of *The Road Ahead*, and other literature, not only from your organization, but others. But the point I am trying to get at, is this: It seems that, in that instance, at least, you have admitted you have used your literature as a means of persuading Congressmen to your point of view.

Mr. RUMELY. We try to supply the public such sound information that they will come to the right conclusions and uphold the right things.

Mr. ALBERT. Didn't you tell me a minute ago that the book that you wrote, *Labor Monopoly or Freedom*, was placed on the desk of every Member of Congress?

Mr. RUMLEY. I think Mr. Frank Gannett paid for that distribution. Frank Gannett sent a copy to every newspaper man in the United States, because he was impressed with the contents of the book. If I recall right, he included the Congressmen in his personal distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that freely in the past he has made reference to this very controversial phase of the inquiry, as to whether or not indirect lobbying activities, which indirectly influence legislation bearing on the national policy, are in conflict with this question of influencing public opinion. There is a deep canyon between the two, of course, and we do not intend—I know that I speak for the members of the committee as well as myself on this—we are not attempting in any way to interfere with anyone's prerogatives, so far as their attempt to influence public opinion is concerned. We are merely airing, in full inquiry here, this indirect lobbying technique, that is highly controversial, and which sparks these sort-of offside comments back and forth; and it will be very interesting, when we sit down and make recommendations to the proper committee for clarification of the act, if it is possible to clarify.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Rumely, I have here a letter dated April 1950, on the stationery of the Committee for Constitutional Government, addressed to all Members of Congress, on the Taft-Hartley law.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I will ask you to look at that and identify it, and then state if that isn't one of the techniques you used to influence Members of Congress? It is over your own signature. I received it through the mail, the United States mail, from your office.

You identify it, don't you?

Mr. RUMELY. That, certainly, is a letter that we put out.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have hundreds of those letters.

Mr. DOYLE. That is a direct effort on your part to influence the thinking of Members of Congress, is it not?

Mr. RUMELY. Do you want me to read the letter?

Mr. DOYLE. No. I want you to identify it.

Mr. RUMELY. The first sentence:

You—Members of the Congress—all citizens are confronted with an attempt—

Mr. DOYLE. I said, I didn't want you to read it, Mr. Rumely—

Mr. RUMELY (continuing reading):

to usurp the legislative powers wasted exclusively in the Congress. The President's plan—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Rumely, just a minute.

Mr. RUMELY. I was trying to—

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't ask you to make a speech, Mr. Rumely. I asked you to identify that letter.

Mr. RUMELY. It is ours, sure.

Mr. DOYLE. All right. I ask that it be introduced into the record. (The letter above referred to is as follows:)

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
April 1950.

DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: You—Members of the Congress—all citizens are confronted with an attempt to usurp the legislative powers vested exclusively in the Congress. The President's plan is to use the Herbert Hoover report as a "cat's paw" to destroy an important provision of the Taft-Hartley law by turning over its execution to Presidential appointees. Thereby will be restored to the Labor Relations Board the function of prosecutor and judge, a dual power which was seriously abused before the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law.

Here is the background history: The President first tried to prevent the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law by his veto message. It was passed by substantial majorities of both Republicans and Democrats over his veto.

Then, in return for the financial and vote-getting help of the labor-union monopoly leaders, the President obligated himself during the election campaign to do all he could to secure immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. In the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, a bill, prepared in the departments, was presented to the Congress in a most unique way. At the hearings of the subcommittee on this bill no amendments were allowed.

At the hearing when the bill was reported by the subcommittee to the full committee, it was not even read section by section to the full committee. The chairman of the Labor Committee of the House tried to secure a closure rule from the Rules Committee of the House which would have denied to any and every Member of Congress an opportunity to offer any amendment to the Lesinski bill. When this measure came before the Congress on an open rule, Congress defeated it by substituting the Wood bill for it on May 8, 1949. In September 1949 the President stated in a Labor Day address in Pittsburgh, that he planned to "rip the Taft-Hartley Act out of the statute books."

So, having failed in all of these efforts, he now tries through a fraudulent use of the Reorganization Act to do immeasurable injury to the Taft-Hartley Act by restoring investigatory functions to the National Labor Relations Board which had so abused these powers during the 12 years they held them that the Congress had insisted upon depriving the Board of investigating and prosecuting functions.

Please read the statement by Dr. Willford I. King, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., using Herbert Hoover as a cat's paw.

If Congress submits to this usurpation of legislative power granted by the Constitution solely to Congress, it will have permitted another long step toward one-man rule and Executive dictatorship. A constitutional question of the gravest importance is involved. Shall the people through their control of Congress lay down the policies, make and uphold the laws? Or, will the Members of Congress who are trustees for the constitutional rights of all citizens allow these to be undermined and usurped by the Executive, to secure campaign money and votes from labor monopolists?

If you want to protect constitutional government from this insidious attack, you must take action and speak up now. Tell Congress section 12 of the President's recommendations reorganizing the National Labor Relations Board must be voted down.

Sincerely yours,

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
SUMNER GERARD, *Trustee*.

THE JOE BALL WASHINGTON LABOR LETTER

A WEEKLY LETTER OF FACTS, INTERPRETATION, AND PROPHECY ON MATTERS AFFECTING
LABOR RELATIONS

DEAR SIR: It will be little short of a miracle if Reorganization Plan No. 12 is rejected by one House of Congress. Plan No. 12 would abolish the independent general counsel of NLRB and transfer all his functions to the Board or its Chairman, Paul M. Herzog. If it becomes effective, Taft-Hartley would be largely nullified by interpretation. For practical purposes the administration would have won much of its fight for repeal of the act.

Interest in the fight against plan No. 12 has picked up in Congress during the past week, but it is going to be an uphill struggle. Collapse and death of Representative Ralph Church, of Illinois, while testifying against the plan before the House Expenditures Committee helped to dramatize and publicize the issue, but his leadership and vote will be missed sorely.

Senator Taft's vigorous leadership and his strong statement assailing the plan helped in the Senate. But opponents are far from having the 218 House or 49 Senate votes required to defeat it. One House must disapprove it by a constitutional majority by May 12 or it becomes effective. The House will vote first, probably in mid-April.

Highest vote registered by House opponents of Taft-Hartley repeal in 1949 was 217, 1 short of a constitutional majority. The Taft substitute finally passed the Senate with 51 "aye" votes, but on the really crucial test, the national emergency injunction, Taft had only 46 votes with him. That indicates the magnitude of the task ahead.

The Southern Democrat-Republican coalition is the only hope of defeating the plan. If all House Members who supported Taft-Hartley in 1947 can be persuaded to vote against the plan, it can be defeated there. In the Senate, Taft can count on 15 or more southern Democrats to vote against it, but must hold Republican defections to 4 or 5 in order to win. Since some Republicans, like Morse and Ives, are almost certain to favor the plan, its opponents have their work cut out for them.

Taft attacked the plan on four rounds: (1) It is not in accord with the Hoover recommendations; (2) it attempts to reverse by Executive order a basic matter of policy determined recently by Congress; (3) it proposes the same unsound mixing of prosecuting and judicial functions in NLRB which led to "the greatest miscarriage of justice this country has ever seen under the Wagner

Act"; (4) it attempts to use the Hoover Commission report for political purposes * * *.

Yours truly,

JOSEPH H. BALL.

The CHAIRMAN. We can soon conclude today's hearing. It is about 12 o'clock now, and we will resume the hearing at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, if we may have a few moments to bring up some additional exhibits.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I must repeat, I did say that Mr. Rumely's associates, officers, and trustees of the Committee for Constitutional Government, have frequently indicated that the Committee for Constitutional Government has been active legislatively; and, to bear out that question, I want to put in at this time, from Homer Dodge, the Washington representative for the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., under date of May 20, 1949—I wish to read an excerpt from the letter:

This committee doubtless will be called, because of its activities in connection with rent control and political medicine. In general, however, it is expected that the investigating committee will pursue more diligently those regarded as actual lobbyists but unregistered, than those who are regularly registered and do their work in the open.

This has reference, of course, to the Committee for Constitutional Government being called up before the Lobbying Committee for investigation.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. FitzGerald, as I understand it, the Committee for Constitutional Government has registered?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Right.

Mr. HALLECK. They have reported?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Right.

Mr. HALLECK. So, even though they said something about doing it under protest, that could be a misconception, that, probably, would have no bearing upon any violation of the law, because they have registered.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I just wanted to show emphatically that they are engaged in lobbying, as borne out by these documents.

Mr. ALBERT. We are not investigating violations.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

May 20, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The Senate Judiciary Committee is expected to decide Monday to favorably report out the lobby investigation concurrent resolution calling for the creation of a joint committee. Scott Lucas is opposed to the idea of joint committees, feeling that regular standing committees should do the work, but word is supposed to have come from the White House that the investigation should be held. It is expected joint chairmen will be provided, Senator Kilgore and Representative Buchanan. It is probable the investigation will continue or perhaps not even start until after adjournment late in June or early in July.

This committee doubtless will be called because of its activities in connection with rent control and political medicine. In general, however, it is expected that the investigating committee will pursue more diligently those regarded as actual lobbyists, but unregistered, than those who are regularly registered and do their work in the open.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

To Mr. Hancock.
From E. A. Rumely.

MAY 23, 1949.

Pettengill sends me the attached. Please read it, give me your comment and attach your comment to the material and pass it along to Mrs. Pope who will show it to Dr. King.

Noted: GEH.

Noted by W. I. K.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES

Mr. Sabath, from the Committee on Rules, reported a privileged resolution (H. Con. Res. 62, Rept. No. 612), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 62.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois? There was no objection.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there is hereby established a joint congressional committee to be known as the Joint Committee on Lobbying Activities (hereinafter referred to as the committee), which shall be composed of seven Members of the Senate to be appointed by the President of the Senate and seven Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"Sec. 2. A vacancy in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original appointment. The members of the committee shall select a chairman from among their number. The members of the committee shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the committee, other than expenses in connection with meetings of the committee held in the District of Columbia during such times as the Congress is in session.

"Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the committee—

"(1) to make a full and complete investigation of all lobbying activities intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation;

"(2) to make a full and complete investigation of all activities of agencies of the Federal Government intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation;

"(3) to report from time to time to the Senate (or to the Secretary of the Senate if the Senate is not in session) and to the House of Representatives (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of its study and investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

"Sec. 4. The committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall have power to hold hearings and to sit and act at such places and times, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books, papers, documents, and tangible things, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such binding and printing, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee and shall," etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like, also, to put in an exhibit at this point, a letter from Edward A. Rumely to Senator A. Willis Robertson, in regard to the legislative influence that the Committee for Constitutional Government wielded in Washington in regard to the Supreme Court bill. That letter is dated August 17, 1949.

Mr. HALLECK. That antedates, of course, the inquiry here. We go back to the beginning of the Lobby Act of 1946.

(The letter above referred to will be found on p. 75.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene on Wednesday, June 28, 1950, at 10 a. m.)

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1950

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a. m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman), presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Doyle, and Halleck.

Also present: Benedict F. Fitzgerald, Jr., committee counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will resume with Mr. Rumely.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely.

**EDWARD A. RUMELY, ACCOMPANIED BY NEIL BURKINSHAW,
COUNSEL—Resumed**

The CHAIRMAN. As we closed the hearings yesterday, we had pretty well covered the fact that the Committee for Constitutional Government had registered as a lobby organization; and there appeared in the record, on page 312 of our transcript, the charter, or letters of incorporation, of the Committee for Constitutional Government, which illustrate that the Committee for Constitutional Government regards itself as strictly an educational institution; we had closed with the introduction of a letter by Mr. Fitzgerald. We will resume at that point this morning.

Do you have any comment, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, yesterday I introduced a letter dated October 1948, together with an attachment from Harvey C. Fruehauf, member of the board of trustees for the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., in which you said Fruehauf solicited funds for the committee; you recall that letter? (See p. 61.)

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That was sent by Mr. Fruehauf to 17,000 corporation presidents.

Mr. RUMELY. That was sent by Fruehauf—over Fruehauf's name.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you have any idea who prompted Fruehauf to write that letter soliciting funds?

Mr. RUMELY. Fruehauf, as a trustee, knew of our chronic need of funds. It didn't take any soliciting to make it clear to him that it would be helpful.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you have anything to do with it?

Mr. RUMELY. I did; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As a matter of fact, you were the instigator of that letter, weren't you?

Mr. RUMELY. I probably phoned his men and said, "It is time for Fruehauf to write," or I may have written to him.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As a matter of fact, you did write him. May I show you a letter dated November 19, 1948—

Mr. BURKINSHAW. May I ask the chairman to have the record show that there are but two members of the committee present at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This letter of November 19, 1948, which is a carbon copy of a letter taken from your files, signed by you, to Fruehauf, reads, in the first paragraph:

* * * as we are asking you to write to the 17,000 corporation presidents, we asked Ed Hutton to write to 20,000 individuals worth \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 and over.

This is a letter, is it not, that went to Fruehauf to get him to sign that letter of solicitation?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

(The letter dated November 19, 1948, from E. A. Rumely to H. C. Fruehauf is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 19, 1948.

Mr. HARVEY C. FRUEHAUF,

Fruehauf Trailer Co.,

10940 Harper Avenue, Detroit, 32, Mich.

DEAR Mr. FRUEHAUF: As we are asking you to write to the 17,000 corporation presidents, we asked Ed Hutton to write to 20,000 individuals worth \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 and over. Copy of his letter is attached.

Note the postscript. If you care to, you might say:

"This committee is in no way political. If it were, I would not support it. It does not work for the election or defeat of any candidate. But it does try to shield public officials, regardless of party, from the revenge tactics of the rulers of labor monopolies. It distributes to the public nonpartisan, educational material on vital constitutional and free enterprise issues that are under consideration."

I do hope that we can have on Monday your O. K., for your letter is the only good key that we have to open the door to the most important group that we must reach immediately. I am sure that it will build valuable good will for you and for your operations.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, the letter mentions one Edward F. Hutton, 61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y. Is that the gentleman who is the principal partner of E. F. Hutton & Co., one of the largest brokerage houses in New York?

Mr. RUMELY. He is no longer principal partner. He founded the company, and is retired. I think he is a special partner in the firm, and he is not a principal partner.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is he the same Hutton who has been intimate with Merwin K. Hart?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know that he has any relation with him. I don't know Mr. Hart's situation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Incidentally, Mr. Rumely, you have done business with Merwin K. Hart, also, have you not?

Mr. RUMELY. What do you mean by doing business?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, you have sat down with him and discussed Committee for Constitutional Government tactics, have you not?

Mr. RUMELY. I have not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you ever sat down with him?

Mr. RUMELY. He has given dinners occasionally, like the one to Cecil Palmer, which I was very glad to attend.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When was that?

Mr. RUMELY. About a year ago.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And on any other occasion have you had relations with him?

Mr. RUMELY. Occasionally, he has a distinguished man, and gives people a chance to attend a meeting.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And on any other occasion have you not sat down with him to discuss the committee business?

Mr. RUMELY. I have not discussed the committee's business with him.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you ever sit down with him to discuss the possibility of forming an over-all steering committee under which a number of various organizations, which are now operating, such as your organization, would operate, trying to coordinate their activities?

Mr. RUMELY. Once there was a dinner——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Your answer is "Yes"?

Mr. RUMELY. No. I am just——

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is not? What is your answer, "Yes" or "No"?

The CHAIRMAN. Let him answer the question.

Mr. RUMELY. I can't answer "Yes" or "No." Once a group of people were invited to a dinner, and the men represented various organizations, and that idea was put forth, and I took no stock in it whatever, and believed it not feasible. When you say, "Did you sit down?", you imply that we are in cooperation; we are not. This organization is wholly independent. It is an accident that two of our trustees are also trustees in his organization; but that doesn't signify anything. So, if you are trying to tie the two organizations together, you are on the wrong track.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the purpose of counsel's interrogation?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The purpose of my interrogation is to show that Merwin K. Hart and Mr. Rumely have sat down on numerous occasions in an attempt to organize a steering committee under which both——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have documentary evidence to that effect?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's have it.

Mr. RUMELY. That isn't a fact. You are trying to prove what isn't true.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have documentary evidence to that effect?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have here a letter under date of February 2, 1949, from Mr. R. A. Hummel, to Merwin K. Hart, in which he indicates that a steering committee is contemplated; and also a letter dated February 4, 1949, from Merwin K. Hart to Mr. Hummel, of the Lone Star Cement Corp, reading:

Ed Rumely lunched with me yesterday, and we discussed the matter about which I had spoken to you. I am going to see if I cannot get something going along these lines.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just a conversation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Both of these letters were attached, taken from the files of Merwin K. Hart; at this time I would like to offer them in the record. A study of these two letters will show that such a matter as I have described was contemplated.

Mr. RUMELY. Not by us.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no objection to putting them in the record, but it certainly doesn't establish any working arrangement between these two organizations, the fact that two men sat down together, had lunch, and discussed something.

(The letters above-referred to are as follows:)

LONE STAR CEMENT CORP.,
New York 17, N. Y., February 2, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your idea of extending some real effort toward unification—or at least cooperation under a steering committee of a number of the various organizations which are now operating and trying in their different ways to preserve what we like to call the American freedom—would, if you are able to carry it through, be a ten strike.

I am enclosing herewith a list of a number of organizations which, in addition to your own, I am now or have from time to time in the past been tangled up with.

Great economy and much better results could be arrived at if real cooperation could be obtained. There are unquestionably several others, and possibly all could not be included, but certainly a great many could cooperate.

I wish you the best of luck in your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

R. A. HUMMEL,
President.

P. S.—I am enclosing an add for a book *Ordeal by Planning*, by John Jewkes, which I have not yet read but understand is most interesting. I suppose I am just calling your attention to something with which you are already familiar.

R. A. H.

FEBRUARY 4, 1940.

Mr. R. A. HUMMEL,
Lone Star Cement Corp.,
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

DEAR MR. HUMMEL: Thank you for letter of February 2.

Ed Rumely lunch with me yesterday, and we discussed the matter about which I had spoken to you. I am going to see if I cannot get something going along these lines.

We know John Jewkes' *Ordeal by Planning*. It was reviewed in the Economic Council Review of Books for October, copy of which I enclose.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

Enclosure.

Mr. FITZGERALD. By cross-examination I believe that could be established, but at your request we will pass on.

Yesterday, Mr. Rumely, there was some development along the lines that you had discussed the Committee for Constitutional Government's prominence in the field of legislative activity; is that correct?

Mr. RUMELY. I didn't understand.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read the question.

(Question read.)

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; you had certain records that showed the committee influence.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you admit that you have discussed the committee's prominence in the field of legislative activity?

The CHAIRMAN. He admits that he has been in the lobbying field, without question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Then, in connection with that, I would like to offer the letter dated August 17, 1949, which is a letter from you, Mr. Rumely, to Senator A. W. Robertson.

Mr. RUMELY. Senator Robertson.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Senator A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In regard to legislative influence and specifically in regard to the Supreme Court bill; is that not right?

Mr. RUMELY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. FITZGERALD. August 17, 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you let us have a copy of it?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am sorry, we don't have a copy here.

Mr. RUMELY. Here is one (handing document to the chairman.)

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

August 17, 1949.

The Honorable A. WILLIS ROBERTSON,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR ROBERTSON: The record being made by your subcommittee is an excellent one. It should be made a permanent document, universally available.

One suggestion is that copies be bound and placed in all public libraries and university libraries in the Nation so that the information will be permanently available for local reference.

How many copies can the Government print and make available? What could be done in the Government Printing Office toward having binding done, if necessary, at low cost to be paid by outsiders?

Next, extracts of the most telling sections should be printed separately and widely distributed.

When the fight against the Court-packing bill was on, the Senate Judiciary Committee chairman, Senator O'Mahoney, wrote one of the most effective reports ever made by a congressional committee. You probably recall it. It ended with the hope that no President would ever offer a proposal to any future Congress for the destruction of constitutional safeguard.

The Senate committee distributed 10,000 copies. The Committee for Constitutional Government raised the money and distributed 200,000 copies to the opinion molders of the country. Seldom has any document exerted such far-reaching and profound influence. Up to the distribution of this report, the President claimed he had a clear majority. The wide distribution of this report influenced the press and, together with a telegram to 82,000 in the 11 States where the 12 doubtful Senators were located, it exerted a great influence in bringing about the decision to recommit and kill the President's so-called Court-reform bill.

Labor monopolies are so deeply entrenched that to break up the delusion that they are beneficent and to reveal them for what they are in effect in many instances—antisocial, monopolistic organizations—is going to be a difficult job.

Your committee hearings are a major contribution to the accomplishment of this task. But just as the judiciary report against Court-packing bill had to be distributed widely to exert its full influence, so a major factor in making effective your hearings will be their mass distribution.

Our committee is willing to cooperate in endeavoring to find the resources that will mint the gold in your hearings into small coin to circulate far and wide throughout the Nation, and also to make permanently available in bound form the full report in public libraries, colleges, and, we should like to add, if it were possible, the morgue of all publications, including all dailies, religious, labor, business periodicals, and, in addition, if funds could be found, to each of the 10,000 editorial offices of the weekly newspapers. Rural areas are not dominated by highly organized and heavily financed labor-union organizations as urban centers are, and farmers and small-town businessmen are in many ways disadvantaged. Therefore, much of the support to curb labor monopolies must come from rural areas.

As a first step, we shall give widest possible distribution to the testimony of Dr. Willford I. King, with any supplementary material that he offered, which is the result of his exhaustive research.

Should you, as chairman, order printing and have copies available for distribution, we can use and place to advantage all that can be provided. Also we will consider finding finances to pay the cost of additional printing and binding.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I direct your attention to paragraph 6 thereof, in which you say, among other things:

The wide distribution of this report influenced the press and, together with a telegram to 32,000 in the 11 States where the 12 doubtful Senators were located, it exerted a great influence in bringing about the decision to recommit and kill the President's so-called Court-Reform bill.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right; we are proud of that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, passing on, I want to show you a carbon copy of a letter under date of June 16, 1940, to the Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn, congressman from New York. This letter purports to have been drawn by Willford I. King, chairman of your organization.

Is that not his letter?

Mr. RUMELY. That is his letter.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And I direct your attention to paragraph 2 thereof. It says:

It was fine of you to go along with us to see J. Howard Pew. He is certainly a very able and public-spirited gentleman. I believe your presence was extremely beneficial.

Is that Mr. J. Howard Pew, from Pennsylvania?

Mr. RUMELY. It is.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And he is one of your contributors, Mr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. He has bought books; and I am not going to give you information on that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You refuse to answer that question?

Mr. RUMELY. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Passing on—

THE CHAIRMAN. Let's see that letter, Mr. Counsel.

(A document was passed to the Chairman.)

Mr. RUMELY. It was understood that you gentlemen wouldn't take the names of contributors out of the files.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That was your understanding.

Mr. RUMELY. It was the understanding on which I let the investigators in. He is not a contributor. He has bought books. I will make no statement as to that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You refuse to answer that question?

Mr. RUMELY. Within this period, yes; and that wasn't.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 16, 1940.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: The argument which you present in your June 15 release, dealing with Federal aid for and control of education, is very convincing. I do not see how it could be put up in a more effective way.

It was fine of you to go along with us to see J. Howard Pew. He is certainly a very able and public-spirited gentleman. I believe your presence was extremely beneficial.

Here's hoping that your meeting with the National Property Owners' Association at Indiana was highly successful. If you could not interest them it would be difficult to find anyone who could.

Cordially yours,

WILLFORD I. KING.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, the legislative work that you carried on included sending telegrams to Members of Congress, did it not?

Mr. RUMELY. The legislative work—you mean, in the Court fight?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read the question.

(Question read.)

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know which legislative work you refer to. If it refers to the Supreme Court situation, we sent 32,000 telegrams into the 11 doubtful States, saying, "Five Senators hold the vote that will decide the fate of the Court-packing bill; your Senator is one of them; what he does will depend on what you and others in his home State say to him quickly."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, is that the point of interrogation?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to what legislative matters?

Mr. FITZGERALD. As a matter of fact, on many matters of legislative points, you carried on a telegram campaign with Members of Congress, did you not?

Mr. RUMELY. Occasionally.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Your answer is "Yes," is it not?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; occasionally.

Mr. FITZGERALD. "Yes; occasionally."

Now, let me show you this exhibit, from Willford I. King, chairman of your organization, with regard to the medical bill. Is this not a telegram—it is dated January 12, 1950, signed Willford I. King, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government, addressed to the Honorable Adolph J. Sabath, and other members of the Rules Committee—is this not a telegram sent by Willford I. King, and does it not say, among other things?—

We urge you to delay giving a rule to any bill dealing with the extension of Federal aid to or control of medical care.

Is that a telegram from your files?

Mr. RUMELY. That is a telegram from our files.

Mr. FITZGERALD. So you did—

Mr. RUMELY. We sent it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does that refresh your memory on any other bills that you conducted a telegraphic campaign on, to Members of the Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. Telegraphic campaign?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Right.

Mr. RUMELY. It doesn't, but we possibly did, if you give me material that shows it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You don't remember?

Mr. RUMELY. We are moving fast, and I can't remember. I can search out the facts, if you want them.

(The telegrams referred to are as follows:)

Day letter to following names, all at House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:	
Hon. Adolph J. Sabath	Hon. John McSweeney
Hon. E. E. Cox	Hon. James J. Delaney
Hon. Howard W. Smith	Hon. Leo E. Allen
Hon. William M. Colmer	Hon. Clarence J. Brown
Hon. Ray J. Madden	Hon. James W. Wadsworth
Hon. John E. Lyle, Jr.	Hon. Christian A. Herter

JANUARY 12, 1950.

We urge you to delay giving a rule to any bill dealing with the extension of Federal aid to or control of medical care. There will be available in a few weeks in book form a report on the most exhaustive study ever made of compulsory medical care in England and the various European countries showing the effect of government intervention upon the quality of medical care for the patient and the degradation of the standards and effectiveness of the medical profession.

This historic study furnishes the background for appraising the probable effects of such legislation now before your Rules Committee and Congress for action. It will be available in less than 6 weeks and copies will be supplied to the Members of Congress immediately.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman*.

Above telegram sent day before meeting scheduled for 10 a. m. Following telegram received after meeting:

WASHINGTON, D. C.

EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government;

Action on medical bill indefinitely postponed.

HOMER DODGE.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will show you an undated telegram from your committee to congressional committee leaders, in regard to the wage increase in the steel industry. Do you remember that telegram going out? It is signed by the Committee for Constitutional Government. It says, at the top: "Copy of night letter sent to congressional committee leaders."

Paragraph 3 thereof says:

What Secretary Tobin is doing is based on misuse of existing law. He is holding hearings under the Walsh-Healey Act and jacking up minimum wage rates to inflationary levels.

You anticipate a change in the legislative system so that you can cure that; is that not correct?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right; we sent that telegram.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I offer that in evidence.

(The document above referred to is as follows:)

COPY OF NIGHT LETTER SENT TO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE LEADERS

Your constituents will have to pay for another round of harmful wage increases in excess of the national total available spending power if you do not stop it.

While the President is forcing the steel industry to assent to political "fact finding" to justify a fourth round of wage increases, the same objective is being reached in part, and by indirection, through his Secretary of Labor.

What Secretary Tobin is doing is based on misuse of existing law. He is holding hearings under the Walsh-Healey Act and jacking up minimum wage rates to inflationary levels. While his rulings affect only the minimum wage rates which Government contractors must pay, those rates inevitably affect all other industries.

The minimum wage just fixed for the woolen textile industry, which was already in serious difficulties, is \$1.05 an hour. The Tobin hearings are expected to set a minimum of close to \$1.20 an hour for steel, and possibly higher for aircraft.

This is being done by the executive branch while the legislative branch is debating whether to raise the government-dictated minimum wage as high as 60 or 75 cents an hour.

And this mad dance of wage increases and unemployment goes on in the face of tested, indisputable economic proof that taking money from employers' expendable funds and giving it to employees cannot, and does not, add one penny to total purchasing power. It only sounds good. It's smooth as snake oil for the labor monopolists to sell to their followers and to other misinformed people.

We protest this senseless procedure because neither the manufacturers and suppliers who must deal with Government nor the subordinates in Government service who have to carry out the Executive's policies are in a position to protest, much less resist. Unless Congress stops it, taxpayers will have Government costs and their own costs needlessly increased. And the will of Congress, which has the power to legislate minimum wage rates, will continue to be thwarted.

The political debts of a labor-dominated administration to labor monopolists were more than repaid, at taxpayers' expense, by acceding to their extortionate wartime demands and enforcing them, in scores of cases, by plant seizures.

Public interest would be served by a thorough overhauling of the practices in the executive department by which existing labor law is avoided and the Walsh-Healey Act is used to achieve objectives not in the public interest.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, I have another telegram here, dated June 4, 1947, from your committee, addressed to Mrs. Clifford Hood, 2741 Chesterton Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
(The telegram above referred to is as follows.)

JUNE 4, 1947.

Mrs. CLIFFORD HOOD,
Cleveland, Ohio:

Our Constitution makes it the duty of the Congress, particularly of the House, to formulate tax policy. Pending bill partly relieves 48,000,000 of oppressive wartime taxation and helps release venture capital upon which new jobs and higher scale of living for all depend. It should not be opposed or vetoed, sacrificing national interest for party advantage. With our huge war debt burden, the Harry Hopkins viewpoint, "tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect," with the aid of 2,300,000 vote-corralling bureaucrats, is a betrayal of the Nation's best interest. President Truman should be urged to sign the bill for the good of all. The Executive should not invade the prerogative of Congress to determine tax policy, for only so long as the people's elected Representatives control the purse strings can we remain free. You may reproduce and distribute copies of this telegram.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

In that one, you attempt to effectuate legislation with regard to the tax policy; is that not accurate?

Mr. RUMELY. What is that?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read the question.

(Question read.)

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Your answer is "Yes"?

Mr. RUMELY. My answer is "Yes."

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that will be made part of the record.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would also like to insert in the record at this point a telegram dated June 28, 1949, from the CCG to Congressman Fred L. Crawford with regard to housing legislation.

(The telegram above referred to is as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1949.

Hon. FRED L. CRAWFORD,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Enactment of housing bill, H. R. 4009, will be America's longest step into socialism costing \$15,000,000,000 to \$18,000,000,000 during 47 years. It makes Federal Government landlord of 6,500,000 citizens. This means local political district leaders will allocate living space to faithful in NKVD American plan. Their vote and those of 2,000,000 Federal jobholders' families can perpetuate party in power. Jobholders' and tenants' families vote 90 percent that way.

Thus bureaucratic machine makes it impossible for free voters to control their own Government. Millions are awakening to dangers of encroaching welfare state as pointed out by Hon. James F. Byrnes. Housing by Federal Government

issue will not die for millions of fighters for freedom and their friends will never forget how you vote on this bill. If enacted they and all Americans who want to save our form of government will make the demand for its repeal a future basic issue.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, you have also arranged dinners, have you not, for Members of Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. What is that?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read the question, please.

(Question read.)

Mr. RUMELY. Not recently, but years ago we did. The most recent one was about 2 years ago, when we brought down General Disque, Brigadier General Disque, and had him meet some of the Members of Congress. Disque felt that we were allowing time to run out against us on Russia, and had some very incisive ideas that we thought might be of importance. We invited about 18 Members of the House and Senate to hear General Disque. There was no legislation involved. It was just the viewpoint of an experienced Army officer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Your answer is "Yes," then?

Mr. BURKINSHAW. May the witness be allowed to complete his answer, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is it "Yes" or "No"?

Mr. RUMELY. My answer is "Yes."

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is all I wanted.

Mr. RUMELY. We were not legislating. We were trying to bring important information to Members of Congress. Congressman Dorne—

Mr. FITZGERALD. When was this dinner?

Mr. RUMELY. A couple of years ago.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That would be 1949?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't remember. I can't give you the exact date.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where was that dinner?

Mr. RUMELY. In one of the hotels here in the—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Washington?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you ever have other dinners similar to that?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't think—

Mr. FITZGERALD. For Members of Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't think, within this period—but when we were running the committee for the Nation, and were working with the Roosevelt administration, we gave dinners every 3 or 4 weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. None within the past few years?

Mr. RUMELY. That goes back years.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In 1947, in April thereof, did you not plan a dinner for Members of Congress in connection with the labor bill?

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. FITZGERALD. 1947.

Mr. RUMELY. Let me see—I don't recall. If you can refresh my mind, I will be glad to tell you.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see.

I have here a letter which I would like to introduce into the record. It is marked "Confidential." It is a letter from Homer Dodge, Washington representative for the Committee for Constitutional Gov-

ernment, Inc., to Mr. E. A. Rumely, in regard to a Statler dinner; and it is dated April 14, 1947.

Would you please read the first paragraph of the letter and tell me if that is from your files?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; that is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you read the the first paragraph into the record?

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

I have telegraphed you stating that all interested parties here are agreed that the committee dinner should be postponed until just before the legislation in which it is interested is about to come before the Senate.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What does that refer to—what legislation does that refer to?

The CHAIRMAN. The Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. RUMELY. The Taft-Hartley Act; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Continue.

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

After an extended interview, Representative Hartley told Mr. Mark Jones that he cannot get members to attend on Thursday but can a week or so later when, as he said, the meeting would be effective.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who is Mark Jones?

Mr. RUMELY. Mark Jones is a public-relations man.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where?

The CHAIRMAN. For the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. No; no. Independent. He was outside of the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Not an employee of the organization?

Mr. RUMELY. Not an employee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you continue, please.

Mr. RUMELY. Do you want the whole letter read?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Continue reading.

Mr. HALLECK. Let's read the whole thing.

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

* * * but can a week or so later when, as he said, the meeting would be effective.

That is all that relates to that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Continue reading—read the whole letter, as Mr. Halleck has requested.

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

Here is a matter of considerable difficulty. Aled Davies says that Dr. King has made a number of enemies in the Middle West because of some of his statements, particularly in his Chicago address. Aled says flatly that he could not ask Representative Halleck to attend if Dr. King were to speak or even attend. I recognize this is a somewhat embarrassing difficulty but, as matters now stand, it seems insuperable.

Aled thinks that Mr. Pettengill, rather than Dr. King, should take the foreground with, of course, yourself, Senator Moore and Representative Guinn. Aled says it would be a mistake to have Senator Ball as a sponsor. For him to appear in an important role would harm the committee.

Mark Jones and Guy Woodward feel that a smaller group would be far more effective, basing their judgment on experience of such gatherings. A small group makes an effective nucleus for leadership to be asserted later; a larger gathering is just another Washington party.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who is Aled Davies?

Mr. RUMELY. Aled Davies is a chap, our former Washington representative, who handled the committee's work during the Court-packing fight, and the reorganization fight.

Mr. HALLECK. And did very well with it, too, didn't he?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. He merited the confidence of Republicans and Democrats.

Mr. HALLECK. May I see that letter?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is the Dr. King referred to here the Dr. Willford I. King?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's have that letter up here.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will pass the letter dated April 14, 1947, to you, Mr. Chairman. It has an attachment to it that I want to identify. It is a letter dated April 15, 1947, signed by Edward A. Rumley, and is to Homer Dodge.

That is attached to the letter that I pass over to you now.

(The letter was passed to the chairman.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now——

Mr. HALLECK. Wait just a minute, until I take a look at this.

Mr. RUMELY. Doctor King appeared before the House Education and Labor Committee with the most exhaustive mass of data showing that unionization had not lifted the share of labor in the total output. There was no evidence as exhaustive as King's evidence. You can find it in the record of the hearings. What we wished to do at this dinner was, with charts and tables, have King present, personally, this information in more detail, and open himself to questioning on what he had brought out in that testimony.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: Was Mr. King on your payroll?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he compensated for that work?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; he was.

Mr. DOYLE. Is he now on your payroll?

Mr. RUMELY. He is.

Mr. DOYLE. What is his salary?

Mr. RUMELY. I can't tell you exactly, but——

Mr. DOYLE. Approximately?

Mr. RUMELY. \$8,000 or \$9,000 a year.

Dr. DOYLE. In addition, does he have an expense account?

Mr. RUMELY. He doesn't, except when he makes a trip, which would be very rarely—maybe a few hundred dollars.

Mr. DOYLE. I have in my hand the book entitled, "The Right Way to Provide Security against Illness and Old Age."

Mr. RUMELY. That is a study of his.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he paid for writing that?

Mr. RUMELY. As part of his regular job.

Mr. DOYLE. That was included in his regular salary?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. He puts a large part of his time in on committee work.

Mr. DOYLE. Is he still economics professor in New York University?

Mr. RUMELY. Emeritus; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Does he regularly teach classes there?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know. He did up to a short time ago. I don't know if he does now.

Mr. DOYLE. Any other—

Mr. RUMELY. He is a board of trustees member.

Mr. DOYLE. Do any other members of your board of trustees get an annual salary?

Mr. RUMELY. No; no member gets anything as a member, but when a man puts in time, as Dr. King does, the major portion of his time—

Mr. DOYLE. Do any other members of your board of trustees get paid anything for anything?

Mr. RUMELY. No; I think not. I think Dr. King is the only member.

Mr. DOYLE. I want you to think for just a minute. I am asking you very positively on that.

Mr. RUMELY. Just a minute.

Sexauer puts in some time in the farm area, and gives us special advice; and he gets a few hundred dollars a month.

Mr. DOYLE. How much a month?

Mr. RUMELY. \$260 a month.

Mr. DOYLE. And an expense account?

Mr. RUMELY. No; no expense account.

(The letters dated April 14 and 15, 1947, are as follows:)

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
April 14, 1947.

(Confidential.)

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have telegraphed you, stating that all interested parties here are agreed that the committee dinner should be postponed until just before the legislation in which it is interested is about to come before the Senate. After an extended interview, Representative Hartley told Mr. Mark Jones that he cannot get Members to attend on Thursday but can a week or so later when, as he said, the meeting would be effective.

Here is a matter of considerable difficulty. Aled Davies says that Dr. King has made a number of enemies in the Middle West because of some of his statements, particularly in his Chicago address. Aled says flatly that he could not ask Representative Halleck to attend if Dr. King were to speak or even attend. I recognize this is a somewhat embarrassing difficulty but, as matters now stand, it seems insuperable.

Aled thinks that Mr. Pettengill, rather than Dr. King, should take the foreground with, of course, Senator Moore, and Representative Gwinn. Aled says it would be a mistake to have Senator Ball as a sponsor. For him to appear in an important role would harm the committee.

Mark Jones and Guy Woodward feel that a smaller group would be far more effective, basing their judgment on experience of such gatherings. A small group makes an effective nucleus for leadership to be asserted later; a large gathering is just another Washington party.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

APRIL 15, 1947.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: I have your confidential letter. I have written Aled as per the attached.

It would be a very embarrassing thing to attempt to rule out the chairman of the committee because somebody had taken umbrage, probably because of mis-

understanding of something said in a lecture or some reply to a question. This is the first I have heard of it and therefore cannot imagine what it is.

We need, if we can get them, 12 farm leaders because we want to project the thought of the speakers into those circles.

We can omit the thought of Senator Ball as a sponsor. Senator Moore, Representative Gwinn, would be excellent. It might be that Ingalls could pull in 6 or 10 important Senators if his cooperation, desirable for many reasons, can be assured and does not raise other questions.

Pettengill is a good friend of Joe Martin's and can invite him.

It is important that we gain the maximum amount of time for preparation of the next meeting, which must include reservation of the Pan-American room or of some other equally desirable space.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If I may continue on with the dinner question—this is with regard to direct lobbying with Members of Congress—I want to introduce at this time an exhibit dated April 7, 1947, from Edward A. Rumely, to Ralph W. Gwinn, Congressman, with regard to the Washington dinner at the Statler.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you want to point out?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to point out, emphatically, that there is direct lobbying going on on the part of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. He admits that.

Mr. HALLECK. They have registered. What difference does it make?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yesterday there was some discussion about registering under protest.

Mr. HALLECK. Suppose they did register under protest—suppose the protest is proper or improper—what difference does it make?

Mr. FITZGERALD. He made considerable ado about the fact that he hasn't—

The CHAIRMAN. You have established that; he has admitted that.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, let's not lose sight of our objective here; our objective is to get the facts of all of the ways and means by which these registered lobbyists operate. Now, clearly, the fact that he has registered is not the material fact. We want to know how every one of these concerns operate, and this step, which our counsel is undertaking to show, is one of the techniques used. In other words, telegrams, telephone calls, letters—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Dinners.

Mr. DOYLE. Dinners—all of these are important steps. I think that counsel is clearly correct in showing these various steps as part of the technique.

The CHAIRMAN. He has established that fact. Anything else?

Mr. FITZGERALD. In connection with that, I would like to enter a series of letters on the Statler dinner.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they relate to? Other invitations?

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that I have a chance to look at them. I may want to object to them; maybe not.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you pass them up, Mr. Counsel?

(Some documents were passed to the chairman.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like to show you, Mr. Chairman, and pass this letter up to you, and, for the purpose of identification, it is from Homer Dodge, the Washington representative, to Dr. Edward A. Rumely, dated the 24th of April 1947; and so that you will know what letter it is, because it is included in a series of five other ex-

hibits—telegrams and letters—and they are affixed together, I want to read the first paragraph of the letter dated April 24, 1947 from Homer Dodge to E. A. Rumely. (Reading:)

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Since making sure of the reservation for April 30, I have talked again with both Mark Jones and Guy Woodward and they are getting together in selection of the guest list with an idea of having a few convinced individuals as leaders, a few doubtful ones who are wavering, and the remainder those who must be brought over.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is done by all groups, Mr. Counsel. Past hearings brought to light the fact that groups, on both sides, proponents of legislation and opponents of legislation sponsored by the administration, have invited Members of Congress to attend these affairs.

MR. FITZGERALD. It is also important, Mr. Chairman, to point out here that that dinner was planned for one night, but then, when the legislation didn't proceed through the House of Representatives with sufficient speed, it was continued until another date; so that the ammunition would not be wasted—and that is a direct quote from the letter.

MR. HALLECK. Granted that is all true, Mr. FitzGerald, what difference does it make?

MR. FITZGERALD. It is a technique.

MR. HALLECK. I have no recollection of whether I went to any such dinner—I don't think I did—

MR. RUMELY. It never came off.

MR. HALLECK. If they did have one, what difference does it make? Mr. Chairman, if we are going to inquire into every dinner that any organization had, that was engaged in lobbying, we will be here all summer.

MR. FITZGERALD. Mr. Halleck, it isn't my intention to look into any other dinners of this organization, but this particular dinner, there is a reference to bringing together those who must be "brought over."

MR. HALLECK. Did you say, "brought over," or "bought"?

MR. FITZGERALD. "Brought over."

MR. HALLECK. Obviously, if anyone is in the lobbying business, they would want to bring somebody over. You make a big point of the fact that the dinner was postponed. Mr. Rumely said it never came off. For the life of me, I can't see where that adds anything to this inquiry.

MR. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation: I think it adds this—it adds, for our specific information, the technique by which this lobbying organization obtains the attendance of Members of Congress at such dinners at this.

In other words, writing Members of Congress to personally invite other Members of Congress to attend such a dinner. That is lobbying technique.

I think it is very important that the country know how this committee, as well as other committees, obtains the attendance of Members of Congress, who wouldn't otherwise come, in many cases.

THE CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been to any CIO dinners, Mr. Doyle?

MR. DOYLE. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. So have I.

Mr. Doyle. We accept invitations to them. I am not objecting to the acceptance.

The CHAIRMAN. They may not feed us as well.

Mr. Doyle. I am not objecting to the acceptance of the invitation. I am just pointing out that it is a technique that is also used by this lobbying organization. I don't criticize them for doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

(The letters of April 7 and 24, 1947, and the five other telegrams, letters, and ledgers from The Hotel Statler above referred to, are as follows:)

APRIL 7, 1947.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GWINN: We have reserved the Pan-American room at the Statler Hotel for Thursday evening, April 17.

We should like to invite a group of Members from the House, 20 to 30, 10 to 12 Senators, a dozen farm leaders for a dinner and informal, off-the-record discussion.

The dinner can be sponsored by the Committee for Constitutional Government, or we can have the invitations go out from individuals. It would be easier to handle in the name of the Committee for Constitutional Government. But if that raises any question, the invitation can go out in the name of individuals.

Could you and Mr. Hartley do the inviting for the lower House, except for a few like Representative Grant who is a friend of Pettengill's and whom Pettengill would wish to invite personally. I hope we can get a good representation of national farm leaders to the meeting. Many farmers are being adversely affected by labor monopolies.

Pettengill, Dr. W. I. King, or John W. Scoville would be available as speakers. If there were somebody who knew intimately the record before the Labor Committee and could present it, place might be found.

What would you think of having a farm leader present the farmer's viewpoint on labor monopolies?

When this meeting was planned, it was thought that the introduction of the bill in the House would go over to the 21st so that the meeting would precede discussion. It may be that, in the light of the fact that the House will be in the midst of its discussion of the bill, the timing of this meeting, in your opinion, will be too late. In that event, I should like to know at once so that we could call the meeting off.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Alon Davis asks if he can be of any assistance with your invitation list. He has influence with such men as Styles Bridges, Charles Halleck, and others. He suggests that if you have prepared a list, he probably would be able to insure the attendance of certain of them. He had expected to return before Thursday but believes that he can arrange to stay over if he can be of use.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

APRIL 12, 1947.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
Washington, D. C.

My DEAR HOMER: We have definitely decided to go ahead with the meeting. We shall endeavor to have Mr. Ralph Gwinn and other Congressmen as sponsors for the House and two Senators to sponsor for the Senate.

Question: Should we include former Congressman S. B. Pettongill as one of the sponsors?

We shall get the invitations out by wire on Monday to the farm leaders.

Attached hereto copy of a note to Guy Woodward, which is self-explanatory. He will have this on his desk on Monday morning.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 14, 1947.

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York

Moore, Hartley, Mark Jones, Davies, Guy Woodward, and others agree it is imperative to postpone dinner to end of next week. Hartley and Moore unable to muster guests for Thursday and believe ammunition would be wasted. They will advise when legislation is about to come before Senate, which would be strategic time for meeting.

HOMER DODGE.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
Washington, D. C., April 17, 1947.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Mark Jones expects to see Chairman Hartley tomorrow morning to learn if Thursday or Friday of next week is acceptable. He said that Mr. Gwinn thinks the Senators present would be glad to have the Representatives discuss the legislative experience they have just been through in handling the labor bill.

Guy Woodward thinks next Friday evening would be the best date if that is practicable and that Senator Moore will have his people present. He says the general legislative situation will be exactly right for the conference at that time. As soon as I hear from Mr. Jones tomorrow, I will make arrangements with the Statler.

For the envelope carrying Dr. Smith's labor speech, I selected the first sentence of the last paragraph. Dr. Smith is a doctor of medicine and founder of the Frederick C. Smith Clinic at Marion, Ohio.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 24, 1947.

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York:

Statler reservation made for dinner April 30.

HOMER DODGE.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
April 24, 1947.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Since making sure of the reservation for April 30, I have talked again with both Mark Jones and Guy Woodward and they are getting together in selection of the guest list with an idea of having a few convinced individuals as leaders, a few doubtful ones who are wavering, and the remainder those who must be brought over.

From Mr. Theon, I obtained the suggestions for the arrangements. He said you had gone into no details.

The dinner prices are as follows, plus a standard 10-percent tip addition: Roast chicken, \$4 a cover; breast of capon, \$5; roast turkey, \$4.50; sliced filet of beef, \$5.50; filet mignon, \$6.50. The sliced filet of beef is regarded by many

as the best. A small bar would be set up at the side of the room with prices as follows: Manhattan cocktails, \$20 a gallon; Martinis, same; Scotch, \$8.50 a bottle; Bourbon, \$11 a bottle. Do you want wine served during the meal, flowers on the tables, cigars and cigarettes?

What table arrangement? Do you want a speakers' table as such with several small tables or do you want three or four larger tables? Inasmuch as practically all the guests will be speakers or potential speakers, I would recommend as little difference as possible between the tables.

Can you let me have your instructions on these points as soon as possible. Also, in view of the fact that the Chamber of Commerce is in town next week and that this is the height of the spring tourist season, I suggest that you make reservation for what personal space you desire at once.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

(Receipts of hotel bill while in Washington, D. C.)

Room	Rate	Tax	Tip	Subtotal	Room	Rate	Tax	Tip	Subtotal
1	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	1	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
2	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	2	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
3	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	3	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
4	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	4	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
5	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	5	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
6	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	6	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
7	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	7	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
8	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	8	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
9	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	9	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
10	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	10	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
11	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	11	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
12	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	12	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
13	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	13	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
14	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	14	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
15	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	15	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
16	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	16	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
17	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	17	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
18	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	18	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
19	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	19	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
20	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	20	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
21	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	21	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
22	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	22	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
23	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	23	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00
24	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00	24	18.00	1.00	0.00	19.00

TRANSFER TO CREDIT LEDGER

Check No. _____ OK By _____

Amount \$ _____

Balance \$ _____

29 WEEKLY EDW A BTZ 7 00
 BYC 60473 1/30 205 E 42nd
 C 4478

Stamp	Date	Exploration	Unit (Barrel)	Unit (Cubic Feet)	Relative Cost	Item No.
1	JAN 29-47	RESTN ----	* 1.85	* 1.85		883001
2	JAN 29-47	RODA ----	* 7.00	* 6.85		B * *
3	JAN 29-47	RESTN ----	* 1.00	* 9.85		AN 4612
4	JAN 30-47	FRIDE ----	* 0.05			KV 4812
5	JAN 30-47	FRIDE ---- (CEN)	* 0.05			KV * *
6	JAN 30-47	FRIDE ----		* 9.95	* 0.00	KN 4812
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TRANSFER TO CREDIT LEDGER

Order to: _____
 Address: _____
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Please take my liability for this bill is not waived and shall be held personally liable in the event that the individual, partner, company or association fails to pay for any part of the full amount of this charge.
 Signed: _____
 Printed: _____

29 MARVELY EDWARD A & MRS 609 11 00
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DATE 4/5/83
 PAGE 1
 OF 1

G 81362

DATE	DAY	TIME	NAME	AMOUNT	DATE	DAY	TIME	NAME	AMOUNT	DATE	DAY	TIME	NAME	AMOUNT
1	APR	2 47	FORAS	81.94	1	APR	2 47	FORAS	81.94	1	APR	2 47	FORAS	81.94
2	APR	2 47	SESTN	11.00	2	APR	2 47	SESTN	11.00	2	APR	2 47	SESTN	11.00
3	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.10	3	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.10	3	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.10
4	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.50	4	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.50	4	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.50
5	APR	2 47	SESTN	3.88	5	APR	2 47	SESTN	3.88	5	APR	2 47	SESTN	3.88
6	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.70	6	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.70	6	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.70
7	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.38	7	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.38	7	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.38
8	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.00	8	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.00	8	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.00
9	APR	2 47	SESTN	106.66	9	APR	2 47	SESTN	106.66	9	APR	2 47	SESTN	106.66
10	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.96	10	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.96	10	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.96
11	APR	2 47	SESTN	21.00	11	APR	2 47	SESTN	21.00	11	APR	2 47	SESTN	21.00
12	APR	2 47	SESTN	11.00	12	APR	2 47	SESTN	11.00	12	APR	2 47	SESTN	11.00
13	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.55	13	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.55	13	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.55
14	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.55	14	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.55	14	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.55
15	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.30	15	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.30	15	APR	2 47	SESTN	1.30
16	APR	2 47	SESTN	2.25	16	APR	2 47	SESTN	2.25	16	APR	2 47	SESTN	2.25
17	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.40	17	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.40	17	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.40
18	APR	2 47	SESTN	6.50	18	APR	2 47	SESTN	6.50	18	APR	2 47	SESTN	6.50
19	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.70	19	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.70	19	APR	2 47	SESTN	4.70
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22	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.35	22	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.35	22	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.35
23	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.35	23	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.35	23	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.35
24	APR	2 47	SESTN	26.49	24	APR	2 47	SESTN	26.49	24	APR	2 47	SESTN	26.49
25	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.00	25	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.00	25	APR	2 47	SESTN	0.00

TRANSFER TO CREDIT LEDGER

DATE 4/5/83

AMOUNT 26.49

C.C. No. 721611 ON BY

I agree that the liability for this bill is assumed and exists for the period specified in the contract and the amount is not subject to any other conditions.

Signature: [Signature]

29 RUMELY EDWARD A & MRS 603 11 00		DATE		FROM		TO		C 32094	
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NAME	DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	AMOUNT	AMOUNT	AMOUNT	AMOUNT	AMOUNT	AMOUNT
1	4/5	4/5	205.49	205.49	205.49	205.49	205.49	205.49	205.49
2	4/5	4/5	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50
3	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
4	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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6	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
7	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
8	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
9	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
10	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
11	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
12	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
13	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
14	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
15	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
16	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
17	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
18	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
19	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
20	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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29	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
30	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
31	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
32	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
33	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
34	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
35	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
36	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
37	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
38	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
39	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
40	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
41	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
42	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
43	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
44	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
45	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
46	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
47	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
48	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
49	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
50	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
51	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
52	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
53	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
54	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
55	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
56	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
57	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
58	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
59	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
60	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
61	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
62	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
63	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
64	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
65	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
66	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
67	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
68	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
69	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
70	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
71	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
72	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
73	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
74	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
75	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
76	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
77	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
78	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
79	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
80	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
81	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
82	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
83	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
84	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
85	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
86	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
87	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
88	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
89	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
90	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
91	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
92	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
93	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
94	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
95	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
96	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
97	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
98	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
99	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
100	4/5	4/5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

TRANSFER TO CREDIT LEDGER

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The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Mr. Homer Dodge, the Washington representative, is referred to in this letter under date of April 24, 1947.

Who is Mr. Theon?

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Theon?

Mr. FITZGERALD (spelling). T-h-e-o-n.

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know; I don't recall.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In the letter dated April 12, 1947, which you sent to Mr. Homer Dodge, you say you will endeavor to have sponsors for the House. What do you mean by that? (See p. 86.)

Mr. RUMELY. People who would invite others.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, going to another line of questioning, the principal activity of your committee, Doctor, seems to be in disseminating booklets and pamphlets; is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. About 40 percent of my energy goes into raising money; about 50 percent in spreading the material that the committee puts out, namely, books; and less than 10 percent—I don't think 5 percent of my time and effort, or of the committee's expenditure—goes into taking a stand, as we did recently on rent control.

What did we do? Dr. King made a statistical study to show that the labor unions, and others, due to inflation, had increased their income about 125 percent—

Mr. FITZGERALD. "Yes" or "No" is sufficient.

Mr. RUMELY. Rent has been kept down. We then disseminated that to our 60,000 people. Hundreds of them wrote in, thousands for free copies—hundreds wrote in and bought copies. Some of that went back to Congressmen and—

Mr. DOYLE. Have you answered that question, Dr. Rumley? This is clearly no place where we can listen to long talks, as part of your purported answers to these simple questions.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Otherwise, we will never get you out of here.

I will request, as a member of the committee, that the witness confine his answers to the questions, and not make a speech after each question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Your answer is "Yes"?

Mr. RUMELY. Let me have the question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read the question.

(Question read, as follows:)

Now, going to another line of questioning, the principal activity of your committee, Doctor, seems to be in disseminating booklets and pamphlets; is that not so?

Mr. HALLECK. Didn't he say it was about 40 percent?

Mr. RUMELY. Forty percent in raising money; 60 per cent plus in distributing books; and less than 10 percent, probably less than 5 percent, taking a stand, occasionally, on some particular issue, where we have special information.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Over a 7-year period, isn't it a fair statement to say that you distributed about 82,000,000 booklets, pamphlets, and the like?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And this distribution was at the rate of about 12,000,000 a year?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you used a number of mailing lists in effectuating this distribution; did you not?

Mr. RUMELY. Hundreds of mailings. I can get you the figures.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Hundreds of mailing lists?

Mr. RUMELY. Hundreds of mailings; individual mailings.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see.

Here is a 12-page mailing list, which was taken from your files. On the twelfth page, there is a list of 10,171 millionaires and another list of 8,009 individuals earning \$500,000 to \$1,000,000.

Mr. RUMELY. I am very glad you brought that up—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that one of your lists?

Mr. RUMELY. You have here—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that one of your lists?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. I am glad you brought that up. You have here every type of list. The only thing you emphasize is the list of millionaires.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am going into the others.

Mr. RUMELY. You put that into the news as if we were dealing with millionaires. Of all the lists we have, the least productive is the millionaire list, because nobody is more shy—the only thing more shy than a millionaire is a man with two million; secondly, they have secretaries and, if you write them, your letter doesn't reach them. That is a list that we seldom use. You don't get your money back on it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What do you have it in there for?

Mr. RUMELY. We have it, yes. Sometimes we send a man into a district, and we would like to know who is in that district, and we refer to it; but we have got about 80 other lists. You don't mention those. You put that—

Mr. FITZGERALD. We will put the whole thing in the record.

Mr. RUMELY. You put it into your statement, so that the UP carried a dispatch about your millionaire lists, and didn't mention the other lists.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you like to see this list—12-page list?

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see it.

Mr. HALLECK. Is it to be assumed, Mr. Chairman, that because a man has a million dollars he has no right to take any interest in his Government?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; it is merely a technique.

Mr. HALLECK. It seems to me that was the clear implication of what you have been trying to develop. So far as I am concerned, it doesn't meet with my approval.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you like me to withdraw it from the record?

Mr. HALLECK. No.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to observe that I didn't get that same impression from counsel's question. It is just a matter, again, of showing the technique which is used by a lobbying committee. This is one of the lists they use.

Mr. RUMELY. We bought that list; we spent about \$15,000 compiling a list of 40,000 farm leaders. That list is productive. We get action on it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about the list of members of the clergy?

Mr. RUMELY. That list, we found only the Catholic clergy list is kept up, and we rent that; but found there was no Protestant clergy list that was adequate.

Mr. FITZGERALD. With regard to the Catholic clergy, you only have 161 on there.

Mr. RUMELY. We have the top level. We make a special deal with the Catholic Directory, by which we get, because we advertise in the directory, we get a lower rate, and we rent that list; but the Protestant clergy are not kept by anyone. So we undertook the major job of compiling a list. That list is so good that the publications come to us. We get back a little of our cost by renting the list out. If we have a piece that we think of interest to the clergy, we send it to them.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that a Nation-wide list?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; all denominations.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, it shows, for the Catholic clergy, 161; for the Protestant clergy, 51,973. It is a very complete list. Press-radio-publications, industrial groups, organization groups, farm leaders, labor leaders, and so forth; 10,000 millionaires, and 8,000 of from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000.

Mr. FITZGERALD. With regard to the clergy, you have recognized that the clergy are opinion molders, very important, and you do take the names from that list to which reference has just been made?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; anything that we think will be of interest to them.

(The list above-referred to is as follows:)

Compilation of mailing list

List	Key	Total
1. Supporters and contributors:		
Trustees and advisers (committee).....	A	32
Trustees and advisers (C. & F. E. Found.).....	C.F.E.	12
Trustees and advisers (A. F.).....	TR-AF	16
Contributors, committee.....	C	69,833
Contributors, America's Future.....	C.F.	11,294
Contributors, C. & F. E. Foundation.....	C.F.E.	1,765
Paul Rogers subscribers.....	P.R.	24,519
Fighters for Freedom.....	F.F.F.	33,500
2. Legislative:		
Congress—Business addresses.....	State represented..	527
Congress—Home addresses.....	CHW	237
State legislators.....	SL	7,733
Governors.....	None.	48
3. Judicial:		
Federal courts and judges.....	None.....	304
Texas judges.....	PSC-1-47-A.....	373
4. Press-radio-publications:		
Agricultural newspapers.....	AG	228
Business newspapers.....	RUB	83
Daily newspaper list.....	N	1,713
Weekly newspapers.....	W	8,063
Labor newspapers.....	LAB	97
Medical newspapers.....	MED	91
Religious newspapers.....	REL (partially) ..	320
Periodicals.....	MAG	48
Trade publications.....	T.P.	3,195
Columnists.....	COL	83
Commentators.....	RNC	126
Financial editors.....	FE	129
Washington correspondents.....	WC	163
New syndicates and services.....	NS	39
Public Relations Council.....	PUR-C	194
Radio-station managers.....	RSM	1,775
Radio publications.....	R-B	32
5. Industrial:		
Advertising agencies.....	ADV	2,474
B. B. list.....	BB	1,179
Coal producers.....	COP-2	513
Do.....	COP-1	52
Do.....	COP-1A	50
Presidents of leading corporations.....	X1, X3, X2, X1, X.	16,806
Vice presidents.....	V	5,682
Independent oil producers.....	OP	15,381
NAM directors.....	NAM-D	148
NAM list.....	NAM	1,082
Oil—Heads of companies.....	PSO	102
Pharmaceutical list.....	Various.....	99
Real-estate officers.....	RE	40
Presidents of railroads.....	RR2	465
Presidents of large railroads.....	RR1	81
Southern Pine Association (telegraph list).....	SP ¹ T	211
Southern Pine Association (special list).....	SP ² T	355
Southern Pine Industries.....	Various.....	3,177
6. Organizations:		
Chambers of commerce in United States.....	CH-C	2,490
National Chamber of Commerce.....	NCO	24
Tax Association.....	TFI	36
Dallas Chamber of Commerce.....	D-T	3,700
National Association of Electric Utilities.....	NAE	101
National Industrial Council.....	CIN	380
Sons of the American Revolution.....	SAR	96
Daughters of the American Revolution.....	DAR	148
Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.....	CCO	4,214
7. Clergy:		
Road Catholic clergy.....	CC	161
Protestant clergy lists.....	Various.....	51,073

Compilation of mailing list—Continued

List	Key	Total
8. Farm leaders:		
Farm leaders (National and State) (selected).....	NCFE, AFDF, etc.	486
Farm leaders (State).....	Various	1,622
Farm leaders (National).....	do.	232
Farm leaders (County).....	Y. do.	30,211
Ranch list.....		8,288
9. Labor:		
Labor leaders.....	LL	150
10. Educational:		
Colleges and universities.....	CU, JC, TN	1,446
College and university trustees.....	CT	3,416
Texas school superintendents.....	PSC-1-47-A	171
Economists.....	AE	54
11. Medical:		
Prominent doctors.....	PMD	1,150
State medical doctors.....	SMA	727
Presidents of State medical associations.....		
Committee to confer with Congress.....		
Rosters of executive secretaries of State medical associations and county medical associations.....		320
12. Millionaires:		
Millionaires.....	M	10,171
\$500,000 to \$1,000,000 wealthy individuals.....	M5	8,000

Mr. FITZGERALD. And in connection with that, your comments in that direction are contained in a carbon copy of a letter under date of March 23, from you, Mr. Rumely, to Mr. A. W. Benkert, of New York; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. Let me look at it.

That is right; that is one of my letters.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Much of this material is sent out under some Congressman's frank, is it not?

Mr. RUMELY. I think "American Socialism" went out under Congressman Gwinn's frank to that clergy list.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Many of your other articles go out under similar franks; isn't that right?

Mr. RUMELY. Sometimes under postage; generally.

(The letter dated March 23, 1940, above referred to, is as follows:)

MARCH 23, 1940.

Mr. A. W. BENKERT,
A. W. Benkert & Co., New York City.

MY DEAR BROSE: Yesterday we had telegraphic order for 25,000 copies of What Socialism Is Doing To British Freedom. See reference on page 2, marked passage, to nationalization of British railroads.

The doctors in Portland are distributing this folder from their reception rooms to patients. They are doing this because of the brief reference at the end of the talk to British socialized medicine.

Dr. King has written a column, Railroad Regulation by Government—Success or Failure?, copy of which is enclosed.

We are having excellent results from a mailing that carried the piece on Cardinal Mindszenty to 14,000 pastors of Catholic churches and 8,000 bishops and higher clergy, heads of colleges and educational institutions. Orders ranging from 100 to 4,000 are coming in so that the first printing is already exhausted. The second improved edition is coming from the presses over the week end and is partly sold in advance.

We may find it advisable to make a second mailing to the clergy showing the new and improved edition. In that effort, we could, as a tuck-in, carry along your talk, without cost to you for postage or handling, if you wish 17,000 copies distributed out of the 187,000 that your \$5,000 pays for.

Every clergymen, Protestant or Catholic, is an opinion molder and a piece like yours making an appeal for fair dealing, may register.

If before next Tuesday we succeed in booking orders for another 60,000 of the folder, we can place the King column as a full-page ad in Editor and Publisher, urging newspapers to subscribe to the syndicate. Two or three in every editorial office in the country would thus be exposed to the thought that Dr. King outlines.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to show you a letter dated January 11, 1949, from Edward A. Rumely to Congressman Daniel A. Reed, of New York, which mentions that 4,000,000 franked releases went out, and were distributed around the United States.

I pass the letter to the chairman.

Do you recall that?

Mr. RUMELY. Let me see the letter.

Mr. HALLECK. Are we going through the record and disclose our franked matter that has gone out?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; there is no disclosure in there of any names.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Halleck has reference to all franked materials that go out from the Congress, by every Member of Congress.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No.

Mr. HALLECK. I mean, if that is what we are starting on, we had better finish it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have some evidence here that 15,000,000 franked releases were used by this organization—

Mr. RUMELY. In the Court fight.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I thought you might be interested.

Mr. RUMELY. Let me tell you about that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am not criticising, but showing the technique.

Mr. RUMELY. Let me tell you about that:

When the Court-packing bill was introduced, Senator Borah called Frank Gannett and said, "We have only a handful, seven, eight Representatives in the House, and a dozen in the Senate; we can filibuster for 60 days, but then that will break down, and then the precedent will be established—the precedent can overwhelm the Supreme Court, and we will no longer have our form of government, unless the Nation speaks up as it never did before."

Then the first job was to shut off a Republican from making—taking the leadership—

Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt, Dr. Rumely: That is all prior to the Lobbying and Reorganization?

Mr. RUMELY. He is bring up the 15,000,000. I am just telling you how those 15,000,000 got out.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be contained to the period in question. We don't want to go back 10 years. As far as I am concerned, I am interested in this question only as it applies since the Lobbying Act.

Mr. HALLECK. That is all right, Mr. Doyle; but, so far as I know, counsel has shown 15,000,000 franks having gone out—

Mr. RUMELY. I want to explain it.

Mr. HALLECK. If that 15,000,000 included a lot of franks that went out before the Lobbying Act, then the witness ought to have the right to explain it. I don't know whether that is true or not.

Mr. DOYLE. If that is true, let's have the facts.

Mr. RUMELY. I want to show how important to you gentlemen the frank is, because it was that 15,000,000 that saved the court fight.

Mr. DOYLE. What portion of the 15,000,000 went out before the creation of the Lobbying Act?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. What portion, how many million, Dr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. Fifteen million went out in the court fight. If you will give me 2 minutes, I will give you some information of value.

Mr. HALLECK. Counsel is way back before the beginning of the Lobbying Act.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give an estimate of how many since the inception of the Lobbying Act?

Mr. RUMELY. Since the Lobbying Act—let me think—we put two or three pieces in a single envelope. Eight or ten million.

Mr. FITZGERALD. About 50,000,000, wasn't it?

Mr. RUMELY. I can't tell, unless I go to the record.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I don't object to leading questions—we are not in a lawsuit—but I think we should give the witness a chance to answer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I don't think he has answered.

Mr. HALLECK. You don't give him a chance to answer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Was it 50,000,000 that you sent out?

Mr. RUMELY. If you have anything to refresh my mind—

Mr. FITZGERALD. You mean, there is a possibility it was 50 million?

Mr. RUMELY. No, I don't think so.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is it 40,000,000?

Mr. RUMELY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He said, about eight or ten million, since the inception of the Lobby Act.

Mr. RUMELY. My recollection is, eight or ten million. I might be off.

The CHAIRMAN. In the letter of January 11, 1940, he mentions the fact that there were 4,000,000.

(The letter above-referred to is as follows:)

JANUARY 11, 1940.

HON. DANIEL A. REED,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN REED: That's an excellent piece on political medicine that you introduced into the record. We had planned to suggest that.

We are planning to have introduced a piece along similar lines by Aaron Sargent, copy enclosed herewith. We may wish to reproduce for wide distribution the piece introduced by you (p. A-32 of January 5) and the Sargent piece. We trust that if Mr. Dodge approaches you will give consent to our reprinting the article Political Medicine. Thanks for any courtesy that you can show.

It may interest you to know that the committee is sponsoring the drive to repeat what proved so highly effective in the court fight, namely, the mass distribution of franked releases. Attached hereto a postcard and the four releases, each of which is going to 100,000 this week. We plan to step this distribution up by another 100,000 next week and to carry through as far as our funds will permit to a total of one million, accompanied by 4,000,000 franked releases.

We hope that the millions of individuals thus reached will in turn ask for large quantities and will buy for bulk distribution to their own lists. The story of what was accomplished by the use of franked releases in the committee's fight against Court packing is told in the booklet "Needed Now" enclosed herewith.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

The CHAIRMAN. So much for the franking. Is there anything more?

Mr. DOYLE. I have one question on the franking. Does your committee pay for the distribution?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You repay the Members of Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. We pay the Public Printer. We issue a check to the Public Printer.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't give the check to the Public Printer.

Mr. RUMELY. We issue the check to the Public Printer.

The CHAIRMAN. Direct?

Mr. RUMELY. It has to be transmitted through a Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you make the check payable to the Congressman and he, in turn, pays the Government Printing Office?

Mr. RUMELY. Well, it is our money.

Mr. DOYLE. Is there an agreement that you will pay that bill?

Mr. RUMELY. Certainly.

You would get a valuable viewpoint on the frank, if you would let me tell about the 15,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; go ahead.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all before the Lobbying Act.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this before the act?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. We have had enough of that Court-packing history.

Mr. RUMELY. At that time——

Mr. DOYLE. I object to the witness taking any more time on that Court-packing history. We have had enough of that, certainly. It is before the Lobbying Act. I think we ought to confine ourselves to the history of lobbying since the act was created, substantially.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have a partial compilation of the franked pieces going out in 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1950, which shows very clearly the partial list of franked speeches during that 5-year period that were sent out. If the chairman and the members of the committee would like to peruse that list, I have it here. It contains the names of the Congressmen whose franks were utilized as well as a description of the material disseminated.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see it. Where did you get the list?

(List of franked speeches is as follows:)

Franked speeches, 1950

Order No.	Date	From	Description	Amount	Cost
(1)	Jan. 31	Homer Dodge	How Long Must the People Wait, Wint Smith..	100,000	\$387.00
4205	Mar. 10	.....do.....	Senator Byrd franked package.....	70,000	775.00
4285	Mar. 31	.....do.....	Franked speech, Eastland.....	40,000	250.00
4286	Mar. 31	.....do.....	Clare Hoffman frank on Coal.....	100,000	354.73
4376	Apr. 24	.....do.....	Clare Hoffman frank, "Will Members of Congress, etc."	105,000	500.00

¹ Dummy.

Franked speeches, 1940

Order No.	Date	From	Description	Amount	Cost
3187	Jan. 8	Gwinn.....	Public Housing, Dismatrous Here and Abroad...	50,000	\$324.00
3188	Jan. 8	do.....	Implications of Federal Aid, etc.....	40,000	183.00
3189	Jan. 8	do.....	Our Most Dangerous Lobby.....	50,000	199.35
3190	Jan. 6	do.....	4,000 Years of Failure of O.P.A.....	75,000	309.16
3194	Jan. 12	do.....	Our Most Dangerous Lobby.....	50,000	125.85
3204	Jan. 24	Homer Dodge.	Socialized Medicine, frank package, Gwinn.....	450,000	2,872.01
3205	Jan. 24	Gwinn.....	Public Housing, franked package.....	450,000	3,995.15
3206	Jan. 24	do.....	Federal Control of Education, package.....	450,000	3,995.15
3228	Feb. 4	Noah Mason.....	Judicial Usurpation in the Cement Case.....	100,000	244.50
3229	Feb. 4	H. Dodge.....	Dr. King's Testimony on Minimum Wage Bill, Donald Jackson.	21,000	218.83
3206	Mar. 21	Gwinn.....	How to Get More Rental Houses.....	250,000	1,045.55
3297	Mar. 9	do.....	Public Housing, frank.....	100,000	614.00
3298	Mar. 9	Dodge.....	Socialized Medicine, frank, Gwinn.....	100,000	647.75
3319	Apr. 7	do.....	Socialized Medicine, franked package, Gwinn.....	125,000	792.75
3424	Apr. 27	Gwinn.....	Socialism—American Variety, frank.....	100,000	365.00
3503	Aug. 15	Malone.....	Federal Versus State Control of Labor, etc.....	40,000	1,100.00
3504	Aug. 15	do.....	The 1934 Trade Agreement.....	50,000	
3515	Aug. 22	Gwinn.....	Socialism—American Variety, frank.....	100,000	389.00
3747	Oct. 21	do.....	Communist Raid on Postskid, frank, Robert F. Rich.	50,000	147.00
3751	Oct. 26	Dodge.....	Financial Situation of the Government postcard	100,000	125.00
3945	Dec. 28	Hoffman.....	Fair Deal Frame-Up, Clare Hoffman.....	92,000	662.83
Total.....				2,853,000	.....

Franked speeches, 1948

Order No.	Date	From—	Description	Amount	Cost
2632	Jan. 12	Senator Moore.	Need of Constitutional Limitation, frank.....	105,500	\$554.15
2635	Jan. 15	Homer Dodge.	Conditions in England, Hawke frank.....	200,000	481.45
2651	Jan. 30	do.....	Harness reprint, frank.....	51,000	110.00
2689	Feb. 24	Mr. Gwinn.....	Gwinn, frank on housing.....	50,000	200.20
2694	Feb. 27	Senator Moore.	Production and Prices of Petroleum Products...	70,000	492.16
2739	Mar. 22	Mr. Gwinn.....	New Plan for European Recovery.....	20,000	120.00
2740	do.....	Homer Dodge.	Revenue Decisions, rerun, Knutson.....	14,000	650.26
			An Opportunity and a Challenge, Ralph W. Gwinn.	100,000	(1)
2700	May 5	Senator Reed.	Public Opinion Survey, frank.....	55,500	165.00
2701	do.....	Homer Dodge.	Clare Hoffman reprint, frank.....	5,000	134.70
2991	June 30	Mr. Gwinn...	Public Housing Dismatrous, etc.....	175,000	1,065.92
3007	July 16	do.....	The Implications of Federal Aid, etc.....	50,000	275.20
3022	July 30	Homer Dodge.	Clarion Call to All Lovers of Liberty, Daniel Reed.	43,000	150.00
3060	Aug. 26	Mr. Gwinn...	Four Thousand Years of Failure of O. P. A., Ralph W. Gwinn.	50,000	183.35
3064	Sept. 3	Homer Dodge.	Implications of Federal Aid, frank, Gwinn.....	35,000	165.40
3067	Sept. 29	do.....	The Republicans and the Republic, frank, Hon. Lawrence H. Smith.	55,000	143.15
3131	Nov. 10	do.....	do.....	100,000	277.20
3179	Dec. 27	Mr. Gwinn...	Public Housing Dismatrous, etc.....	60,000	382.00
Total.....				1,216,000	.....

* Gannett paid.

Franks purchased, 1947

Order No.	Date	From	Description	Amount	Cost
2374	Jan. 31	Homer Dodge	Ralph W. Gwinn frank with Dresser article....	100,000	\$407.11
2375	do.	do.	Partial to Portal, frank, Robert F. Rich.	51,000	220.11
2406	Mar. 20	do.	Senator Moore frank re: Income Tax Reduction.	100,000	217.67
2431	Apr. 21	do.	Dr. King's Labor Testimony (Senator Gwinn)	50,000	1,028.26
2440	May 1	do.	Hon. Frederick C. Smith, frank	30,000	266.42
2473	June 23	do.	Confusion and Insecurity Peril United States, frank, Robert Rich.	25,000	141.04
2480	July 22	do.	Where Karl Marx Went Wrong, frank, Karl Mundt.	50,000	147.10
2494	July 31	do.	House Resolution 78, Mr. Lanken's Resolution.	10,000	39.84
2499	Aug. 6	do.	Let Us Be Faithful to our Tradition, Harold Knutson.	100,000	280.60
2539	Sept. 23	do.	Hawkes Congressional Record Speech, frank ..	100,000	525.04
2541	Sept. 24	do.	Revenue Revisions, Dr. King Knutson	11,000	551.25
2576	Nov. 6	do.	Confusion and Insecurity Peril United States,	10,000	375.00
2577	do.	do.	Robert Rich.	25,000	141.04
2610	Dec. 5	do.	Implications of Federal Aid, Gwinn, frank.....	30,000	148.16
Total.....				692,000	4,508.14

Mr. FITZGERALD. That was taken from the files of Mr. Rumely's organization.

Do you recall such a list?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. We have an accurate list of everything we put out. We can tell on a minute's notice what we put out.

Mr. FITZGERALD. So the fact is that you have utilized the frank for more than just one or two fights; is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And can you mention some of the fights, beside the housing legislation?

Mr. RUMELY. If you give me that list, I will refresh my memory. My memory isn't good enough.

The CHAIRMAN. The total here runs, for 1949, some 2,853,000, which you admit you paid for—you paid for the printing of the material?

Mr. RUMELY. Every one of them. It speaks for itself.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I might say, this is not a complete list. This list is only a partial list of the franks that were utilized. Is that not so, Dr. Rumely? I have another list here.

Mr. RUMELY. There may have been a few that were not reported to the Department that keeps that record, but that is 90 percent accurate.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I also have a letter here, which says:

If we can get into the Record we can distribute it cheaply.

That letter is dated March 19, 1948, together with another letter. It is from E. A. Rumely to Robert B. Dresser. That is the gentleman from Rhode Island, isn't it?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

(The letter above referred to together with other letters relating thereto are as follows:)

PROVIDENCE, R. I., March 8, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: In accordance with Mr. Dresser's instructions I am sending you herewith one of the originals of the petition, signed by 80 citizens of Rhode Island, to the President and the Congress of the United States regarding the Federal budget. I understand from Mr. Dresser that you are going to have it

inserted in the Congressional Record and that you will have it photostated and distributed about the country. Other original copies of the petition are going forward to the following:

The President of the United States
 Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., floor leader of the majority
 Senator Alben W. Barkley, floor leader of the minority
 Representative Charles A. Halleck, floor leader of the majority
 Representative Sam Rayburn, floor leader of the minority
 Very truly yours,

RONALD B. SMITH.

PROVIDENCE R. I., March 18, 1948.

DR. E. A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I am writing to inquire what progress has been made with the Rhode Island petition to the President and Members of Congress on the matter of the budget, which Mr. Ronald Smith sent you awhile ago. It is my understanding that you are planning to have this reproduced and sent to each Member of Congress and to have it introduced, if possible, in the Congressional Record, and also to distribute some copies about the country.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. DRESSER

MARCH 19, 1948.

MR. ROBERT B. DRESSER,
Providence, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: We have distributed your petition to all Members of Congress.

I have asked Homer Dodge to have some Member interested in taxation introduce it into the Record.

We have printed about 1,500 extra copies for distribution to the country. We are including this with the receipts going out to those who contribute \$25 or more to the committee. These are the ones likely to be interested in high taxation and the most likely to set further locally.

If we get a response, we can push it further.

If we get it into the Record, we can distribute cheaply.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MR. FITZGERALD. I want to also insert at this point additional exhibits pertaining to the distribution of material on public housing in the form of a letter from Barr C. Miller, secretary to Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn of New York to Dr. Edward A. Rumely. The letter contains an attachment captioned "Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad." It enumerates the number of copies sent out in bulk form and identifies the recipients.

(The letter above-referred to together with attachment follows:)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 Washington, D. C., September 15, 1949.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Attached is a list of the distribution that was made from here of "Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad." I have not listed the requests for less than 100 copies. Mr. Nelson's organization took 3,000 copies but we have no information as to whom they were sent.

Sincerely yours,

BARR C. MILLER, *Secretary to*
Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn.

Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad

	<i>Copies</i>
Frederic R. Briggs, Communities Redevelopment Corp., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.	100
Chas. B. Mendinball, realtor, 1016 Washington St., Wilmington, Del.	1, 100
Chas. R. Ross, secretary, Bakersfield Realty Board, 1818 M St., Bakersfield, Calif.	500
John B. Kinter, 512 East Ave., Mlyria, Ohio.	100
John F. Leonard, Leonard Real Estate & Insurance Agency, 51 Highwood Ave., Highwood, Ill.	100
Ray Hoffer, executive vice president, Boston Real Estate Board, 7 Water St., Boston, Mass.	200
Thomas J. Canning, executive secretary, Real Estate Board of the Bronx, Inc., 391 East 149th St., Bronx 55, N. Y.	200
T. T. Hutton, executive vice president, Florida Association of Realtors, Orlando, Fla.	100
H. D. Hood, secretary-treasurer, Ontario Association of Real Estate Boards, 92 Adelaide St. West, Toronto, Canada.	1, 100
L. J. Eberth, secretary, Apartment House Owners' Association of Cleveland, 108 The Arcade, Cleveland 14, Ohio.	200
Clarence C. Lang, executive secretary, St. Louis Real Estate Board, 100 Missouri Insurance Building, 705 Chestnut St., St. Louis 1, Mo.	3, 000
Earl M. Wing, secretary, Dakota County Board of Realtors, Anderson Building, 145 North Concord St., South St. Paul, Minn.	100
Arthur E. Marsters, Inc., P. O. Box 63, Bloomfield, N. J.	100
P. E. Kossleck, secretary, Decatur Board of Realtors, 202 Standard Office Building, Decatur Ill.	200
Dick Ruelmo, realtor, 1020 East Broadway, Long Beach 2, Calif.	100
Warren E. Sweetser, secretary-treasurer, Second Federal Savings and Loan Association of Boston, 7 Water St., Boston 9, Mass.	100
N. J. Dresher, executive secretary, Reading Real Estate Board, 223 North 6th St., Reading, Pa.	100
Charles W. Parsons, Parsons & Harris Agency, Boulder Theater Building, Boulder, Colo.	100
Joe Lucchese, realtor, 330 West Commerce St., San Antonio 5, Tex.	100
Foster Bryant, P. O. Box 232, Coronado, Calif.	100
John H. Hellrung Agency, 615 East Broadway, Alton, Ill.	100
St. Paul Real Estate Board, 720 Guardian Building, St. Paul 1, Minn.	200
Richard C. Cadwallader, Louisiana National Bank Building, Baton Rouge 6, La.	200
John D. Tighe, executive secretary, 603 Monroe Building, 25 Exchange St., Rochester 4, N. Y.	300
Hon. Fred E. Busbey	1, 000
W. J. Kellar, 725 Broadway, McKees Rocks, Pa.	1, 000
Frank B. Clarkson, Clarkson-Giffin Realty Corp., 2 Wild Rose Ave., Worcester 2, Mass.	100
H. C. Edwards, Ozark Building, Kansas City, Mo.	100
Fred M. Greenstreet, 410 West Michigan Ave., Ypsilanti, Mich.	100
Candida A. Oroocht, executive secretary, Jersey City Real Estate Board, Inc., 921 Bergen Ave., Jersey City 6, N. J.	100
Henry J. Parfitt, executive secretary, Lansing Board of Realtors, 332 Townsend St., Lansing 23, Mich.	250
Real Estate Board	3, 000
Home Builders' Association	500
Prefabricated Home Manufacturing Institute	50
Hon. Charles Fletcher	2, 000

Mr. FITZGERALD. And then I have another exhibit, dated December 20, 1948, E. A. Rumely to Mr. John Anderson, of Gary, Ind., in which you reveal that this system that you employ, of utilizing the congressional frank, indicates that it costs only one-half cent to send out a letter with a frank; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. Let me see the letter.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that what it costs?

Mr. RUMELY. It depends on the frank, entirely. Some cost 2 or 3 cents.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that the letter, doctor, that you sent to Mr. Anderson on December 20, 1948?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

(The letter dated December 20, 1948, above-referred to, is as follows:)

[Handwritten:] Mrs. Pope is holding ms. and correspondence in her "hold file."

DECEMBER 20, 1948.

Mr. JOHN ANDERSON,
President, the Anderson Co.,
Gary, Ind.

DEAR MR. ANDERSON: Your "Emancipation day address" is an excellent piece, as also your editorial.

Our problem at the present time is finances to distribute the material that must go out on Federal education, socialized medicine, public housing. We want to repeat our effort in the Court fight, and get out millions of copies. Franked material travels to its destination at about a total cost of one-half cent per copy; nothing equals this in effectiveness, per dollar spent.

If instead of a booklet, your talk were printed in a four-page folder, it would cost \$850 for 100,000 copies. It could be included as an insert in our mail without postage cost to you—in the 40,000 receiving the Pettengill letters. We could offer copies free and invite purchase at about cost, and probably the piece would pyramid its distribution to 100,000 or more copies.

Harvey Freuhauf paid for 200,000 copies of "Labor's Contribution to High Prices," with which we seeded the country, and thereafter the circulation, with our support, snowballed to almost 600,000. Of course, that had a strong pocket-book appeal and interest.

We may come back to you to discuss this in February when the first rush resulting from the new Congress is over.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, Assistant Secretary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, did not some of the members of Congress object strenuously when you approached them with this scheme to utilize their franking privilege to send millions of pieces around the United States?

Mr. RUMELY. They have differing views. Senator Borah objected strenuously. When he saw how important it was, he used the frank to the limit.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see that Senator George W. Malone said, on February 7, 1949, with reference to the use of the frank: "I feel that fundamentally this is an inappropriate use of the franking privilege."

Mr. RUMELY. That is his personal opinion.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that what he said?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

(The letter above-referred to is as follows:)

UNITED STATES SENATE,
February 7, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I have your letters of February 5 relative to distribution of material relative to the President's program of legislation and in addition, monetary policies.

Appreciate your calling the Vanderlip study to my attention and I shall take advantage of the first opportunity I have to look it over. This is, in itself, a hectic session, and for western Senators like myself has been made much more so by the tremendous pressure resulting from the storm emergency in Western States.

With reference to your suggestion that Dr. King's material be mailed over my frank, I feel that fundamentally this is an inappropriate use of the franking privilege. Whatever the merit of any single suggestion along this line, doing so in one case would set a precedent of approval for all similar requests, and I do not feel that such a precedent is desirable. I am confident you appreciate this viewpoint.

I have several speaking engagements during the coming 2 weeks, and will therefore be in and out of my office. I shall, however, be glad to talk with you at any time you call.

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. MALONE.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see that Congressman Rich said——

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Rich, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that Congressman Robert R. Rich, of Pennsylvania?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He said on March 29, 1940 [reading]:

I think to frank as many as 100,000 copies is an imposition on the American taxpayer, and an abuse of the franking privilege.

Mr. RUMELY. He hasn't thought it through.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That was his opinion, Dr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. That is his opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he sent you a check for \$20 to help pay for the postage, but he refused to extend his franking privilege to the organization?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right. Various Members take that viewpoint and, generally, they have not thought it through. The bureaucrats are using \$27,000,000 of postage, and you gentlemen in Congress are using \$1,000,000.

Mr. HALLECK. The fact is that that is true. The congressional mail that goes out franked is an infinitesimal part of the total over-all franking operations of the Government. I have been on the receiving end of a lot of this executive frank business, and I know how it can operate.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to object, Mr. Chairman, that it is my judgment that there is a very material and very substantial difference between a department of the Administrative Government sending out any printed material authorized by the Government, and a lobbying committee paying for millions of franks over the franked signatures of Congress, and lobbying Congress and the American public in that way.

(The letter of March 29, 1940, above referred to, is as follows:)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 29, 1940.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

*Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York, 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Your letter of March 28 has been received and I am glad to note that you are sufficiently interested in my extension of remarks of March 15—namely, the Robert Dresser statement—to want to distribute 100,000 copies.

Now, I am in sympathy with what your committee is doing and shall be only too glad to cooperate with you providing your committee pays the postage. I think to frank as many as 100,000 copies is an imposition on the American taxpayer and an abuse of the franking privilege. I shall be happy to start your postage fund with a contribution of \$20.

The Record clerk advised me this morning that they can set this in 7½-point type (Record proceedings). The first 1,000 would cost \$107.70; this includes composition of \$34.20. Each additional thousand, based on 100,000 copies, will

cost \$1.05, making the total, according to the Record clerk, due the Public Printer \$271.05.

Awaiting further word and with assurances of my continued interest and cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT F. RICH.

Mr. FITZGERALD. A similar feeling seems to be shared by Senator Charles W. Tobey, too, doesn't it, Mr. Rumely, when Homer Dodge, your Washington representative, said to you on February 19, 1948, in a letter, that Senator Tobey had refused the use of his frank.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have had enough of the franking matter now.

(The letter of February 10, 1948, above referred to, together with a letter dated February 16, 1948, from Homer Dodge to E. A. Rumely follows:)

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

Washington, D. C., February 19, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Senator Tobey emphatically refuses use of his frank. He retained the material I left with him, however, for study and may put it in the Record. This is the Dresser matter.

Senator Byrd surprised me by saying there is a law against sending franked envelopes out of Washington and he will not disregard it. He mentioned what he called difficulty with the misuse of the frank by former Senator Burke. The matter of the Richberg extension is now back in Senator Eastland's hands and he is to discuss it further with Senator Russell. All three, including Byrd, think the address should be widely circulated. I rather think Senator Russell will be the one who will agree in the end. I talked over the gummed-labels proposal with Senator Byrd's secretary. He did not think it practicable. He thought an arrangement could be made whereby we would send a list of names to the folding room where the envelopes would be addressed at so much apiece. I have not had time to ask what this price is but will do so tomorrow.

It will probably be some weeks before the hearings before the Senate Committee on Expenditures are printed. The testimony of the witnesses Kaufman and Zeller runs 65 pages. Transcript can be purchased at 40 cents a page. Shall I order?

Senator Hawkes has not yet had time to get to the Scoville rent brief.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE,

P. S.—The tidelands hearings are scheduled to begin next Monday and are expected to last several days.

H. D.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

Washington, D. C., February 16, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The Dresser rent-control letter had not yet reached Senator Tobey's desk this afternoon but I had a talk with his secretary while he was in a committee meeting. She (Mrs. Ramsdell) at first said the Senator never permitted use of his frank. I told her that no name other than his and Dr. Dresser's would appear. She said she would present the matter to the Senator later today, if possible.

Senator Russell was very cordial and will frank the Richberg statement if necessary. He would rather not as he is up for election this year. He referred me to Senator Eastland who also is up for election but who does not expect any labor votes and does not need any. I talked with Senator Eastland's secretary, explaining the whole situation. She, Mrs. Simmerman, thought that Senator Eastland would be willing to grant the use of his frank for the purpose.

I should be able to get an answer tomorrow, after she has had an opportunity to talk with him.

I sincerely hope we can find a new Senator in Mr. Eastland who will cooperate on extensions and franking us, in an election year especially, so many Members of both Houses appear to be terrified of charges of misuse of privileges.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

Mr. RUMELY. You went through the whole file, our file, correspondence with all Members of Congress, and you have a handful of seven or eight who didn't want to use it. They are not typical.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You mean, all the Congressmen wanted you to utilize their frank; is that what you have said?

Mr. RUMELY. No. You went through the entire file, with all Congressmen and Senators, and you found six or seven or eight.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You don't think Senator George W. Mulone is a good example of the situation with respect to franking?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't think he is typical. I think you are picking a few, and making them look as if—

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have had enough on that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We will pass on.

I want you to identify the books that the Committee for Constitutional Government has sent out in the past few years.

I show you this list. Is that a fair list?

(List of books distributed by the committee are as follows:)

The following books were distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government, and America's Future:

	Author	Publication date
Constitution of the United States.....	Thomas James Norton.....	First printing January 1941; thirteenth printing April 1949.
Challenge to Freedom.....	Henry M. Wriston.....	1943.
For Americans Only.....	Samuel B. Pettengill and Paul C. Bartholomew.....	1944.
Hunger and History.....	E. Parmelee Prentice.....	1939.
It's Up To You.....	William G. Ross.....	1950.
Jefferson, The Forgotten Man.....	Samuel B. Pettengill.....	1938.
The Keys to Prosperity.....	Willford I. Kling.....	1948.
Needed Now—Capacity for Leadership, Courage to Lead.....	Prologue by Norman Vincent Peale.....	1944.
Revolution.....	Robert Hunter.....	1940.
The Road Ahead.....	John T. Flynn.....	1949.
The Roosevelt Myth.....	do.....	1948.
Smoke Screen.....	Samuel B. Pettengill.....	1940.
Labor Monopolies or Freedom.....	John W. Scoville.....	1946.

The CHAIRMAN. Books, or pamphlets?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Lists of books and pamphlets that you distributed.

Would you read them off?

Mr. RUMELY. Constitution of the United States, by Thomas James Norton—first printing, January 1941; thirteenth printing, April 1949.

We printed 600,000 copies of that book.

Challenge to Freedom, by Henry M. Wriston, 1943.

For Americans Only, by Samuel B. Pettengill.

You have missed one here.

We printed Jefferson, the Forgotten Man—no; it is down here. We first printed it in 1938.

And then we printed Smoke Screen, 68,000; 450,000 of For Americans Only, more than 400,000; a total of a million copies of Pettengill's books were put into distribution by us between 1938 and 1944.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read on.

Mr. RUMELY. Hunger and History, by E. Parmelee Prentice.

Mr. FITZGERALD. A 1939 publication?

Mr. RUMELY. 1939 publication.

The Keys to Prosperity, by Dr. Willford I. King, 1948.

Needed Now—that is a little booklet; we put out about 800,000.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the title?

Mr. RUMELY. Needed Now—Capacity for Leadership, Courage To Lead; prologue by Norman Vincent Peale.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In 1944, that came out?

Mr. RUMELY. 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very excellent booklet; it gives a fairly good over-all picture of your organization.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, of what the committee had done up to that time. A Communist from abroad, or a left-winger, wrote a smear book—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are you talking about your publications now?

Mr. RUMELY. I am telling you how that book came to be written—wrote a smear-book, Under Cover, in which he took us to task; and we told the facts in that book.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you read off the books.

Mr. RUMELY. Revolution, by Robert Hunter.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When was that, 1940?

Mr. RUMELY. 1940. The Road Ahead, by John T. Flynn.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What year was that?

Mr. RUMELY. 1949.

The Roosevelt Myth, we have not distributed, excepting where our people wrote it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who wrote that?

Mr. RUMELY. The Roosevelt Myth was published by Devin Adair—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who was the author?

Mr. RUMELY. John T. Flynn.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The man who wrote The Road Ahead?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When did that come out?

Mr. RUMELY. The Roosevelt Myth came out in 1948. A few of our members sent us money and said, "Send us a copy of that, along with 10 copies of The Road Ahead."

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about other books?

Mr. RUMELY. Smoke Screen, I mentioned.

It's Up to You was published by the foundation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Was William G. Ross the author?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It came out in 1950?

Mr. RUMELY. That is not a publication of the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about Challenge to Freedom—did you mention that?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In 1948, by Henry M. Wriston.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are there any other books that you published and distributed?

Mr. RUMELY. As to Wriston's book, maybe some thousands; we bought that from the regular publishers; we thought it was a good book.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that a complete list?

Mr. RUMELY. That is a complete list, I think.

It's Up to You must come off of that.

Mr. HALLECK. How many of the books, The Road Ahead, did you say you printed?

Mr. RUMELY. We have printed 750,000. We have more than 600,000 out. And we have orders for another 50,000 or 75,000. It will carry it close to 700,000.

Mr. HALLECK. Apparently a lot of people are reading that book, and they are learning a lot from it; it would seem that some folks are a little disturbed by the fact that it is being distributed. It doesn't disturb me at all.

The CHAIRMAN. How is your postcard campaign coming along for the additional 3,000,000 subscriptions?

Mr. RUMELY. Three and a half million went out.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the response on that?

Mr. RUMELY. The first million sold 175,000 copies.

The CHAIRMAN. The first million?

Mr. RUMELY. The first million postcards sold 175,000 copies.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you showing the advertising houses how to do it?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You have had some assistance in the placement and distribution of these books, have you not?

Mr. RUMELY. We have had income from them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The National Association of Manufacturers helped you place these publications, did it not?

Mr. RUMELY. What?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The National Association of Manufacturers was instrumental in assisting you in placing these books?

Mr. RUMELY. No; they may have mentioned in some bulletin, but we never get any help from the NAM.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have a letter from you, signed by you, under date of November 27, 1948, addressed to Earl Bunting, of the National Association of Manufacturers, in New York, in which there was some suggestion that the National Association of Manufacturers work on the placement of your publication, the American Individual Enterprise System. Do you recall that letter?

Mr. RUMELY. I do.

That is a book worked up by a committee of the NAM. It is the most exhaustive study ever made of the American enterprise system, and its fundamentals.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Let me read the last paragraph:

If you concur in the viewpoint that now is the opportune time to give much wider and more effective distribution to the two volumes, possibly NAM would be interested in working out the placement of the book so as to give it increased effectiveness just now when the message it carries is so vitally important to the country's future.

Is that your letter?

Mr. RUMELY. That is my suggestion.

Mr. FITZGERALD. They did help you on the placement?

Mr. RUMELY. No; it is their book. Like many organizations, they put a huge amount of money into producing it, and then they didn't get out more than 10,000 copies, or 5,000. I think that is a great mistake, when you have a book, that you don't push it out, to make it do its job. (The letter of November 27, 1948, above referred to, is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 27, 1948.

Mr. EARL BUNTING,
National Association of Manufacturers,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. BUNTING: Attached hereto three copies of Mr. Robert W. Wason's extraordinarily effective talk, the American Individual Enterprise System. Please note the reference, in the box at the end, to the two volumes by the same title; also, the copy of our letter to James H. McGraw, Jr., which is self-explanatory.

If you concur in the viewpoint that now is the opportune time to give much wider and more effective distribution to the two volumes, possibly NAM would be interested in working out the placement of the book so as to give it increased effectiveness just now when the message it carries is so vitally important to the country's future.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD R. RUMELY.

The CHAIRMAN. What further does counsel have, as far as these books and pamphlets are concerned?

Mr. RUMELY. They didn't go along on that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like to show that the Foundation for Economic Education, at Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., through the assistant to the president, Mr. H. C. Cornuelle, was asked for assistance in disseminating these books; is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. No; they never did a thing in helping to distribute our books. We bought and disseminated a few things they put out; but they never gave us a hand on it.

(The letter of October 9, 1947, above referred to, is as follows:)

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., October 9, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Your letter of October 8 has been received in Mr. Read's absence. We expect that he will return to Irvington on October 21.

Your suggestion regarding distribution of Will Dollars Save the World? to 33,000 farm leaders is excellent. Unfortunately, the finances of the foundation do not permit such an extensive free distribution of the book.

We appreciate your offer to make your mailing list available to us. If we are able to interest someone in underwriting the cost of such a distribution, we shall get in touch with you immediately.

Please let me know if you have any further suggestions along this line.

Sincerely,

H. C. CORNUELLE,
Assistant to the President.

The CHAIRMAN. What further do you have, Counsel?

Mr. FITZGERALD. There is one other, under date of November 5, 1947, to David Hinshaw—

The CHAIRMAN. Without getting into specific details, what other matters do you want to outline, as far as the books and pamphlets are concerned?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to conclude with the letter from Mr. Rumely to Mr. Fletcher, of February 9, 1950, in which he discusses *The Road Ahead*, and he says that the industry of America has bought books, such as *The Road Ahead*, to saturate the community and make a long-time imprint on its thinking.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right. We are going to do that in Cleveland, in Toledo, in Buffalo, in Rochester, in Niagara Falls, in Dallas, and we are going to do it in just as many cities as we can put a full-page ad into the paper—you must help stop socialism in America—and we will send, if we can get the money to do it, a book into every fifth home, a copy of *The Road Ahead*, into every fifth home.

I dined, the night before I came here, with a good woman from Toledo who gave \$2,000—

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is her name, doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. I am not going to give you her name.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You refuse to give her name?

Mr. RUMELY. \$2,000 to send *The Road Ahead* to all of the teachers, and to others, in Toledo.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, concluding—

Mr. HALLECK. It must be quite an effective book; it is creating quite a stir.

(The letters of November 5, 1947, and February 9, 1950, above referred to, are as follows:)

NOVEMBER 5, 1947.

Mr. DAVID HINSHAW,

Institute of Public Relations, Inc., New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HINSHAW: It was good to hear from you. You have an important idea on how to arouse the public.

Attached hereto a booklet *Suggestions* by Robert B. Dresser, one of our trustees of which the first 60,000 are going into circulation currently. One of our trustees, Harvey Fruehauf is sending 6,000 copies to his stockholders, writing them urging them to speak up to Congress. He is also writing to corporation presidents urging them to distribute this to their stockholders. We are sending out the letter, carbon copy attached, to our top list of 10,000 supporters.

Last spring the trustees voted to begin a long-range program of education on the tax issue. A copy of the resolution is enclosed. We distributed several hundred thousand—*Would You Like To Double Your Income?*—last spring and arranged in selected districts to have friends of the committee enlist 20 to 30 leading individuals to write to their Representatives.

The enclosed postcard by Representative Knutson shows the committee's telegram which was read to the Congress just before the decisive vote overriding the President's veto in the Lower House.

Dr. King appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee and gave what some of the members regarded as fundamentally important testimony. We are at the present time pushing quantities of this testimony into circulation to editors and others in key positions.

Dr. King and Mr. Dresser both communicated with members of the House Ways and Means Committee and their comments—*Is Success Criminal?*—and some observations by Mr. Dresser went into the Congressional Record, copies enclosed.

Carl Snyder proved that all members of a society are more prosperous when there are more men of wealth. His book had been allowed to come to a standstill in circulation. We got the right to digest it, copy enclosed, and distributed about 600,000 copies of the digest which sold out the publisher's (McMillan) stock of the full-length book, after which they melted down the plates. We acquired the copyright from Snyder's widow. Dr. King brought the book up to date, and we hold the manuscript expecting to republish shortly.

Ayn Rand's *The Only Path to Tomorrow* we arranged to have her write, then sold first-printing rights to Reader's Digest and have distributed a half million copies in folder form. Please notice the back page of this folder as well as *Would You Like To Double Your Income?* mentioned before.

If you can take time to have a glance at this material, particularly Dr. King's testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee, we can meet for a further discussion. Why not give me a call and we can get together for luncheon.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

FEBRUARY 9, 1950.

Mr. JOHN FLETCHER, Sr.,
Strang-Fletcher-Orrigar, Chattanooga, Tenn.

MY DEAR MR. FLETCHER: Here is a copy of a letter that Harvey C. Fruehauf is sending to 100,000 business leaders. Nothing that we have ever put out has brought such a response as is coming in to the book, *The Road Ahead*. We have 1,900,000 of these cards in circulation now and expect to add another 1,100,000 during the next 10 days. The book not only convinces, but arouses people to action. It is a door opener for membership in *Fighters For Freedom*. On that account, we have changed over our plan so that the door-opening drive in a community is based on the distribution of a copy of *The Road Ahead*, to every fifth home. This distribution includes doctors, lawyers, clergymen, selected foremen and superintendents, small-business men and rank and file homes, specially selected.

The industries that buy are requested to set aside one-third of their purchase for leadership distribution for homes in the community and to earmark two-thirds for their own employees. This plan will so saturate a community as to make a long-time imprint on its thinking, for with an initial distribution to every fifth home the result following the ad and the book distribution should increase the copies in a community to one for every two or three homes.

The sale of the books provides funds to pay for the ads and the enlistment letters preceding it. Of the money received one-third should be set aside for the local committee. If metropolitan Chattanooga has 225,000 population, 5 percent of this would be 11,250 copies. The sale of this number of copies, and, say, 250 Paul Revere messages at \$8, to opinion molders within a firm, or within the community, would mean \$5,625 for books and \$2,000 for the Paul Revere letters. Out of our two-thirds we would finance the ads, the mailings, backing up the ad and the book distribution, leaving one-third for your local operations.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, concluding with that book, and the stir that it has effected, I noticed that it created a little stir in Army posts, when you attempted to have the United States Army distribute it.

Mr. RUMELY. The Constitution book?

The CHAIRMAN. No; *The Road Ahead*.

Mr. RUMELY. What more important thing is there, when every officer swears to uphold the Constitution, to put the best book on the Constitution in existence into the hands of the soldiers and sailors? You ought to be praising us.

Mr. HALECK. If counsel is undertaking, by implication or otherwise, to indicate that there is something wrong with teaching people about the Constitution, I want to disavow any connection with it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to have the record plain that that is not my intention. I have a copy of the Norton book on the Constitution, published by this same outfit, and I find it very well written; not too comprehensive, and not very inclusive, but it is a pretty good basis to start from. It is right on my desk in my law library.

The CHAIRMAN. Your point was—

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was talking about *The Road Ahead*, referred to by the Catholic magazine *America*, on March 3, 1950, as "the road to nowhere."

The CHAIRMAN. He admits, of course, that copies of The Road Ahead went out.

Mr. RUMELY. I don't recall. Some individual may have done it, but I don't recall; I won't testify negatively.

The CHAIRMAN. What further conclusions does counsel have?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, I can be here for 5 days, Mr. Chairman, because of some 1,000 exhibits that I feel should be introduced to properly describe the workings of this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What general points do you have? You have covered lobby techniques, mailing lists, opinion molding, the franking business, and publications. What other general topics illustrative of lobbying technique employed by this organization do you have.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As I say, Mr. Chairman, I have enough material here for 5 days; and perhaps 2 months.

The CHAIRMAN. We can put those documents into the record.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It all depends on what the committee and the chairman want me to develop here. It is all up to you. I have anything you want. This is the most comprehensive lobby I have found in my study. But your wishes are my command.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Before we adjourn, and we have a minute or two, I want to ask the witness two or three questions about the relationship of these different groups to the Committee for Constitutional Government.

America's Future, for instance; I have this publication, Capitalism Creative. At the bottom it says, "An America's Future publication, as issued by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc."

Are you the directing genius of America's Future, also?

Mr. RUMELY. I wouldn't say that.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, what is America's Future?

Mr. RUMELY. America's Future, when Pettengill—

Mr. DOYLE. Is it a subsidiary of the committee?

Mr. RUMELY. America's Future was organized as a New York corporation by Frank Gannett in 1938 or 1939. When it became desirable to put Pettengill on the air as a commentator, America's Future was reorganized, deductibility was secured, and a separate board of trustees.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your radio arm; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. That is the radio. It isn't our radio arm; it is a wholly independent organization that has one or two common trustees.

Mr. DOYLE. Who is—

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Robert Lund is president of it.

Mr. HALLECK. Is that Bob Lund, of St. Louis?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. HALLECK. He is an estimable, high-class gentleman, as is his fellow Hoosier, Mr. Pettengill, with whom I was happy to serve in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. Dr. Rumely, I am not asking you to make a speech on it.

Now, Fighters for Freedom—I have here this pamphlet—

Mr. RUMELY. Fighters for Freedom—

Mr. DOYLE. Just a moment. At the bottom it says, "Fighters for Freedom, a division of the Committee for Constitutional Government."

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a director of that?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right; that is part of the committee's work.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they your political-action division?

Mr. RUMELY. No; but we believe that if you can sign people up on the platform of the Fighters for Freedom, they will talk loudly and effectively when issues arise.

Mr. DOYLE. Are all of the expenses paid by the committee—his expenses?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; all of the income goes to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commingle the funds of these two organizations in the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; that is just a division. It is a name that appeals to people. They like to get out and fight for freedom.

Mr. DOYLE. I have here, Dr. Rumely, a pamphlet, Paul Revere Messages, issued by weekly newsletter, defending the freedom of the Constitution, distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government. Are you the head of that, also?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. I will tell you—

Mr. DOYLE. I am asking you a question.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; that is put out by the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have some evidence along these lines, if you want me to introduce it at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Continue, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Dr. Rumely, I have a couple of questions I want to ask you about your publishing branch. Is that a corporation, the publishing house?

Mr. RUMELY. No; it is all in the name of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. All one?

Mr. RUMELY. All one, Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. DOYLE. Then your publishing department is just a department of the committee?

Mr. RUMELY. It is the major department of the committee. It is the major activity.

The CHAIRMAN. You are incorporated as an educational institution?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; as an educational institution, and we publish books that educate on needed topics.

Mr. DOYLE. Is it included in your tax-exemption?

Mr. RUMELY. What—the publishing—

Mr. DOYLE. The publishing end of your business.

Mr. RUMELY. We have no tax-exemption; nothing is deductible.

Mr. DOYLE. At the present time, you are rated as a commercial publisher?

Mr. RUMELY. We are not running a commercial publishing house.

Mr. DOYLE. But you do—

Mr. RUMELY. All of the profits are plowed back in; and some of the books lose money. I was criticized, in a trustees' meeting, for pricing *The Road Ahead* too low.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a nonprofit corporation, then?

Mr. RUMELY. Nonprofit corporation.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask you this, please. I am a member of the California bar; a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. I find that your committee has sent to me, through the mail, as a Member of Congress, two letters, recently. I am, apparently, on your mailing list.

Mr. RUMELY. We have all Members of Congress on the mailing list.

Mr. DOYLE. It is dated June 16, 1950. This refers to the Muellendorf letter.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Southern California Edison Co.

Mr. RUMELY. We sent those to 25,000.

Mr. DOYLE. Why did you send that to me as a Member of Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. Because we sent it to 25,000 businessmen, and I thought that you Members of Congress might be interested in knowing what we were saying to businessmen. We didn't send it to have any propaganda effect on you.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean, Dr. Rumely, that I am to understand that you didn't want that to have any effect on my thinking?

Mr. RUMELY. No; I wanted you to know what we were saying to the businessmen. We think the businessmen have been too timid. We thought that Muellendorf's example would make some of them talk up.

Mr. DOYLE. I have another letter which came to me through the United States mail.

I wish, also, to say I get mail, when I am practicing law back in California, from your committee. Why do you send me, as a lawyer, mail from your committee, these printed letters?

Mr. RUMELY. Because lawyers are leaders; lawyers can talk; 302 Members of the Senate and House are lawyers. We find that when lawyers write to their Congressmen, it is generally a pretty good letter. We find, also, that lawyers are looked up to in their communities for guidance on public matters.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you for the compliment.

Let me ask you another question. You testified a minute ago to the same thing you testified to yesterday, that you expected certain printed material to go into the hands of every fifth person?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. In the country.

Mr. RUMELY. Every fifth person in the towns that we are able to work.

Mr. DOYLE. In the towns in which you undertake to lobby in that manner.

Why are you trying to get your printed material into the hands of every fifth person in the particular communities?

Mr. RUMELY. Because we think that if we can get that many books out, they will talk, one to the other, about the book and its contents, and it will become the talk of the town. When it does that, it will be far more effective than if that had not occurred.

The CHAIRMAN. On election day?

Mr. RUMELY. We have a perfect right to put it out.

The CHAIRMAN. That was just a facetious statement.

Mr. RUMELY. We have a perfect right to put out any ideas we want, under the guaranty of the free press. What people do on election day is their business.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no objection to that.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this further question: You feel, Dr. Rumely, then, that that will have an effect on the thinking of American people?

Mr. RUMELY. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. In connection with elections?

Mr. RUMELY. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Or any other public matter?

Mr. RUMELY. We think we are drifting into a socialistic state, and the forces driving us that way are tremendously powerful, in the vast spending of the bureaucrats; and nothing but a revulsion of the public against that kind of socialism is going to bring a change.

Mr. DOYLE. I have in my hand, "Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State, Special Edition," distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government, published by the National Institute of Professional Service. You are familiar with that book?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Is there any business arrangement between your organization and that organization as to the distribution of the profits from this book, or the receipts?

Mr. RUMELY. What we sell, we keep all the profits of; but we had to buy, under royalty, the right to print.

Mr. DOYLE. Then may I ask, does any member of your board of trustees, other than you—I think you said you were not a member of the board?

Mr. RUMELY. I am not a member of the board.

Mr. DOYLE. Does any person in the employ of the committee, of which you are an executive director, receive 4-percent commission on all receipts, or any commission on all receipts, other than you?

Mr. RUMELY. No; no. I am the only member, in New York. We have some field men who sell books and get a percentage on the book sales.

Mr. DOYLE. That is what I am getting at.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. On sales of this literature, these men who go into the field and sell literature, that you hope to put in the hands of every fifth person, they get a commission on the sale of the books?

Mr. RUMELY. They get, generally, either 6 or 10 percent. But, in the bookstore, a book that sells for a dollar, only 50 cents goes to the publisher. So we are distributing much more cheaply than the book trade is.

The CHAIRMAN. In your January 1950 lobbying report, you list, under contributions of \$500 or more, the sum of \$20,000 from the National Institute of Professional Services?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the group, of course, that is sponsoring this particular booklet?

Mr. RUMELY. We had that contribution. Then we turned around and bought an edition of that book, which they had on their hands, for \$18,000. We spent the \$2,000 in distributing the book to certain lists that they supplied.

The CHAIRMAN. They supplied the lists?

Mr. RUMELY. I mean, it was a list of doctors that they indicated. I won't say "supplied." And from that point on—we are the printers

and publishers, and we pay a small royalty until their investment in the thing is wiped out.

Mr. DOYLE. I have one other question.

These photographs that we used yesterday, Dr. Rumely, and I pass them to you—I call your attention to the one on top——

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. That shows, as I count, 18 United States Government mail bags, apparently filled.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

(Picture of mail room, facing rear, is as follows:)



Mailing room of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, what is in those?

Mr. RUMELY. In those—franked releases.

Mr. DOYLE. For which you have already paid?

Mr. RUMELY. For which we paid. We are crowded for space, always; we have to keep them a few days until we can address them.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you have more sacks in the storeroom of franked material?

Mr. RUMELY. We have at times had many more.

Mr. DOYLE. One other question: I noticed, in many California papers, what I would call standard editorials, of exactly the same text. In your processes, do you send out stereotyped editorials?

Mr. RUMELY. No; we do not send out canned editorials. We send out informative information which we hope the papers will print. In a fight like this one, we picked out about 20 editorials that told our

side, and sent them to all newspapers in the United States. Those [indicating] are the editorials of other papers.

Mr. DOYLE. Just a minute.

Mr. RUMELY. We never send canned editorials.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you send out, in a preliminary fashion, an outline of material which you suggest is available to editors of newspapers, on any given subject, and following the use of that by some editors, you pick out 1 or 2 dozen editorials which are especially pleasing to you, and you send them broadcast over the Nation?

Mr. RUMELY. No; only when we are under high pressure.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. RUMELY. That is too expensive, the mailings. When your committee got after us, I did that, because it is the most effective tool—it shows all editors how typical editors were thinking, and the editor can appraise the source from which the editorial comes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you, in these editorials, make any point of the fact that all we were asking for was the same material that we had gathered from everybody else, and which they have very freely furnished to the committee—that is, the source of their contributions?

Mr. RUMELY. We reacted to two things: (1) the propaganda against us; I told Mr. Little, "If you insist upon getting our names, as book publishers, there will be war."

It is true, isn't it (addressing Mr. Little)?

Mr. DOYLE. Dr. Rumely—

Mr. RUMELY. I said, "On everything else we will cooperate." We did. But I told you [indicating Mr. Little], when you were in the office, "If you press for names of the people who buy our books, we will fight to the hilt."

Mr. DOYLE. Dr. Rumely, I hand you a group of printed pamphlets, and ask you if it isn't a fact that that group of pamphlets, editorials, was prepared by your organization and sent broadcast to the editors of American newspapers?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to have that inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you prepared a sample form?

Mr. RUMELY. No; that is all wrong. What we did was to subscribe to a clipping bureau to send us every mention of our committee and the Buchanan committee. We had about 200 editorials. It would have been too expensive to send 200. So I picked out about 20 typical editorials, and had them reproduced and distributed.

Mr. DOYLE. To the newspaper editors?

Mr. RUMELY. To all the editors in the United States, except the weeklies; and I was sorry I didn't have the money to send it to them.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of the editorials actually hit the real issue right on the nose?

Mr. RUMELY. How many?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RUMELY. The freedom of the press is in most of them.

When Mr. Little was in the office, I called up Brown, of Editor and Publisher, and said, "These people are pressing us to give the names of our book buyers; I think that is unconstitutional." And Brown said, "Yes; I think you are 100-percent right."

Mr. DOYLE. Dr. Rumely, may I ask you: You repeat the freedom of the press. I am not informed whether you print a newspaper or not. Do you?

Mr. RUMELY. We print books. Book publishing is as much under the protection of the first amendment as the printing of newspapers.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the committee would like to have it, I have a long brief on that subject, on the first amendment, showing that the freedoms guaranteed by the first amendment are not absolute; they may be the subject of governmental inquiry or control in the interest of restraining abuses within the constitutional ambit of governmental activity.

What we have proposed to do is not to stop Dr. Rumely from producing any of his propaganda. It is merely to make inquiry into it and see what he is doing, so that his activities will be placed in the "goldfish bowl." There is no restraint whatsoever.

Mr. RUMELY. You let it leak out that you were going to require the names of anybody who bought a hundred or more books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are you accusing me of that?

Mr. RUMELY. No; your group. You asked, in the first subpoena, for the names. One man, who had bought a thousand copies, didn't want his name mentioned. He immediately canceled down to 50. We lost the sale of \$25,000 worth of books through your propaganda.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me ask you, Dr. Rumely—

Mr. RUMELY. You are interfering with our publishing business when you begin to inquire to whom we sell.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean, the committee is?

Mr. RUMELY. Your committee is interfering with our publishing business.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, please: Those exhibits that I referred to, those were also mailed to Members of the Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. Certainly. I mailed them to all Members of the Congress, to all Washington correspondents, to all editors of daily newspapers, to all periodical publications, and to a few other smaller groups.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I have two other questions along that line: When these books are purchased, under your theory, the purchasers do not know in advance to whom those books may be mailed by you?

Mr. RUMELY. Most of the purchasers buy them, 90 percent, to be shipped to themselves; they know darn well whom they are going to give them to.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you send them to the purchaser?

Mr. RUMELY. Or the purchaser may say, "I want this group sent to the farm leaders," and if he designates it, at his choice, we will make the mailing.

Mr. DOYLE. You use the list in your office? If he says, "farm leaders," then you use the list in your office?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. So they don't get duplicates.

Mr. DOYLE. But he doesn't have the list?

Mr. RUMELY. He can have it, if he wants it. He designates it.

Mr. DOYLE. But he doesn't name the particular persons to whom you mail those books?

Mr. RUMELY. He mentions a particular group of persons. For example, this book, *Compulsory Medical Care*, we have one donor who has paid to send 15,550 libraries a copy of that book.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who was that?

Mr. RUMELY. I won't tell you.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You refuse?

Mr. RUMELY. Certainly, I refuse to tell you.

Let me finish.

I am looking around now for another donor to send a copy to 15,500 editors, because we wish that book to hit the editors on the same day that the library gets it, because the editor may be moved to say something about it, and build up interest in it.

Therefore, I am holding back the distribution of 15,550 to the libraries, until I can find some generous, public-spirited organization or person to pay for the distribution to the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you actually publish this book?

Mr. RUMELY. We publish it.

The CHAIRMAN. In your own headquarters—do you have a printing press?

Mr. RUMELY. No; we hire the printing done outside.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you are just the distributor of the material?

Mr. RUMELY. All publishers—only a few have printing presses—generally, they can buy it much more cheaply than they can print it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In regard to the attack upon the committee, on the ground that they do not have any authority, I want to at this time offer for the record, borne out by evidence, that the committee is fully within its rights.

In the recent case of *Oklahoma Press Publishing Co. v. Walling*, supra, the validity—

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a Supreme Court decision?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes; 327 United States Reports 186.

A subpoena requiring a publisher to disclose the source and receipt of advertisements was upheld against the same constitutional objections asserted here.

The breadth of Congress' right of inquiry, and specifically its right to find out the source of an individual's or corporation's receipt of funds as against the same constitutional objections raised here, is also demonstrated by the recent cases against the Hollywood writers, Lawson and Trumbo, certiorari denied April 10, 1950. These cases established that a congressional committee may compel disclosure of one's political beliefs and associations. Surely, Edward A. Rumely is not entitled to a greater immunity for disclosure of the names of the purchasers of the literature of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

Mr. HALLECK. Counsel may be right about his legal conclusions, but, after all, there is an issue drawn that cannot be settled here.

Mr. RUMELY. You cite me for contempt and bring me to trial and you will get an education on the Bill of Rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rumely, will you permit Mr. Halleck to continue.

Mr. HALLECK. All I wanted to say, Mr. Chairman, was that I have no objection to counsel putting that in the record; but whatever legal

issue may be raised by the refusal of Dr. Rumely to give to the committee the names of persons who bought books, is a matter that will have to be settled in the courts; obviously, it can't be settled here.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel has furnished for the record this material, in answer to the statement made by Mr. Rumely.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In closing, I would like to introduce some evidence on America's Future and Fighters for Freedom, which Mr. Doyle went into.

Here is a telegram from Lammot du Pont, soliciting contributions for America's Future, under date of October 10, 1949, and another dated April 11, 1949, from J. Howard Pew, of Pennsylvania. Apparently, Lammot du Pont was soliciting for the committee.

(The telegrams mentioned above are as follows:)

WILMINGTON, DEL., October 10, 1949.

Copy of telegram sent to you and others:

"Last year we and other Delaware citizens helped finance America's future. Its program now on over 100 stations, including WDEL, can be extended to 300 or more if adequately financed. You get high leverage through your dollars being matched severalfold by local sponsors paying for radio time, speakers donating their talent and America's Future distributing printed texts also Constitution books and prizes for best letters from listeners. This constructive work needs immediate help of additional supporters. Treasury ruled gifts deductible. Please make your or your company's check payable America's Future, Inc., and send to Walter J. Laird, Wilmington Trust Co."

LAMMOT DU PONT.
J. WARREN MARSHALL.

APRIL 11, 1949.

CONFIRMATION

We believe this request merits your consideration. After 3 years' highly successful Sunday afternoon ABC network broadcasts, America's Future, a non-partisan, nonprofit, educational organization, has enlarged program to bring twice every week outstanding national leaders upholding economic freedom and the American way of life to radio audiences across the entire Nation. Twenty-five nationally known leaders, each with prestige and special knowledge about subject matter, will speak each quarter, Pettengill speaking twice.

If the trend to socialism is to be checked and our form of government with economic freedom and constitutional liberties safeguarded such radio programs must be continued. They carry the facts to the man on the street, who holds the future of our country in the hollow of his hand. Patriotic citizens throughout the Nation, many of them well known to you, are helping to finance this program.

We in Philadelphia are requested to give initial financial support to project this program through local sponsors. Will you join with us in giving financial support to our budget goal? United States Treasury has ruled in writing such gifts deductible for individuals and corporations. Please make your own or your company's check payable to America's Future, Inc., and send to Percy C. Madelra, Jr., president, Land Title Bank & Trust Co.

J. HOWARD PEW.
MILLARD D. BROWN.
HARVEY BEYER.

Mr. RUMELY. Not for the Committee for Constitutional Government. That is America's Future. Don't confuse it. They are wholly separate.

Mr. FITZGERALD. They are in the same building?

Mr. RUMELY. They have an office a floor above us.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In the same building?

Mr. RUMELY. In the same building. That doesn't make them identical with us.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, what difference does it make if Mr. Lamot du Pont is suggesting that somebody contribute to America's Future? Is there anything wrong with that? What difference does it make, in this inquiry? We know that people write to raise money to carry on these activities. It is one of those elemental things that we can all assume. It certainly doesn't shed any light, in my opinion, on techniques. In my opinion, it is just an effort to do a sineer by association because somehow or other Mr. Lamot du Pont, it is assumed, I suppose, isn't supposed to be able to do anything that he thinks ought to be done in respect to opinion in the Government, or anything else. I don't subscribe to that view.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter has no reference, of course, to the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It was found in the files of the Committee for Constitutional Government. If you will allow me to, I will show you the tie-up.

Mr. RUMELY. America's Future has a file in that room. You found it in the America's Future file.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In your office.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. I say, there is an America's Future file in there. You found it in the America's Future file.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have letters from you regarding America's Future, in which you point out the whole scheme.

This is a letter signed by Sumner Gerard, a trustee of your outfit, who is explaining the radio time contracted for by America's Future, and the fact that you have a Congressman on your payroll; is that not right? In regard to America's Future, handling some kind of a broadcast for you?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, we have provision to put all relevant material in the record. There is no use getting into discussion as to one particular letter or the other.

Mr. HALLECK. May I see those exhibits?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May we identify them?

Here is a memorandum in regard to the organization of Fighters for Freedom. It bears a penciled memo of a date "about April 1950." It is undated, but there is a penciled notation in the upper right-hand corner setting forth the date of April 1950. This was found in the files of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., and mentions the organization, Fighters for Freedom.

(The memorandum mentioned above is as follows:)

MEMORANDUM

Monday, May 2d, starts a new phase in the committee's activities launching the Fighters for Freedom, the biggest and most important movement ever projected.

Now can we get up newspaper announcements and magazine articles and when should these be released

We must make a contributor's mailing to 1948, 1947, and 1946, urging their enlistment and the enlistment of others by them. The mailing to the 1949 contributors should tell them that we are not asking them to give again in this most important movement but to enlist one other. The letter must set forth the necessary goal—once we get the first 100,000 Fighters for Freedom we shall have funds and income and helpers enough to carrying forward the movement—distributing the load on their shoulders.

Mailings should be made to physicians, dentists, corporation presidents. Business leaders can be told that we will fight their battle. The Gallagher statement must be used to businessmen.

Ads should be worked out in selected cities. Radio transcriptions made available.

Sargent and other, such as Ralph W. Gwinn, Albert Hawkes,

These should be made a telegraphic and mailing campaign without a meeting. Discuss this with help.

This platform has been worked over and contains contributions for the best minds in the committee.

Make a drive to get \$100,000 working fund from top-level contributors to finance the committee's effort. These moneys must come from maybe 15 or 20 giving in substantial amounts and from possibly 500 averaging \$1,000 each.

John L. Lewis took a quarter of a million out of the miner's fund simply to hire experienced smear journalists to precede his organizing efforts into which he threw a million dollars. It would damn FFF to get concentrated big money from any one source but we do need to reach out for \$100,000.

Between May 1 and June 10 at least 250,000 letters of solicitation for FFF memberships and financing must go out to supplement the community-by-community effort.

Mr. RUMELY. That is part of the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is part of your committee?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Here is another one, a letter from E. A. Rumely to Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn, under date of November 4, 1949, in regard to the organization of a "special front," as a division of "Fighters for Freedom" to induce inaction on Housing bill.

Did you write that letter, and is that part of the Committee for Constitutional Government, that "special front"?

(The letter mentioned above is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 4, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,

Pawling, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GWINN: A question arises in Dallas where a real-estate group are determined to oppose action by the city of the aid offered by the recently enacted Federal housing bill.

It has been suggested by some of our members that a special front should be organized as a division of Fighters for Freedom to carry through in Dallas an educational campaign that would induce the city authorities to refuse to act under the provisions of the housing bill.

This, of course, would highlight one issue. It might spearhead resistance to Federal housing across the Nation.

It is good policy to make this fight locally, under the banner of Fighters for Freedom, or would it overemphasize one aspect?

You said recently in private conversation that the housing bill was passed by a very narrow margin against serious opposition. It is also the fact that the building cycle, 9 years down, seems to move independently of all other economic forces and that we have passed the crisis, and are apparently on the way down. Furthermore, never has so large a percentage of the building on the upswing been done near the top at top-level prices.

The experts who study this believe that within a year or two old housing will be available at lower prices and that some of the new buildings will be a drag on the market with GI's and others who as young people were driven to build at a time in life when normally they should have been renters. If that prediction proves true, a city will save itself headaches by not rushing in.

I have already sent you the chart showing this figure.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. RUMELY. Let me see the letter?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The chairman has it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the one dated November 4, 1949. You have a copy there in your hand.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Here is the letter dated December 1, 1947, from Sumner Gerard, a trustee of Committee for Constitutional Govern-

ment, to Hon. James W. Gerard, in which he explains about the radio time contracted by America's Future, Inc.

Mr. RUMELY. That America's Future doesn't relate to Fighters for Freedom.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the Fighters for Freedom?

Mr. RUMELY. Fighters for Freedom is a division of the Committee for Constitutional Government, where you are enrolled, you send in \$2 or \$5 or \$10 or \$25, and—

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the purpose?

Mr. RUMELY. Its purpose is to get people to stand up for a platform.

Mr. HALLECK. Let's have the platform read, if it is important.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is it a political organization, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. No. Democrats in the South and Republicans in the North, and Democrats in the North and some Republicans in the South.

Mr. HALLECK. How long is that platform?

Mr. RUMELY. Just one page. Let me read it.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask from what you are reading?

Mr. RUMELY. John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead*.

The CHAIRMAN. This is an appendix to the paper-bound copy of *The Road Ahead*, by John T. Flynn?

Mr. FITZGERALD. This gives the background of Fighters for Freedom; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

Fighters for Freedom realize that those who have lost freedom have not the strength to regain it, and that those who have it seldom realize, until too late, how easily their freedom can be lost beyond recall. Therefore, they believe it to be the duty of every American, and especially of our officials and elected Representatives, to:

1. Pitilessly expose communism; deport or imprison all conspirators striving the overthrow our Government; and stop the march to fascism or socialism.

2. Restore the American incentives, to work, own, and save, and the old rewards to individuals for producing more and better services and material goods; defend their human rights to hold, use, and dispose of all property honestly acquired; and protect the property and income of all citizens from seizure or confiscation.

3. Protect every individual's right to work where he will, his right to bargain and contract as he wishes, his right to quit when he will, if not under contract, and his right to go to and from his home and his place of business or occupation without interference by any individual, organization, or Government agency. Eliminate mass picketing, rioting, and terrorism. Restore and protect the right of every individual to enjoy freedom and the fruits of his own efforts.

4. Safeguard our system of free, untrammelled, competitive markets, and apply antitrust laws fearlessly and equally to all monopolies, both of business and labor.

5. Stop using taxpayers' money to compete against private enterprise.

6. Build down Washington's swollen bureaucratic big government; strengthen State and local governments and free them from Federal financial and administrative control. Reduce the Federal payroll by discharging needless jobholders. Stop the waste of public funds. Balance the budget.

7. Protest against politicians buying votes by promising Federal aid for education, socialized medicine, and public housing, which results eventually in Federal control.

8. Stop inflation—the process which, by cheapening the dollar, defrauds all thrifty Americans who have insurance policies, social-security cards, bank deposits, or investments. Stop deflation—the process which throws millions out of work and bankrupts employers. Encourage, not penalize, thrift. Keep American citizens solvent.

9. Abolish or reduce immediately those taxes which especially hinder saving and capital accumulation. These are essential for expanding old enterprises and

providing new and better tools, and for financing new inventions and new risk-taking, job-making enterprises which assure increased production and higher income for wage workers and others. Limit by constitutional amendment the peacetime taxing power of the Federal Government.

10. Preserve the Constitution with its Bill of Rights, and oppose all attempts to violate it by legislation, usurpation, or evasion.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This is an exhibit, a letter dated November 4, 1949, which has just come back from the chairman—it was passed up to him—signed by Edward A. Rumely, to Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn, of New York. The second paragraph says, and I quote: "It has been suggested by some of our members that a special front should be organized as"—

Mr. RUMELY. Special committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. " * * * front."

Mr. RUMELY. "Front" was used in the sense of a committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. "Front" and "committee" being synonymous?

Mr. RUMELY. "Front" and "committee" being synonymous. They wanted to get a special committee that opposed socialized housing in Dallas.

Mr. FITZGERALD. To read on: "front should be organized as a division of Fighters for Freedom to—"

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. "Carry through in Dallas"—that means, Texas?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. "An educational campaign that would induce the city authorities to refuse to act under the provisions of the housing bill."

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. They shouldn't look to Washington for Federal funds to build their local housing.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you hold a position in Fighters for Freedom?

Mr. RUMELY. Just as much as in the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do they have interlocking directorships?

Mr. RUMELY. They have no separate directors. They are a part of the committee. It is an approach that is made to get local interest. We enlist thousands. In Dallas, we hope to enlist six or eight thousand Fighters for Freedom. They will be on our mailing list. They will receive material. They will be urged to speak up and stand for that program.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the funds of the Committee for Constitutional Government commingled with the funds of Fighters for Freedom?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. HALLECK. I want to interject, since this housing business has come up: Everyone knows, or could, if they look at the record, that I voted against it. My information is that, although the law has been on the books about a year, they have yet to turn the first shovel of dirt, while private enterprise, which Mr. Rumely seems to think is doing pretty well, has built about a million units in that time.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In the undated memorandum, with the pencilled notation with regard to the date of "About April 1950," it says—and this is a direct quote from you, Dr. Rumely:

It would damn Fighters for Freedom to get concentrated big money from any one source but we do need to reach out for \$100,000.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many members are there in Fighters for Freedom in the United States, today?

Mr. RUMELY. So far, we have enlisted about 50,000 people. They are paying \$5 or \$6 each. We hope to get 250,000, and have them pay about \$10 each. Then we will be strong enough to make some impression.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Was that "front" organization ever formed, that was mentioned?

Mr. RUMELY. No; it was not. On discussion, we decided we wouldn't get in that local issue and would stick to the general principle.

When you take out of our files a thought like that, that we bring up for discussion, and project it through the whole country—you ought to wait, first, to see whether it was done.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is why I am asking—I don't know.

Mr. RUMELY. You are not asking privately; you are asking before the press and the whole country.

Mr. DOYLE. That is one of the purposes of the committee, Dr. Rumely, to get the honest facts, whatever they are.

Mr. RUMELY. I am perfectly willing to give everything except one thing. I haven't withheld anything, except the names of the buyers of our books. Those you can't have.

Mr. FITZGERALD. With regard to America's Future, that is a radio program, is it not?

Mr. RUMELY. America's Future is a separate organization that puts on radio programs; put on by Sam Pettengill for 2 years; now puts on, America Speaks Up.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is Sumner Gerard's connection with it?

Mr. RUMELY. Sumner Gerard was the treasurer, first.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He is also a trustee of the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. There are two common trustees. Unfortunately, the number of people who will take the initiative on public affairs is very limited. Sam McClure said that 20 men taken out of the Colonies—and we would have had no country, no Bill of Rights, no Constitution. The number of men who will put time and effort in, is all too limited. Therefore, you have got to take the few who are willing to work. Ninety percent of the trustees are different. It is a separate organization.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like to introduce a letter dated December 1, 1947, from Sumner Gerard to James W. Gerard with regard to America's Future.

(The letter mentioned above is as follows:)

DECEMBER 1, 1947.

HON. JAMES W. GERARD,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR JIMMY: For more than 10 years our Committee for Constitutional Government has been carrying on while other organizations have come and gone. We have been successful in nearly every issue we have tackled. A tribute to our effectiveness can be read in the bitter antagonism of leftist groups. Through America's Future, Inc., we have put Sam Pettengill on the air through a Nationwide hook-up. We want to keep him there. In each case the revenue comes from contributions and the sale of our literature. In the hope you will contribute \$2,500 to each of these organizations let me outline as briefly as possible their general nature. Note, both tax deductible.

AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC.

During the first days of December the trustees of America's Future must make a decision on contracting for the Pettengill radio broadcasts during the second quarter of the second year. An affirmative decision can be made only if they have assurance of support from contributors to last year's program and as many new ones we can stir up.

Pettengill's listening audience went up 50 percent in the first month of the second year's broadcasts, and he now reaches 2½ million listeners every Sunday. His mail comes from men and women in all walks, and a surprisingly large number of letters are received from men in official positions—Congressmen, governors, judges, editors, educators.

His broadcast on Communists in the motion-picture industry has helped stimulate thinking both in Congress and across the Nation. Today I received the following telegram:

"SUMNER GERARD.

"Trustee, America's Future, Inc., New York, N. Y.:

"Send 200 copies of Pettengill's broadcast of November 9 on 'Does Congress Have the Right To Ask If You Are a Communist?' Also permission to quote from his speech on local university broadcast programs to run his speech in our college paper.

"E. C. NANCE,

"President, University of Tampa, Tampa, Fla."

Pettengill's broadcasts are also having a wide distribution in printed form. Thirteen were inserted in the Congressional Record, from which hundreds of thousands of reprints were made. Of the Pettengill broadcast, "What Henry Ford Taught America," 700,000 have been distributed in the attached folder form, 100,000 from the Congressional Record, and a circulation of 800,000 has been secured by reprinting in scores of house organs and employees' publications, making a total printed circulation of 1,600,000.

In a meeting prior to December 10 America's Future's trustees will have to decide on the continuation of the Pettengill radio program during the second quarter. They feel that they cannot renew unless they have substantial support from those who gave previously and from new contributors who feel the broadcasts should be continued.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

About 5 years ago the Committee for Constitutional Government asked itself if the American people were ready to depart from the Constitution and competitive free enterprise when these have given them more freedom, better housing, better food, and a higher scale of living than any people ever enjoyed. Investigation proved that we are failing to drill into our children the fundamentals of our system.

When we tried to drive the Rugg textbooks out of the high schools the cost in a few cities was too great because the public was not interested. We thereupon reversed our tactics and undertook to do what the churches have done by distributing 6 to 8 million copies of the Bible each year.

No book on the Constitution, which Al Smith called the civil bible of Americans, had ever been distributed in more than 20,000 to 30,000 copies. We took up Norton's book, *The Constitution of the United States—Its Sources and Its Application*, which has been selected by a committee of the American Bar Association, under the chairmanship of the Honorable James M. Beck, former Solicitor General of the United States, as the best available book on the Constitution, and to date we have distributed more than 1,000,000 copies and have 130,000 additional copies coming from the presses.

Colleges are asking for larger quantities of the Norton book because last year's distribution enabled them to see how valuable the book was with their students. We have unfilled requests for 65,000 copies. Contributions to colleges, to enable them to buy copies of the Norton book, are tax deductible. If the burden of our inventory and of supplying the book to these colleges were lifted, funds would be freed for the committee's other work.

We are doing a job against confiscatory taxation of upper brackets such as never has been attempted by any other organization. Please see Robert B. Dresser's booklet *Suggestions for Changes in the Federal Tax Laws in 1948*. Harvey Fruehauf, one of our trustees, has sent a copy of this booklet to his 6,600

stockholders, with a letter urging them to speak up to their Congressmen. He then wrote to 25,000 business leaders a letter, copy attached hereto. Now, from businessmen all over the country we are receiving orders for hundreds and in some cases thousands of copies of the Dresser booklet, which they in turn are sending to their stockholders.

Under Representative Knutson's frank 20,000 copies of Dr. King's testimony have gone to pivotal leaders, and we plan as fast as funds permit to send 10,000 or more copies of this. You will note how favorably the members of the House Ways and Means Committee responded to Dr. King's presentation. Also note the charts on pages 6, 7, and 11 in Fruehauf's letter.

If we can get a little more seed money or if we can release funds from inventory by having the distribution of the Norton book underwritten, we can step up this campaign so that we can reach our goal of placing the Dresser booklet in the hands of 300,000 to 500,000 pivotal leaders in every State.

Would you be willing to contribute \$2,500 of deductible funds to colleges? Excuse me for plastering you with all this, but they are worth-while causes to which I give time and money without pecuniary compensation whatsoever.

Yours sincerely,

SUMNER GERARD.

MR. DOYLE. May I ask this: I don't suppose a busy man like Sumner Gerard wrote these letters that he affixes his name to?

MR. RUMELY. He writes a darn good letter.

MR. DOYLE. Did he write those letters, letters in which he solicits funds?

MR. RUMELY. Some of them. Some of them we prepared. Sumner Gerard was vice president and assistant treasurer.

MR. DOYLE. How often does the board of trustees meet, Doctor?

MR. RUMELY. The board of trustees meets, by requirement, every 3 months. They have an executive committee that has been meeting every month. Every member on the board gets, every day, mailings from the office, showing what is going on. They write, telephone, confer with each other.

MR. DOYLE. How many members are on the Executive Committee?

MR. RUMELY. Nine.

MR. DOYLE. What is the average attendance at the executive-committee meetings?

MR. RUMELY. You mean, how many?

MR. DOYLE. What is the average attendance?

MR. RUMELY. Five or six.

MR. DOYLE. Of the nine?

MR. RUMELY. Yes. You are talking about the committee now?

MR. DOYLE. Yes.

MR. RUMELY. The committee—the executive committee: Dr. King, Mr. Saxauer, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Gerard, and Mr. Dresser.

MR. DOYLE. How often do they really meet?

MR. RUMELY. They have met about four times in the last 2 months—five times.

MR. FITZGERALD. With regard to America's Future, do they also subsidize a column in the newspaper?

MR. RUMELY. They do not.

MR. FITZGERALD. Do they make arrangements for it?

MR. RUMELY. No.

MR. FITZGERALD. Did they ever?

MR. RUMELY. At one time.

MR. FITZGERALD. Who was columnist for them?

MR. RUMELY. At first, Pettingill was the columnist, and now King and Ralph Gwinn write a column every week, one each.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does Gwinn write that column, himself?

Mr. RUMELY. He does.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As a matter of fact, you wrote it for him on one occasion?

Mr. RUMELY. That is not true.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Here is a letter from your files dated April 20, 1950, addressed to the Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn, and signed by you:

We felt that the column today could be sharpened somewhat and trust you will be in accord with the text submitted herewith.

And then you submit two pages of text, which I believe is in your handwriting.

INSIDE YOUR CONGRESS

(By Ralph W. Gwinn, M. C.)

COMMON SYMPTOMS OF SOCIALISM

It becomes apparent, by taking votes of the people in a series of public meetings, that we have no clear idea what socialism is in the rest of the world. What ails it? Nor have we defined for ourselves what socialism is if that is the ailment. A majority say that, whatever it is that ails us, we have not got socialism.

One thing is sure. We have abandoned the maintenance of personal responsibility and individual freedom as the primary purpose of Government. In the days of personal responsibility for ourselves and our income or property and for the disposition of it, we paid no personal income taxes at all to the Federal Government. Thus we could have no socialism in our system at that time. For socialism depends absolutely on the collection of personal income taxes and giving them to someone else. Socializing means exploiting one group in favor of another group that has in it the more organized votes.

Where each of you is self-governing, and free from such exploitation by some other mere men exercising political power over your income or production or the disposition of it as you please that is free individualism. That is the free economy, or freedom under our Constitution prohibiting such exercise of the power of government over you.

Whenever a central government takes from you 27 percent (as ours does) of your entire income or production, that makes socialism absolutely inevitable. For, at that point, the Federal, State, and local government is taking one-third of your days out of every week, or 13 hours out of every 40 of your time, so that you can no longer produce in the time left enough for yourself and family. That makes it impossible for millions of us to pay the going rent, or build our own houses, or feed ourselves at current prices, or provide for medical care and hospitalization and old-age security and the rest of our needs.

So, in these regards, millions of us are already completely managed or socialized from Washington.

Over seventeen million of us balance our family budgets wholly or partially on checks from Washington.

The old definition of socialism—viz, a system where government owns the means of production and allocates your share to you—is more antiquated than the horse and buggy. The modern Socialist government prefers that you own the cow, and feed and care for her, and keep her going at top production, so it can take a larger and larger share of the milk or its equivalent in taxes. So, wherever it takes a third of the milk or the value of it in taxes, it does in fact manage or dictate for all practical purposes your economic life if it depends on that cow.

These are the common symptoms of socialism in terms of the things we need. What are they in the persons that manage the nations?

The commonest symptom is that the men who fail miserably in governing and managing themselves devise schemes to reconstruct the whole society. They propose to manage it as they managed themselves.

Mr. RUMELY. No; it is in Gwinn's own handwriting. They were just a suggestion or two—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you look it over?

Mr. RUMELY. I have it here.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are those your suggestions?

Mr. RUMELY. No, no; those are his own.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What do you mean by "sharpened"?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know—there may have been a word or two.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That were dull, and you wanted to sharpen it?

Mr. RUMELY. There may have been a word or two there that—everybody who writes does that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You say, you have no connection—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel—

Mr. FITZGERALD (continuing). With America's Future?

Mr. RUMELY. That isn't America's Future. That is "Features for America." That is distinct—

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Gwinn.

Mr. GWINN. May I ask that the gentleman be allowed to give the details of "sharpening" the text, since counsel seems to question it?

Mr. HALLECK. As a matter of fact, I don't see where that adds anything to the inquiry. Maybe it does—I don't know. I have no objection to it. I am sure that Mr. Gwinn would have no objection to it, because he certainly is an honorable Member of the House of Representatives, with whom, I am sure, we are all glad to be associated.

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Chairman, you know how sensitive we are when the intimation is that somebody else writes our stuff.

The CHAIRMAN. We will terminate that line of approach.

Mr. RUMELY. All these corrections that he thought were in my handwriting are in Congressman Gwinn's handwriting.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you want to terminate that line of questioning?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We will dispense with that.

How many organizations do you have? So far, I have counted five. Is that accurate? Could we clarify the record?

Mr. RUMELY. There is a misstatement of fact in your question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you clarify it?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the question?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read the question, please.

(Question read.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. Strike the question.

Would you, Mr. Rumely, name the organizations that the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., either dominates or has set up, in New York or elsewhere, to carry on their activities?

Mr. RUMELY. The Committee for Constitutional Government set up the Fighters for Freedom—

The CHAIRMAN. How about the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation?

Mr. RUMELY. I will come to that, in just a moment.

It has indirect control of Features for America. That is an organization that syndicates the columns of Dr. Willford I. King and Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn in the newspapers.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is known as Features for America?

Mr. RUMELY. Features for America, Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a separate organization?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But an adjunct of Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. That sends the column to the press. Then the committee acquires or buys the right to reprint that column as a Paul Revere Message. And why we are so highly respected—one of the reasons why we are so highly respected, is because 65,000 people who receive this Paul Revere Message every 2 or 3 weeks, and who pick up numbers that appeal to them and distribute them further. Sometimes we put them into printed bulletins and distribute them as printed folders—that is, the Fighters for Freedom.

Features for America.

Those are the only organizations dominated by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Those two?

Mr. RUMELY. Those three.

Frank Gannett organized America's Future. America's Future has a wholly independent board of trustees, wholly independent operation, wholly independent financially, and has overlapping, two trustees out of a dozen. That is a separate organization. It does one thing—it can buy their mailing facilities of us more cheaply than they can possibly create them, themselves, because they couldn't stand a \$12,000-a-year man.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you have their correspondence in your files?

Mr. RUMELY. We have a separate file; we have a separate file.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In your office?

Mr. RUMELY. In our office. But their office—95 percent of their work is upstairs, in their office, and is carried on there, entirely separate.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you sign the checks for that organization, or does your daughter?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; I countersign the checks. Mr. Harding, the treasurer, handles them. If there are expenditures for printed matter—they can't afford, with their operation, to pay for highly skilled bookkeeping—

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are acting in a dual capacity. Do you receive any pay from America's Future?

Mr. RUMELY. I receive no pay from America's Future; I receive no pay from the Free Enterprise Foundation.

Mr. DOYLE. If they are entirely independent of you, as the executive director of the Committee for Constitutional Government, why do you countersign the checks and control the bank account?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't control the bank account.

Mr. DOYLE. You countersign the checks?

Mr. RUMELY. Because I happen to know what printing matter costs, and when my signature goes on, it means that the bill is legitimate and the price that is being paid for the printed matter is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you get a percentage on all their receipts, too?

Mr. RUMELY. Not a penny; not one penny.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. DOYLE. I have a couple more questions.

Mr. HALLECK. Go ahead. Excuse me.

Mr. RUMELY. I haven't covered the Foundation. The Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation was set up to avoid all influencing of legislation; to print books, like Keys to Prosperity, or that in-

spirational book, *It's Up To You*, and to distribute them to colleges and universities. They just wrote to 1,740 college presidents and said, "Here is a sample of *'It's Up To You'*; if you want up to 50 copies, let us know." If you could see the letters from college presidents, saying, "We want as many as we can get, because we want to place them in the hands of our students"—what harm is there in that?

Mr. DOYLE. Are the radio commentators in your pay?

Mr. RUMELY. No. All the men who are doing the speaking—Pettengill was, but since he left the committee, all of the speakers have volunteered their time, have contributed the fruits of their lives' experience.

Mr. DOYLE. The other committees that have been cooperating with us volunteered the information that as part of their lobbying they also undertook to influence national political platforms.

Mr. RUMELY. Not America's Future.

Mr. DOYLE. If you will let me finish the question please:

Does the Committee for Constitutional Government undertake to influence either the platform of the Democratic National Convention or the Republican Convention, nationally?

Mr. RUMELY. Except as our printed books, and things, may affect people's thinking, we don't.

Mr. DOYLE. In no other way?

Mr. RUMELY. No; no other way. Mr. Dresser is on the resolutions committee of the Republican Party, and he may do it, as an individual.

Mr. DOYLE. You haven't undertaken to, have you?

Mr. RUMELY. I haven't.

Mr. DOYLE. I have here what I am told was taken from your files. I will ask you to identify it. I will pass it to Mr. Halleck, first.

The CHAIRMAN. "Suggestions for Republican Platform for 1948."

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to have the witness identify it.

Your secretary has now given you a duplicate copy of the instrument to which I refer. I will ask you to identify it.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. That, I am told, was found in your files.

Mr. RUMELY. That was not an official committee thing. One of our trustees, either Earl Harding, or Dresser, wrote that, and sent it in.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This was taken from your files?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you have a copy in your hand?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The caption is, "Suggestions for Republican Platform for 1948"; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. You asked me whether the committee took a stand—

Mr. HALLECK. Let me see it; may be we should have adopted it. Let me see what it says. Maybe we didn't get it in time.

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

I. FOREWORD

Freedom of the individual under constitutional government or slavery under some form of European socialism, is the immediate issue of this election year. The American people will either return to the freedom of capitalistic private enterprise which made the United States the greatest, strongest, richest country in the world, with the world, with the highest scale of living of any people in all history, or they will sink to the low level of socialistic serfdom. The two

systems cannot be mixed. One, or the other, must survive. The choice must be made now.

Other nations, weakened by socialism and ruined by war, seek our aid while pursuing the very opposite of the social and economic system which has made it possible for us to extend our aid. Despite all this, some Americans amazingly believe the alien propaganda that our American system of private enterprise is "outmoded" and that the only way to discourage communism, either at home or abroad, is to adopt more of the Communist controls practiced by the New Deal through its 10 years.

II. No. 1

The No. 1 problem which the country faces, surpassing all others in importance, is how not to lose, and how to restore and preserve our American economic system on which depends the very freedom of our people.

"With this in mind, let us analyze the problem and see what things must be done to achieve that objective."

Mr. FITZGERALD. You wrote that? It was in your file?

Mr. RUMELY. I did not. Either Mr. Harding—I can't tell you—either Mr. Harding or Mr. Dresser sent it in.

Mr. DOYLE. Doctor, may I make it clear, in asking you this question, I don't criticize this statement at all; I am in accord with it. But the purpose of my asking you is to see the extent to which your committee goes in and undertakes to influence political action.

Mr. RUMELY. Our committee didn't do anything with this.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the origin of this? I am told it was found in your files.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. We get hundreds of letters. We have a lot of people that we have stimulated, who send in suggestions of every kind.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have any suggestions for the Democratic National Platform? If you do, I would like to have you produce them.

Mr. RUMELY. I haven't any. Nobody happened to send any. This was not an action of the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who is Mr. Earl Harding?

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Harding was, until recently, one of the trustees of the committee; resigned.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Was he a trustee in 1948?

Mr. RUMELY. He was a trustee.

Mr. DOYLE. He sent that in to you?

Mr. RUMELY. He sent that in. We did nothing with it.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Passing on to your tax deductibility status, do all of these organizations that you have described here this morning, do they all enjoy the tax deductibility status, the same tax deductibility status?

Mr. RUMELY. America's Future and the Foundation for Free Enterprise, because they never attempt to influence legislation, enjoy a ruling of tax deductibility. Unfortunately, we don't get recognition as an educational outfit for contributions made to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. FitzGerald, will you come to the table, please.

(Discussion between committee members and counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess. I will ask Mr. Rumely to return at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. We will resume at 3 o'clock this afternoon, at which time Mr. Hart will appear for a brief period.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 3 p. m. of the same day.)

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1950

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Lanham, Doyle, Brown, and O'Hara.

Also present: Benedict E. Fitzgerald, Jr., committee counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The reporter will note that a quorum is present: The chairman, Mr. Lanham, Mr. Doyle, Mr. Brown.

Mr. Rumely, will you resume the stand, please?

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD A. RUMELY, ACCOMPANIED BY NEIL BURKINSHAW, COUNSEL,—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I have been thinking about Mr. Rumely's testimony the other day that, in his judgment, his Committee for Constitutional Government is comparable to a university and, of course, that includes the publishing end of his committee. I think it would be valuable, for our thinking and for the record, to have a comparison of the publishing business and the lobbying business.

I believe that the record shows the Committee for Constitutional Government is one of the heaviest-spending lobbying groups on record. Its reports show that it has spent over \$2,000,000 since the lobbying bill went into effect. It claims that it does not need to reveal the identity of its biggest financial supporters.

Of course, universities do reveal the identity of their biggest financial supporters, and are proud of it. Dr. Rumely, as I think the record will show—and I don't think he denies it—the other day described the organization, that is, the printing part, as an ordinary commercial publisher.

That is true, isn't it, Dr. Rumely?

Dr. RUMELY. That is true.

Mr. DOYLE. That being true, I would like to make this brief analysis of what, in my judgment, is the differentiation between a commercial publisher and a lobbying organization.

I wish to say that, from the facts before me at this time, I specifically praise his organization, from top to bottom, as a lobbying organization and as a most efficient one.

A commercial publisher takes the normal risks of operating a private business. It does not beg the public for money to help carry it on. A commercial publisher expects to pay income taxes on the receipts. It does not seek a tax exemption, as does this lobbying committee. A commercial publisher is in business for profit. A commercial publisher ordinarily is not, primarily, an advocate. A commercial publisher does not constantly grand out pamphlets, leaflets, books, and so forth, which present only one side of a subject.

I appraise the pamphlets and books which this committee has put out, as presenting one side of the subject.

A commercial publisher does not couple his publishing activities with insistent appeals to the citizenship to bring pressure on Members of Congress in order to influence legislation. Ordinary publishers in the United States are not governed by the Federal Lobbying Act in any way and need not file reports. The ordinary publisher is not attempting to influence legislation; it is attempting to make money.

The issue should not be confused by attempts of out-and-out lobbying organizations to conceal their objectives or to keep the public from being fully familiar with all their activities, including where they get their money, and how they spend it. The Committee for Constitutional Government, as near as I can see, has attempted in this hearing to liken itself into an educational institution. In doing so, I think, Dr. Rumely—and I am stating it frankly, Dr. Rumely, in your presence—an educational institution does not spend millions of dollars in pamphleteering campaigns designed to influence congressional action on education. Educational institutions do not engage in constant campaigns for funds to carry on lobbying activities. Educational institutions do not couple their activities with incessant appeals to the citizenship to bring pressure on Members of Congress. Educational institutions present both sides of the question in objective fashion for appraisal of the public. An educational institution does not continually present only one viewpoint on its issues.

I wish to say that, considering all these points—and I have only given a portion of them, that come to me now—before Dr. Rumely concludes his testimony, I want to ask him a couple of more questions, but I say to you, Dr. Rumely, I think your claim, made yesterday and the day before, that your committee is an educational institution, is not founded in fact and is a false, unmeritorious claim. You are not a publisher in the ordinary sense; you are not an educational institution; you are a very capable and every exceptional lobbyist. To that extent, I compliment you. But, on your claim that you are an educational institution, I sharply differ with you. You are not, in my judgment, in my sense of the word.

Now, Mr. Chairman, may I ask a couple or more questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed

Mr. BROWN. May I comment, first, on the statement as to publishers?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle, will you yield to Mr. Brown?

Mr. DOYLE. Why, yes; in view of the fact that my colleague is well known as a very able and distinguished newspaper publisher, I am glad so to do.

Mr. BROWN. I appreciate the opportunity to comment at this point.

I was very much interested in the statement by the distinguished Member from California as to what a publisher is and what he is not.

Inasmuch as I have been a publisher for about 35 years, I am very appreciative of the opportunity to be enlightened on that subject.

However, if I read the Constitution of the United States correctly, the United States Constitution does not distinguish publishers as to whether they are commercial publishers or what type of publishers they are. The Constitution simply guarantees the freedom of the press and the right of American citizens to print what they please, so long as they do not deal in libel and slander, and to express their points and their opinions on any subject.

Why, in the very foundation, the foundation days of our Republic, a man named Thomas Paine published a great many pamphlets. They were certainly on one side, and only one side of the issue, Mr. Doyle. They were on the freedom of the Colonies and the right of individuals here in America to live under a republican form of government. Historically, if you go back, you will find there were all sorts of books and pamphlets published, without intervention on behalf of the Government, in the days prior to the Mexican War, urging intervention in the affairs down south of us at that time, and the protection of the Republic of Texas.

Then, for many years before the Civil War, there were all the abolitionist publications, tracts, pamphlets, and books, pleading that the Government of the United States do something against human slavery. And that has continued throughout the years.

We have, today, all sorts of societies and organizations that publish all sorts of books and all sorts of pamphlets, all sort of folders, that deal with religious issues, that deal with educational issues, that deal with matters of public policy. Many of those organizations, Mr. Doyle, if you will live with me as a publisher for a while, because they have approached us to do printing and publishing for them, many of those publications exist solely upon contributions, and they go out and seek those contributions.

I am reminded of some of the religious organizations, the different groups that go about, the Bible societies, and organizations of that sort, that take up contributions and publish their religious tracts. Some of their arguments are good and perhaps some of them are invalid, but, nevertheless, they believe in them.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

We have recognized that right.

The CHAIRMAN. We are making no effort, and I know the gentleman from Ohio is not making the point, that the committee is making any effort to prevent publication of any pamphlets or booklets, or anything of that sort—we are not making that effort—but what we are trying to do is to peruse the congressional requirements under the Lobbying Act, so far as full disclosure is concerned, and how various organizations are financed.

Mr. BROWN. I understand, Mr. Chairman—I appreciate your comment very much, but I am simply endeavoring, as I hope I have the right to do, at this point in the record, to try to clarify at least my own position, following the statement made by the able gentleman from California, in which he stated his opinion of what a publisher is and what a publisher isn't, and who are covered by the Lobbying Act and who are not covered by the Lobbying Act.

I am a publisher. Let's go on. I may also possibly be a lobbyist—I don't think I am—but I know many publishers in this country who have been interested, for instance, in the recent legislation that has been before our body, that you and I, Mr. Chairman, voted upon, a bill to change the mailing rates or charges for handling of publications and, I think, the magazine publisher organizations and many magazine publishers appeared before committees as lobbyists, and probably had to file under the law, unless they came as individuals. The book publishers of the Nation and many of the newspaper publishers of the Nation were represented.

Now, if I belong to an organization, or if I spent the money for my own company, hired someone, or engaged in lobbying activity on that bill, I would have to report as a lobbyist on that portion of my endeavor, but I certainly would not have to account for everything that I have done in the way of publishing books, even though I may have published some pamphlets or booklets with which even the distinguished gentleman from California disagreed as to the content, and, in fact, I have published some books that I didn't agree with at all; but I was still a publisher.

I just cannot let that definition, as given by the gentleman from California, of what a publisher is or isn't, stand on the record. I think that there is a grave question here as to where the work as a publisher starts and ends, and where the activities of a lobbyist start and end; and I think I can see, for myself, the possibility that an organization can be legitimately, and may be, and quite often is, engaged in legitimate publisher work, and at the same time have other activities in the field of legislative endeavor, one of which comes under the law and the other of which does not.

I have concluded, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANHAM. Could I ask the gentleman from Ohio one question?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. It is true, though, as a publisher, you have to disclose the names of your supporters, that is, your stockholders, your financial backing; you don't have to report your loans but, as I understand it, you do have to file a list, under oath, of the names of officers and stockholders of your corporation?

Mr. BROWN. To get mailing privileges for a newspaper, you have to disclose at least once a year the names of all persons owning over 1 percent of the stock or owning 1 percent of the indebtedness of the corporation.

Mr. LANHAM. That doesn't violate your constitutional rights, does it, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. No; it doesn't. It doesn't, because the law of the United States provides for that.

Mr. LANHAM. Sometimes the law is unconstitutional.

Mr. BROWN. I understand that. The law also provides that you reveal to the Internal Revenue Bureau your earnings. But, again, the question as to what the law provides in this connection, we are not discussing either the postal laws or the internal revenue laws, and it is a question as to whether a thing is a lobbying activity. They can never challenge, they can never question the right of publication; they can never insist on having information which they are, under no stretch of the imagination, entitled to.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation, which I think appropriate in view of the gentleman's statement about it not being a violation of law, or not a violation of the constitutional rights, for the law to require a divulgence of stockholders and supporters of the publishing concern, that is, a newspaper, to get mail rates and privileges. There is, of course, the case of *Oklahoma Press Publishing Co. v. Walling* (147 F. 2d 658 (CCA 10), affirmed 327 U. S. 186), which no doubt the gentleman from Ohio is, at least partially, familiar with in his busy life; but I wish to call the gentleman's attention to this—

The CHAIRMAN. The court held there—you are going into that.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. In that case, the validity of a subpoena requiring a publisher to disclose the source and receipt of advertisements was upheld against the same constitutional objections asserted here.

That the breadth of Congress' right of inquiry, and specifically its right to find out the source of an individual's or corporation's receipt of funds, as against the same constitutional objections raised here, is also demonstrated by the recent cases against the Hollywood writers, Lawson and Trumbo, certiorari denied April 10, 1950. These cases established that a congressional committee may compel disclosure of one's political beliefs and associations. Surely, Edward A. Rumely is not entitled to a greater immunity from disclosure of the names of the purchasers of the literature of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

In closing this brief discussion, I wish to call the gentleman's attention to this differentiation. I believe it is material at this point, in view of the gentleman from Ohio's statement.

I have here, for instance, a letter dated June 9, 1950, on the stationery of the Committee for Constitutional Government, which came to me as a member of the bar association. As I brought out yesterday, as a member of the bar I have been receiving this material, although I have never asked for it. This says [reading]:

DEAR FRIEND AND FELLOW AMERICAN, our committee is once more, for the third time, compelled to take a stand against a congressional committee violating two articles of the bill of rights.

There is a positive assertion by this lobbying organization that this committee, of which we are members, is violating two articles of the Bill of Rights.

So I take the position that this committee, even if Congress should pass a law requiring this committee to divulge the names of purchasers of booklets and pamphlets, that this committee, the Committee for Constitutional Government, at least Dr. Rumely, would still maintain that that law would be in violation of the Bill of Rights.

Wouldn't you, Dr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. We will cross that bridge when you pass the law.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say this, Mr. Chairman, that I object very strenuously to that kind of propaganda going out to the American public.

Now, Dr. Rumely, you state here, positively:

Our committee is once more, for the third time, compelled to take a stand against a congressional committee violating two articles of the bill of rights.

Mr. RUMELY. That is the way it looks to us.

Mr. DOYLE. You are charging to the American people—

Mr. RUMELY. We are expressing our opinion.

Mr. DOYLE. You didn't say it was your opinion. If you had said, in this, "It is our belief that this committee is violating the Bill of Rights," that would be one thing; but, to come out and positively feed to the American public that a duly constituted congressional committee is violating the Bill of Rights, in my judgment, is quite another thing.

Mr. RUMELY. The great majority of all editors agree with that viewpoint. Editor and Publisher says, definitely, you are violating our rights.

Mr. LANHAM. The court, a few days ago, said we were not. That ought to end it.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we permit counsel to proceed.

Mr. RUMELY. Do you want me to comment—am I not to comment on that statement?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. RUMELY. I would like a chance to comment on it.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have opportunity, possibly, during the course of the hearings. We have set up some five steps here, which we would like to cover. We will give you that opportunity later on.

Proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yesterday, we were discussing the tax deductibility status of your organization, the Committee for Constitutional Government, and you mentioned that you enjoyed such a status; is that not true?

Mr. RUMELY. Contributions to the committee are not deductible.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want it to appear in the record that your counsel answered that question for you.

Mr. RUMELY. He didn't answer it for me.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like a ruling, Mr. Chairman, that the examination be confined to Mr. Rumely, not to counsel.

Mr. BURKINSHAW. I didn't make any answer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I heard the answer. I am sitting not 5 feet from you. I ask that counsel be admonished by the chairman to refrain from making comment.

What is your answer, Mr. Rumely?

Mr. BROWN. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman: Is the witness to be permitted, or is he to be prohibited, from conferring with his counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. He is to be permitted to interrogate his counsel, but will not be permitted to be prompted by counsel, before he answers, of his own volition.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Your answer, Mr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. The answer is that we have not been able to secure deductibility for contributions made to the committee, because the Treasury says we occasionally influence legislation, and under that provision we do not get, for contributions made to the committee, deductibility.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you get deductibility for anything else?

Mr. RUMELY. How do you mean—deductibility, as a nonprofit educational institution? We are not taxed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. So, in that sense, you get a deductibility?

Mr. RUMELY. Isn't deductibility. That is freedom from taxation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Freedom from taxation. How long has that been in effect?

Mr. RUMELY. Since the committee was organized.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In what year?

Mr. RUMELY. March 5, 1941.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, I have a letter on that point, under date of March 14, 1950, which you, Mr. Rumely, wrote to Admiral W. H. P. Blandy, on the subject of tax deduction. In that letter, you mention the fact that Mason Bigelow—he is your attorney, is he not?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Of New York?

Mr. RUMELY. New York attorney.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He said that the distribution of *The Road Ahead* does not conflict with the charter of another educational foundation with identical status under the Federal Government, did he not?

Mr. RUMELY. No; that foundation has deductibility.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you read that letter into the record? That is a letter from your files, is it not?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you read it, please?

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

MARCH 14, 1950.

Admiral W. H. P. BLANDY, United States Navy (Retired),

The Health Information Foundation,

420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL BLANDY: In reply to your letter of March 13, we have received a legal opinion from Mason Bigelow, of Gould & Winkle, and past president of the New York Bar Association, that the distribution of *The Road Ahead* does not conflict with the charter of another educational foundation with identical status under the Federal Government, which must avoid propaganda to influence legislation if it is to maintain its deductibility ruling. If you are interested, we shall be glad to supply you with a copy of the ruling or opinion.

Attached hereto is a copy of a letter going out to supporters of the National Physicians Committee, to which some of the pharmaceutical companies are heavy contributors. There is no question that the widest possible distribution of these two books can have great influence.

On my desk is a letter from Dr. William H. Whitmore, of Norfolk, Va., which will show how valuable Compulsory Medical Care can be in the hands of intelligent leadership among the physicians. This book should go to clergymen, State and National legislators, governors, judges, top-level newspaper editors, columnists, and commentators. If your organization can find funds, the distribution of this book to such lists as suggested would be highly effective.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

Mr. FITZGERALD. How did this letter come about—did you have some other correspondence? Did not Admiral Blandy write to you, and is that not your answer?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; I think he did.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is this Admiral W. H. P. Blandy's letter, dated March 13, 1950?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you read that?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. [Reading:]

THE HEALTH INFORMATION FOUNDATION,

420 LEXINGTON AVENUE,

New York 17, N. Y., March 13, 1950.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,

295 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Thank you for your letter of March 10.

I believe that reference to the enclosed statement of the purposes of Health Information Foundation will indicate to you the general aims and intended procedures of this new organization.

Your attention is particularly invited to paragraph 8, which prohibits the foundation from engaging in propaganda activities. I believe that the action that you propose for the foundation would definitely come under that heading. In any event, a program of a different type will require all of the foundation's available funds.

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,

W. H. P. BLANDY,
Admiral, United States Navy (Retired).

Mr. FITZGERALD. What does he mean by "I believe that the action that you propose for the foundation would definitely come under that heading"; what did you propose?

Mr. RUMELY. Help in distributing Compulsory Medical Care, a book that we were hoping to get into wide circulation. Since they represented the pharmaceutical companies, and since the pharmaceutical business will be largely knocked out if we get socialized medicine, I thought they ought to help. He may have been an excellent man in other fields, but he hasn't thought through on that problem.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In that paragraph in which he said that the foundation was prohibited from engaging in propaganda activities, did he not have reference to your book, *The Road Ahead*?

Mr. RUMELY. Mainly, *Compulsory Medical Care*.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Admiral Blandy considered *The Road Ahead* propaganda activity?

Mr. RUMELY. That is his personal opinion.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You mentioned that the top contribution requested by the Committee for Constitutional Government is \$400?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you have, in fact, discouraged individuals who have sent you over \$400?

Mr. RUMELY. If they send more, we send it back.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Why do you do that?

Mr. RUMELY. Because we don't want to get into the position of having to report a few people, who probably will be wealthy people, when the great mass of our contributors—97 or 98 percent—give us, on an average, \$20. When we get an average of \$20, or less, why should we have a small handful of wealthy people, giving \$500, pictured as angels of the committee when it isn't the fact?

Mr. FITZGERALD. In other words, you don't like the publicity that you get from filing a lobby report?

Mr. BROWN. Now, that is just a little unfair.

Mr. RUMELY. We are within our rights in doing that.

Mr. BROWN. I have been reading the record of yesterday, and think that counsel should be just a little more—

Mr. FITZGERALD. I withdraw the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. RUMELY. You have raised the question. When the court bill was up, Senator Borah came to us and said: "Another Senator, a friend of the President's, came to me and said that the President had called him, and said that he expected some 'economic royalist' to wrap the Constitution around himself and get out in front. 'After a month or two,' the President said, 'I will rip the constitutional mask off of him; I can lick any economic royalist in the country.'" Senator Borah said,

"Be careful; Frank Giannetti is the only rich man you can have in the committee," he said, "get people like"—

Mr. FITZGERALD. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that this is not responsive to my line of questioning.

Mr. RUMELY. I wanted to explain why we don't want to picture it that way, that we are a rich man's organization.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, if this witness persists in volunteering a lot of irrelevant, immaterial testimony in answer to the questions, after this, I am going to move to strike out the voluntary statements that he makes, that are not responsive to questions.

Mr. RUMELY. I answered his question.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will continue.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I feel it should be relevant; I agree with Mr. Doyle that the answers should be relevant; but, while Mr. Doyle has moved to strike, I will move to strike out any questions asked by counsel containing these innuendos.

Mr. DOYLE. I will agree with Mr. Brown on that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. To pursue the line of questioning with regard to the limitation of top contributions that the Committee for Constitutional Government welcomed, I have in my hand a letter dated April 23, 1949, to the committee, from former Senator Albert W. Hawkes, of New Jersey, in which he forwarded you a check for \$490. Would you examine that letter and identify it for the record?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right. I hope you let the whole letter go into the record.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will ask that the Chair put the letter into the record. It is dated April 23, 1949, and is signed by former Senator Albert W. Hawkes, in which he says:

I am sending you herewith my check for \$490, the top contribution requested.
(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

195 BELAIR DRIVE,
Kearny, N. J., April 23, 1949.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have had a talk with Earl Harding, and I wish to compliment you on your questionnaire entitled "How Would You Revise Our Labor Laws?"

Of course, the big question is whether you can get a great volume of replies from the workers themselves. I hope you will.

I am sending you herewith my check for \$490, the top contribution requested.

The truth about all things, if properly understood by the citizens and the voters, should save our American system of freemen. It is a tremendous problem to get it before them in the first place and will require almost a miracle to have a substantial majority of them understand the truth, recognize its value, and then decide to pay the price to support it.

With every good wish for a large response to your effort, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A. W. HAWKES.

Check enclosed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Mr. Rumely, do you consider that a circumvention of the law, to return contributions in excess of \$490 that come to you?

Mr. RUMELY. I do not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many of those contributions have you returned?

Mr. RUMELY. Maybe a dozen; I can't recall. Probably not over 10 or 15.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you remember whom they came from?

Mr. RUMELY. I do not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you remember the amount that each one represented?

Mr. RUMELY. No. I remember we had a rule to accept nothing over \$490 from any one person in 1 year.

The CHAIRMAN. In one calendar quarter or 1 year?

Mr. RUMELY. No—1 year. In no year do we allow the contribution from one individual or one source to exceed \$490. What is wrong with that?

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am merely indicating the technique here—to utilize a system to circumvent the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act.

To continue, I note that you have remarked that during the existence of the Committee for Constitutional Government it has received financial support aggregating a total of 5½ million dollars. Is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. That is about right. I haven't added it up, but that is about it, approximately, in 13 years.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is covered by the letter under date of October 7, 1949, over your signature, addressed to former Senator Albert W. Hawkes, of 166 Mountain Avenue, Montclair, N. J.

Mr. RUMELY. May I see the letter?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

(The document was passed to the witness.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you have a carbon copy of that letter dated October 7, 1949, in your hand now?

Mr. RUMELY. I have.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you read that letter into the record, please?

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

OCTOBER 7, 1949.

Hon. ALBERT HAWKES,
166 Mountain Avenue, Montclair, N. J.

MY DEAR SENATOR HAWKES: Your telephone call was a source of great encouragement.

A grass-roots organization across the Nation is a major job which the committee could not undertake except for its 12-years-long background. During this period we have accumulated a list of about 75,000 who have given financial support aggregating a total of 5½ millions. Mainly these same supporters have projected America's Future, contributing to it an additional \$1,000,000.

During the last 8 months we have been carefully, step by step, preparing the Fighters for Freedom movement. The first stage was to get a platform that would outline briefly and concisely the principles upon which farmers, workers, the great middle class could be united, regardless of party.

Some of the best minds with which we are in touch worked upon this platform—Dr. King, Robert Dresser, S. B. Pettengill, Earl Harding, Ralph Gwinn, Sumner Gerard. Every plank was discussed back and forth by friends, and finally agreed upon.

We then put it to test by full-page ads, by city-wide drives in Milwaukee, Racine, and several other cities, by Nation-wide mailings. It is a mechanism by which those who enroll immediately are enabled to help enroll more. Each pledges to do his utmost to enroll at least five others.

Our problem has been lack of seed-money finance. John Lewis took a million and a quarter investment to start and carry CIO along far enough to make its dues a self-supporting and expanding movement.

We need not one million but \$100,000 or, better still, the enrollment of the first 50,000 for \$2, \$5, and a few for \$10 and \$25. It will cost us \$2 to service each enlisted fighter with mailings every 2 weeks, much supplementary material, and the Norton book on the Constitution and another book to start with. Therefore,

50,000 enlistments at an average of \$4 each would yield \$200,000, enough to serve the list for 1 year and an additional \$100,000 to start city-wide drives such as we are starting in Knoxville on Monday next.

So that you may see just how such a drive is carried through, I am enclosing copy of the full-page ad, "You Have a Job To Do," also copy of the Knoxville mailings showing how 10 outstanding citizens, widely known in the community, are making the appeal.

Besides the 2 full-page ads in the newspaper, with more than 100,000 circulation, we are sending the letter to 2,500, including copy of the telegram which goes originally to more than 500 city leaders.

Much investment and a long background of experience on the part of many have gone into this plan. The next step needed is to add to our trustees and advisers men of such background and experience as you have.

Two weeks ago I was called to Dallas, Tex., where the preliminary organization of probably the most effective city-wide drive that we have put on is now in preparation. The seed money of about \$4,500 is to be secured locally in Dallas. Alvin Owsley, for 2 years the national commander of the American Legion, is spearheading the drive there, which we hope will sweep quickly from city to city across the State.

I am sending this to your home by special delivery in the hope that over the week end you may have an opportunity to study this background in preparation for the conference which you told me over the telephone you would like to have next week.

A great asset of the committee is the willingness on the part of trustees and advisers to give time, prestige, and in many cases the fruit of a lifetime of experience to the work of the committee.

Dr. King, our chairman, is probably the clearest-thinking economist mind in the country. His testimony before congressional committees is being received most favorably. The Paul Revere Letters by Ralph Gwinn and Dr. King analyze current issues before the country incisively, clearly, and convincingly. Every Fighter for Freedom gets a copy of the Constitution book and copy of Labor Monopolies and every 2 weeks the Paul Revere Letters and much other material.

Our job is to enroll the first 50,000. Then we shall be through the bottleneck.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I notice that you mention in this letter that full-page ads were placed in the newspapers. Is that a technique that you had utilized before?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you explain to us how many ads you put in newspapers around the United States?

Mr. RUMELY. I can give you an example of one campaign. In 1940, we had been previously urging no third term—

Mr. FITZGERALD. If I may interrupt you, I would like something more current than 1940. That is 10 years ago. Is there anything current, since the act?

Mr. RUMELY. Well, that gave us the pattern.

We asked John W. Davis whether, after the third-term nomination was accepted, we could still preach against the third term. He said the fact of that doesn't make you shut up, but you better say no third term for any President.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is this the committee's activity you are talking about, when using the word "we"?

Mr. RUMELY. That is the committee's activity. We put out that ad on the opinion of Hon. John W. Davis, Democratic candidate for President; we put it into some of the central-city newspapers, and we asked for money to carry it across the country. We put it into the Communist Daily Worker—into ever paper in New York.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is this an ad that you put in the paper, under date of April 13, 1950, Mr. Rumely [indicating]?

[California, April 13, 1950]

DANGER

YOU, YOUR INDUSTRY, EVERY BUSINESS IN THE COUNTRY MAY SOON BE CONFRONTED WITH THE GREATEST LABOR RELATIONS EMERGENCY SINCE THE WAGNER ACT

Unless citizens across the Nation can be aroused and induced to speak up to their representatives in Congress during the next 3 weeks, it is probable that section 12 of President Truman's reorganization plan will go into effect because a majority to vote it down cannot be found either in the House or the Senate. Section 12 destroys the independence of the general counsel (Robert N. Denham) which was established by the Taft-Hartley Act. It again places in the NLRB, as a kangaroo court, the combined powers of prosecutor and final judge in disputes between labor-union leaders and employers.

President Truman said, on Labor Day, 1949, that he wanted "to rip the Taft-Hartley law out of the statute books" and now he is attempting to do that by Executive usurpation, destroying legislation over which the Constitution gives sole power to Congress. But the country must speak up at once in angry protest against the President's action and in support of Senator Taft's resolution in the Senate and Congressman Church's resolution in the House to block this usurpation. It was a tragedy that Congressman Ralph E. Church, as he opened the hearings and took his stand against section 12, should have died in action before the committee.

Let your citizen's influence be felt and your voice be heard at once! Airmail! Telegraph! Tell your Senators and Congressmen to vote down the President's Reorganization Plan No. 12.

It is particularly important that the lawyers in your community discuss with Congressmen and Senators this use of an Executive order as a device to usurp the constitutional power of Congress.

We hold exclusive publishing rights to the book entitled "Why the Taft-Hartley Act?", by Irving G. McConn. It is unfortunate that the irrefutable testimony and facts in this book were not made available years ago.

To get a flying start and to carry this book Why the Taft-Hartley Act? to hundreds of thousands during the months ahead, we must have immediately orders for 50,000 copies at the prepublication price of 60 cents. You will want copies for stockholders, civic leaders, clergymen, educators, lawyers, foremen, supervisory personnel, etc.

The future of this Nation may be decided before the year's end. By working through this committee, you can multiply your influence manifold and project it across the Nation.

Take these steps:

1. In your own circles, induce the largest possible number of citizens to wire or write to their Senators and Congressmen with protest against the President's usurpation in the Reorganization Plan No. 12. Time is short, for this will come to a final vote in the House the third or fourth week in April and in the Senate during the first week of May.

2. Next to blocking the destruction of the Taft-Hartley Act by the Reorganization Plan No. 12, the most important task is to educate citizens everywhere, to root out of the public mind, the misrepresentations of labor monopoly bosses about the Taft-Hartley Act. Why the Taft-Hartley Act? is the most authoritative document for this purpose. Order and pay for as many copies of Why the Taft-Hartley Act? as you can use for distribution to foremen, supervisors, executives, opinion-molding leaders in your circle.

If you and others will give enough support, we can reach 1,250,000 leadership individuals by direct mail during the next few weeks, and arouse them to action. But, in addition to giving financial support by the purchase of books, you and others must immediately help arouse mass protests to Washington. Send us copies of letters, telegrams, and resolutions of protest sent by your local civic organizations. Address duplicate originals to your Congressman and the Senators of your State.

This is your fight to stop President Truman from fulfilling his promise "to rip the Taft-Hartley law out of the statute books." Restoring the lopsided NLRB of the Wagner Act will again give the labor boss monopolists the power to shackle private enterprise—the power which they so ruthlessly misused under the Wagner Act, to harm stockholders, workers, and all who benefit from our private enterprise system.

You may rely on this. The abolition of the office of General Counsel (Robert N. Denham) was never considered or expected by the Hoover Commission.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
SUMNER GERARD, *Trustee*,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

HERALD AMERICAN,

218 East Magnolia Street, Compton, Calif., April 14, 1950.

SUMNER GERARD,

Trustee, Committee for Constitutional Government,
285 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: I notice a one-half page ad above the signature of your committee that appeared in weekly newspapers on Thursday, April 13.

It is very important to us that we be informed by return air mail the agency who placed this copy. We want to check on the method of placing these ads and who was responsible for the placement. There are several weekly newspapers in southern California who are claiming paid circulation that are in fact throw-away shoppers. The reason the information is desired primarily is for the presentation to the executive committee of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association so that they can clear the situation.

For your information, our firm is a member of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association in California and our publisher, Mr. C. S. Smith, is a director in this organization. We are continually fighting for constitutional government and enforcement of the Taft-Hartley law; therefore, we seek your cooperation in giving us the desired information.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH J. BREWER,
General Manager, Herald Publishing Co.

[From the Daily Times Herald, Dallas, Tex., May 20, 1950]

DO YOU WANT TO HELP KEEP AMERICA FREE?

Needed now 500 Dallas men and women to join us in sponsorship of an educational movement called **Fighters for Freedom**. This local effort which can become Nation-wide is politically nonpartisan. Its purpose is to hold on to our free America and to strengthen our constitutional, democratic form of Government—to make it so sturdy we will be able to withstand the repeated efforts of the Socialists and Communists to take over the United States. This is a task that can be done only the local community-wide levels, by each of us making a sincere effort to strengthen our own America.

Here follows the purposes and plans of **Fighters for Freedom**:

1. Pitilessly expose communism; deport or imprison all conspirators striving to overthrow our Government, and stop the march to fascism, socialism, or communism.

2. Restore the American incentives to work, own, and save, and the rewards to individuals for producing more and better services and material goods; defend their human rights to hold, use, and dispose of all property honestly acquired; and protect the property and income of all citizens from seizure or confiscation.

3. Protect every individual's right to work where he will, his right to bargain and contract as he wishes, his right to quit when he will, if not under contract, and his right to go to and from his home and his place of business or occupation without interference by any individual, organization, or Government agency. Improve present laws to eliminate mass picketing, rioting, and terrorism. Restore and protect the right of every individual to enjoy freedom and the fruits of his own efforts.

4. Safeguard our system of free, untrammelled, competitive markets, and apply antitrust laws fearlessly and equally to all monopolies, both of business and labor.

5. Stop using taxpayers' money to compete against private enterprise.

6. Build down Washington's swollen bureaucratic big government; strengthen State and local governments and free them from Federal financial and administrative control. Reduce the Federal payroll. Stop the waste of public funds. Balance the budget.

7. Protest against politicians buying votes by promising Federal aid for education, socialized medicine, and public housing, which results eventually in Federal control.

8. Stop inflation—the process which, by cheapening the dollar, defrauds all thrifty Americans who have insurance policies, social-security cards, bank deposits, or investments. Stop deflation—the process which throws millions out of work and bankrupts employers. Encourage, not penalize thrift. Keep American citizens solvent.

9. Abolish or reduce immediately those taxes which especially hinder saving and capital accumulation. These are essential for expanding old enterprises and providing new and better tools, and for financing new inventions and new risk-taking, job-making enterprises which assure increased production and higher income for wage earners and others. Limit by constitutional amendment the peacetime taxing power of the Federal Government.

10. Preserve the Constitution with its Bill of Rights, and oppose all attempts to violate it by legislation, usurpation, or evasion.

Fighters for Freedom is a division of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., which was born to defeat the efforts to "pack" the United States Supreme Court, and has lived to fight successfully against many other encroachments on our constitutional freedoms.

If you are interested in helping in this vital work to keep America free during your own lifetime and for your children and grandchildren, fill out and mail the coupon below.

[Please clip and mail this coupon today]

To the Dallas Committee
Fighters for Freedom,
P. O. Box 8628:

I am interested in doing what I can personally to strengthen constitutional government in the United States—and wish to have further information about Fighters for Freedom and its work in this community—at no obligation to myself.

Name----- Phone No-----

Address----- City-----

(Please mail today)

This advertisement is sponsored by—

R. W. Baxter
C. E. Bradley
F. A. Brown
Leonard B. Brown
J. O. Davis
Ashley DeWitt
David H. Dickey
J. B. Donovan
Henry E. English
H. L. Flippen

Al I. Folsom
A. G. Galt
Fred Gillette
S. J. Hay
D. W. Henke
W. S. Henson
Henry Jacobus
Roy Lamb
J. L. Lancaster, Jr.
Morris W. Levy

Homer R. Mitchell
Alvin M. Owsley
R. E. Penke
E. P. Simmons
R. D. Suddarth
W. W. Taggart
J. C. Tenison
Travis T. Wallace

Mr. RUMELY. No; that is another ad.

That ad to which I refer went, on a self-supporting basis, across the United States, to a circulation of about 20,000,000. It exerted very great—

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask what you mean by "self-supporting basis"?

Mr. RUMELY. We begged in the ad for money to carry it further. When we couldn't get money enough, we asked the newspapers to dig up half the cost.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is this the ad you are referring to, dated April 13, 1950, which appeared in the southern California papers?

Mr. RUMELY. No. That ad was paid for locally. I can't tell you who did it. I tried to find out, and couldn't.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is signed by Sumner Gerard.

Mr. RUMELY. Somebody used Sumner Gerard's name; maybe one of our supporters out there. We had other reasons for trying to find that out, and we couldn't find it out. Somebody volunteered the money out there, and put the ad in.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This ad refers to the Reorganization Plan No. 12.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It says:

Write, air mail, telegraph your Senators and Congressmen to vote down the President's Reorganization Plan No. 12.

Is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right. Usurpation of the power of the Congress to change the Taft-Hartley law without action by Congress. We went to the whole country to block the President's usurpation of the power of Congress.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to state, again—I don't mean to be discourteous, but the witness is volunteering immaterial things. We need to go ahead; I agree with Mr. Brown in his statement of a few minutes ago, that counsel, or anyone, should not make those inferences in connection with any question—but, again, I am going to say, Mr. Chairman, and I am glad that Mr. Brown agrees with me—I am going to move to strike out irrelevant and immaterial answers.

Mr. BROWN. I would like counsel to inquire whether that California ad was paid for by this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. RUMELY. It was not paid for by us. We didn't use advertising in this drive. We used letters.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you inquire about the signature of Sumner Gerard, your trustee, on the bottom of that ad?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know who put it in.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You didn't make inquiry?

Mr. RUMELY. I tried to find out, and couldn't. It embodied the substance of our letter.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you have any record of the number of ads that were placed around the country in your various campaigns in the last 3 years?

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Little asked, and I think I gave you it. We ran an ad to see what the individual thought about each provision of the Taft-Hartley law. We republished that in a couple of dozen papers and other people picked it up. It was published, I think, in 75 or 80 papers. We were delighted to have them copy it, because it saved our money.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you say that there were 500 ads that you arranged for?

Mr. RUMELY. In 1940, we arranged for more than 500. Since then, we have either stimulated others to pay for it or we have paid for, maybe, two or three hundred—maybe four hundred—full-page ads.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you find that technique of advertising, full pages in the dailies, around the country, effective in your lobbying campaigns?

Mr. RUMELY. That wasn't lobbying. That was just to let Congress know how the average person thought about the specific provisions of the Taft-Hartley law.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, getting back to the contributions, I notice that Mr. Gannett forwarded you two checks, for \$375 and \$125, on January 28, 1948; is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I show you a letter from Mr. Gannett's secretary, Mrs. Florence K. Messman, dated January 27, 1948, addressed to you. (The letter is as follows:)

THE GANNETT NEWSPAPERS,
Rochester 4, N. Y., January 27, 1948.

Dr. E. A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Mr. Gannett has today your letter of January 25, giving him costs on printing his Columbus speech and mailing it out from New York. Mr. Williams tells him that on January 21 check was sent you for the amounts mentioned in your letter of January 16.

Will you please advise Mr. Gannett at your convenience if this January 21 remittance has failed to reach you? If so, payment will be stopped on original checks and duplicates drawn.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely,

FLORENCE K. MESSMAN,
Secretary to Mr. Gannett.

Mr. RUMELY. That isn't for us, at all; that is to pay for a frank of his speech. That money went to the Public Printer and was a personal service to Frank Gannett.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Was he a Member of Congress—was this a publisher?

Mr. RUMELY. This is the publisher, Frank Gannett.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He utilized the frank; did he?

Mr. RUMELY. That is a personal affair of his, with a New York Congressman. Because he is a long-time friend of mine, and doesn't like to be burdened with machinery, he asked me to put the thing through, and to address the franks when they came; and we charged for addressing them, and he sent the check to pay for the stuff, which I passed on to the committee. It is not a part of the committee activity.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Whose frank did you utilize in that connection?

Mr. RUMELY. I think it was a New York Congressman. I can't tell you.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This letter, under date of January 28, 1948, by you to Florence K. Messman—

Mr. RUMELY. She is his secretary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That discusses that arrangement; does it not?

Mr. RUMELY. That discusses that arrangement. It is not a thing of the committee, at all.

(The letter above-referred to is as follows:)

JANUARY 28, 1948.

Mrs. FLORENCE MESSMAN,
Times Union Building, Rochester 4, N. Y.

DEAR Mrs. MESSMAN: The checks for \$375 and \$125 arrived.

Homer Dodge is now attempting to find a New York State Congressman who will permit the use of his frank.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, with regard to direct political activity, would you explain the intention of this letter, dated May 23, 1949, by your Washington representative, Homer Dodge, to Dr. Edward A. Rumely, of the Committee for Constitutional Government. It mentions, in the last paragraph:

However, it would strengthen the Taft-Hartley forces if further demonstrations against the Truman program were made now.

Would you give us an explanation for that letter and what significance it has in connection with your techniques?

Will you read that letter?

Mr. RUMELY. I will read it into the record.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that a letter dated May 23, 1949, taken from your files?

Mr. RUMELY. A copy of it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Written by your Washington representative, Homer Dodge?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You received that letter?

Mr. RUMELY. I received it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you read it into the record.

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
Washington, D. C., May 23, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I was told at the Senate Judiciary Committee late this afternoon that today's meeting discussed the lobby resolution but that final action is not expected until another meeting on Thursday. As I told you on the telephone today, Senator Kligore assured the President that the resolution would go through and the investigation would be conducted.

In further conversations this afternoon I developed nothing to alter the opinion that there is unlikely to be any definitive labor legislation at this session. There is always a chance that a situation might arise in which an aggressive group would seek to press through some quick measure in one House or the other but it is unlikely that a law can be brought to final passage. However, it would strengthen the Taft-Hartley forces if further demonstrations against the Truman program were made now.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is meant by "further demonstrations"?

Mr. RUMELY. I presume, people upholding it and saying it is a good law, to Members of Congress, and showing Congress that the people are behind the law, as they really are [continuing reading]:

P. S.—Mr. Hartley stays at the Ambassador Hotel, National 8510, and he has an office at Sterling 2202. I have been unable to reach him so far at either place but at this hour, 5:45, he probably has left the office and not yet arrived at his hotel. I will keep after him at the hotel and give him the message concerning Irving G. McCann and E. P. Simmons of Sanger's Department Store, Dallas.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you carry out the demonstrations as suggested by that letter?

Mr. RUMELY. No; it wasn't necessary. When we watched the thing, we felt that no legislation could be put through, and we didn't make demonstrations.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of that letter—May 23, 1949?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Right.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask one question at that point, counsel?

Did you at any time—your organization—organize trainloads of people to come down to picket Congress and go up and down the halls and walk through the Capitol and demand action one way or the other on legislation?

Mr. RUMELY. Never.

Mr. DOYLE. May I observe, I don't believe that question, by my worthy colleague, has any connection with the question.

Mr. BROWN. They were talking about demonstrating. I decided, for myself, that it did have something to do with it, and I asked the question upon my own responsibility as a member of the committee. I do not, Mr. Chairman, expect to permit other members of the committee to question my right to ask questions. That has been done here, time after time. He was talking about demonstrations.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does the demonstration refer to one similar to the one that you suggested Congressman Gwinn hold in New York to influence thinking in favor of the labor bill, in your letter under date of June 10, 1947, which you wrote to the Honorable Ralph Gwinn, Congressman from New York, and suggested that he hold a meeting in New York to influence the thinking in favor of the labor bill?

Would you look at that letter?

Did you write that letter?

Mr. RUMELY. I think it is my letter.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you write it to Congressman Gwinn?

Mr. RUMELY. I certainly did.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you read that into the record, please?

Mr. RUMELY. (reading):

JUNE 10, 1947.

The Honorable RALPH GWINN,

541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GWINN: Herewith the monthly letter of the National City Bank which contains on page 60 an interesting discussion of the cost of building.

There is a great vacuum in the present approach to public opinion on the Hartley labor bill. Labor unions are doing a job in getting prominent figures to speak up against the bill on so broad a front that the widespread assertion itself will lead to acceptance.

If you or Congressman Hartley or both and one man from the Senate who has been a proponent of the bill came to New York quickly and got a meeting as large as Carnegie Hall with radio hook-up, you could get widespread local press reporting, national press wires, and possibly national hook-up by radio to present a true picture and drown out the false picture that has been presented. There is time enough. I am going to canvass this idea during the day.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, with regard to your main demonstrations, they were confined to letter writing; is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Distribution of material?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In line with that, did you not have some similar demonstrations in June of 1948, in connection with the rent-control bill, when it was before the Rules Committee?

Mr. RUMELY. We made a very vigorous campaign on that, to keep that bad bill bottled up—

Mr. FITZGERALD. In the rules committee?

Mr. RUMELY. In the rules committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You reported your activity in connection therewith in a letter of November 18, 1948, to R. B. Dresser, of 15 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I., did you not?

Mr. RUMELY. Show me the letter and I will tell you.

(The letter was passed to the witness.)

Mr. RUMELY. That is right. I wrote Dresser that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is testamentary, then, to the technique employed here. I think, without taking the time to read that letter, we can introduce it.

NOVEMBER 18, 1948.

Mr. R. B. DRESSER,

*Edwards & Angell, 15 Westminster Street,
Providence 3, R. I.*

DEAR MR. DRESSER: The committee spent almost \$10,000 last June going back home to stir up support for killing the rent-control bill in committee. I did this on the urging of Chicago real-estate men. Ten of them finally sent in \$25 each. They have hemmed and hawed about a meeting to raise funds. I have written Warner Baird, leading Chicago real-estate man, whose father was a friend of mine, as per the attached.

Mr. Gerard made an appeal to men close to the real-estate people in New York and got insignificant returns.

The real-estate people do not realize first that it takes money to fight a battle against union pressure with its vast treasures, and second that they cannot expect individual small contributors to put up the funds needed for an effective campaign. When rent control and public housing come up in Congress, at least 500,000, or preferably 700,000, or 800,000 people should be reached with literature and as many as possible aroused to speak up.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. All right. I just want to point out to the Chairman that \$10,000 was spent in that particular fight for killing the rent-control bill in committee. The letter says: "I did this on the urging of Chicago real-estate men."

The CHAIRMAN. In what committee?

Mr. FITZGERALD. What committee, Doctor, did you refer to when you said that you spent \$10,000?

Mr. RUMELY. In the Rules Committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What do you mean—that you spent it in the committee?

Mr. RUMELY. No; we never spent it in the committee. In the whole history of this committee, never have we given \$1 to any man in Congress.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I think you had better read that first paragraph.

Mr. BROWN. Let's have that. I am a member of the Rules Committee. I want to be sure that I didn't miss anything.

Mr. RUMELY. You can read the letter, yourself.

The committee spent almost \$10,000 last June—

The CHAIRMAN. That is, the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. BROWN. The Rules Committee never spent anything.

Mr. RUMELY. Our Committee for Constitutional Government.

—spent almost \$10,000 last June going back home to stir up support for killing the rent-control bill in committee.

That is, the constituents—

back home to stir up support for killing the rent control bill in committee. I did this on the urging of Chicago real-estate men. Ten of them finally sent in \$25 each. They have hemmed and hawed about a meeting to raise funds. I have written Warner Baird, leading Chicago real-estate man, whose father was a friend of mine, as per the attached.

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Mr. FITZGERALD. That was spent at home, not in Washington?

Mr. RUMELY. That was spent at home. You can take this: we never spent a dollar with any Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. In a grass-root campaign?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. What year is that?

The CHAIRMAN. 1948.

Mr. RUMELY. November 1948.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How did that letter come about—that was in answer to a letter under date of November 17, 1949, by Robert Dresser, Republican National Committeeman and trustee of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., was it not?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That letter includes only two lines. Will you read those two lines?

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

EDWARDS & ANGELL
COUNSELLORS AT LAW

15 WESTMINSTER STREET, PROVIDENCE 3, R. I., November 17, 1948.

Dr. R. A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-Second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: What is the present status of the committee's rent-control campaign? Was it finally abandoned?

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. DRESSER.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Incidentally, what connection does Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn have with the Committee for Constitutional Government, if any?

Mr. RUMELY. I am glad to have a chance to answer that.

On page 416, in yesterday's hearing, there is a sentence that can be misunderstood.

The CHAIRMAN. Page 416, in the hearing of yesterday morning?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have letters from you regarding America's Future, in which you point out the whole scheme.

This is a letter signed by Sumner Gerard, a trustee of your outfit, who is explaining the radio time contracted for by America's Future and the fact that you have a Congressman on your payroll. Is that not right?

You want to comment on "a Congressman on your payroll"?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

What is the date of the letter?

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I don't see the relevancy of that question, or bringing any Congressman into it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rumely wanted to correct the record.

Mr. RUMELY. I just want to make a correction.

Mr. LANHAM. His name was not used, yesterday, as I understand it. Sometimes the names get into the record and cause the Congressman, probably, unnecessary embarrassment, when the name is not used.

Mr. O'HARA. He said he wanted to explain it.

Mr. LANHAM. I don't see the materiality.

Mr. RUMELY. We have never had a Congressman on the payroll. Mr. Pettengill never received, so long as he was in Congress, any money, excepting returns on his syndicated articles to the papers. When he left Congress, he first went to South Bend and practiced law. He didn't write the column while in Congress.

Mr. BROWN. Was that Pettengill or Gwinn?

Mr. RUMELY. Pettengill. Talking about Pettengill, now. Later on, he came to New York and put in almost full-time, and then, as an ex-Congressman, 5 or 6 years out of Congress, he received pay for his time; he received pay for putting on the radio program. And Pettengill quit January 1—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Quit what?

Mr. RUMELY. 1940.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Quit what?

Mr. RUMELY. Quit both the radio program and writing the column, to take up private employment. Then we were in distress, because we had no one to carry on. We went to Ralph Gwinn and to Dr. King and said:

Will each of you every week write one column—

Pettengill wrote two—

and we will put out the Paul Revere Messages. And Gwinn said, "I will contribute my time."

King was already giving his time, was devoting his time to the committee. So each wrote.

The CHAIRMAN. This comes under what organization now—is this under America's Future?

Mr. RUMELY. No; this is Committee for Constitutional Government. The Features for America Syndicate.

The CHAIRMAN. Features for America?

Mr. RUMELY. Then we said to him, he had to have research, I knew that he was employing a substantial part of the time of a man that we had paid a thousand dollars a month to, to work up material for him. So we said, first, we will allocate \$250 toward the expense; and then we increased it to, I think, \$350, and recently I heard that he was spending substantially more than \$500. We said, "When we

can afford it, we will send you \$500 a month toward the cost of research."

Now, some months we have been so hard-up—we are just now,—that we haven't been able to send it to him. Whenever we could afford to take a portion of his research work, we did.

But he does his work without one penny of compensation. He spends every penny that he gets, and more, out of his private income.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, he receives no salary; the moneys paid to him are for expenses only?

Mr. RUMELY. The moneys are paid to him for research expenses only.

The CHAIRMAN. Research expenses only?

Mr. RUMELY. On that particular column.

That is the point I wanted to make.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does the chairman desire me to continue my questioning further with regard to the Rumely-Gwinn arrangement, or would you like to see, in executive session, about 50 letters that I have from Congressman Gwinn to Mr. Rumely?

I am asking the Chair for a ruling.

The CHAIRMAN. You have 50 exhibits, you say, in the form of letters?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes; between Dr. Rumely and Congressman Gwinn, with regard to the Committee for Constitutional Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Will counsel come to the table?

(Discussion off the record between committee members and counsel.)

(The following 5 exhibits are part of the 50 exhibits mentioned above.)

AUGUST 31, 1940.

Mr. PAUL SCHOFIELD,

Sueske Brass & Copper Co., 13-19 North Peoria Street, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR Mr. SCHOFIELD: I have asked Congressman Gwinn whether he would be available on Sunday the 11th for the talk at the La Salle Hotel. While he usually avoids Sunday engagements, he feels that it is important to support your efforts and will make an exception and go out.

He would plan to leave on Saturday evening by air. It would be my suggestion that he prepare his talk so that a newspaper release can be made for delivery, and, if possible, the press be invited to interview him. This might give you very wide newspaper coverage for your meeting.

I would suggest that transportation be paid together with a fee of about \$250, as this will cost several days of the Congressman's time, but it should give you good publicity and a top-level talk.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

AUGUST 30, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,

Paroling, N. Y.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Paul Schofield writes as follows:

"Do you think Gwinn would be available to address as principal speaker a large meeting on September 11th, grand ballroom, La Salle Hotel? Meeting will start about 1,200 people—7:30 p. m.

"Purpose is back up our two splendid decisions here on rent control.

"Sponsorship: National Home and Property Owners Foundation.

"Please let me know first of all if he would be available on this date. We would, of course, pay his entire expenses in addition to an honorarium."

Will you let me know your reaction to this.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

FEBRUARY 21, 1950.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Attached hereto are copies of letters we have written to Hugh H. Cullem, urging him to finance the distribution of 100,000 copies of *The Road Ahead*, to clergymen and educators, and naming the special price of 80 cents per copy, our bare cost.

A letter from you to him, emphasizing the importance of this distribution, might be extremely helpful. If you are willing to write him, let us know.

Also, please write to Dr. Elmer L. Henderson, president-elect of AMA, 606 South Fourth Street, Louisville 2, Ky., and Dr. M. E. Irons, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill., telling the story of the response that you received to *The Road Ahead*, and the importance of its mass distribution. In a letter which you wrote to the committee some time ago, you stated that a large portion of the mail coming into Congress from citizens over the country was in response to material distributed by the committee, such as the franked releases.

If you write, would you please send Dr. James E. Buckley, president, Oregon State Medical Society, Medical Dentists Building, Portland, Oreg., who would be as interested as we are, to see them.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., November 21, 1949.

Memo to Dr. Rumely:

I don't know what the possibility of this is. The key workers in each congressional district might like one of these and possibly should have one as a part of the paraphernalia of Government, and getting a line on what the Congressman who is to be reelected or defeated is actually doing.

This directory, gives the names of the Congressmen, committee members, and the pictures of the Congressmen, and the State delegations and other information that might be helpful.

They might like to know what their Congressman does and what he looks like.

R. W. GWINN.

JULY 8, 1949.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
*541 Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. GWINN: Here is the statement "You Have a Job To Do" showing the program for local organization.

We put about \$10,000 of advertising out in June, backed by another \$10,000 of local mailings and a couple of thousand dollars into the telegrams.

We are placing in the field experienced men. Joe Lovett, who worked for O. A. Taylor in the chain-store program for years and was later with the National Physicians Committee, has been retained for grass-roots local organizations. We are employing a man to go into Texas, where Mr. McCann has been active, to begin city by city grass-roots organization with the objective of enlisting 5,000 fighters in Dallas and 8,000 in Houston and a total of 65,000 in Texas before the end of 1950.

We have two other organizers at work in Knoxville, Tenn., who have been very active in organizing small property owners and who are giving full time to the grass-roots organization. We expect them to develop a technique of bringing about cooperation between small property owners everywhere after they have acquired experience in Knoxville, where the publisher of two papers is most sympathetic. In every city of any size, it requires a few thousand dollars of initial investment which comes back, probably with a substantial increase, over a 6-week period. But to get started broadly enough requires our raising funds for this bottleneck period.

We are moving cautiously so as to limit our expenditures to where there is good prospect of their being returned several-fold. But this does not obviate the necessity for initial investment.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

The CHAIRMAN. Will counsel move on then to the next technique. Mr. FITZGERALD. With regard to a letter in which you mentioned that you have key workers in each congressional district, do you recall discussing such a system, of having key workers in each district?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. We wanted interested Fighters for Freedom, ready to speak up whenever we prompt them, or on their own initiative.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Why do you confine them to each congressional district?

Mr. RUMELY. Because we want to reach the whole country. We don't know who is going to be on the Rules Committee, or any committee. We want the people back home, who are informed on the constitutional principles of free enterprise, ready to talk up and say what the constituents desire.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Don't you consider that arrangement as sort of political action?

Mr. RUMELY. No; we don't. Yes—in one sense, it is. It is grand politics to uphold the Constitution. In that sense—it is not partisan, but it is political, to safeguard the Constitution. We work with Democrats as well as Republicans. We make no distinction.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: Doctor, you have stated it was political; at least, to some extent, you would classify that as political action; wouldn't you?

Mr. RUMELY. No; I say, in the larger definition of "political," everything; to create the Constitution, to create our system—the Federalist papers were, in a sense, political, but they weren't partisan politics.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course not. In other words, the effort that you are making—I am not criticizing at all, understand, in this question—the effort you are making is to influence public opinion?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. In part, for the men or women in either party, or against the men or women in either party, in each congressional district who may be in Congress or may be running for Congress; is that a fair statement?

Mr. RUMELY. No. There are no two sides to maintaining our form of government. Every book that we have put out has been in favor of maintaining our form of government.

Mr. DOYLE. Doctor, may I ask you this further question: Again, I do it without criticism—do you maintain, then, that your whole program is not to any degree intended to be what is commonly termed as political action?

Mr. RUMELY. I was acquitted by a jury of unjust—

Mr. DOYLE. No, no—

Mr. RUMELY. I want to say that we went to the jury, and, had we been political, I would have been obliged to give Clinton Anderson the names of those who contributed \$100 or more; but the jury decided that we were political in that larger sense.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Was that organization in existence during that trial. Fighters for Freedom?

Mr. RUMELY. We had the same kind of people.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That wasn't in existence?

Mr. RUMELY. No; but we had people all over the country. Some exhibits were brought in, showing that we had tried to stir up grass-roots support. The jury, after 20 minutes, said "Acquitted; you were doing what was legitimate."

Mr. FITZGERALD. When was Fighters for Freedom organized?

Mr. RUMELY. About a year and a quarter ago.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This had nothing to do with the Clinton Anderson investigation?

Mr. RUMELY. No; but we had the same kind of people spotted over the country, ready to talk up.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This organization, recently formed, is a part of the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you have any further questioning on that, Congressman Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. May I have that memorandum? I don't intend to use any names.

Do I understand, Dr. Rumely, then, that in the function of your committee you do not undertake to effect the election or reelection of Congressmen?

Mr. RUMELY. We have never opposed or favored any party or any candidate as such.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not talking about party; leave party out of it. I am not directing the question to party. Do I understand your program is not designed to, in any degree, have the effect of political action on candidates for Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. Our program is not designed to affect, help, or hinder either party or any candidate. It is designed to put out what we believe are the principles of free enterprise and constitutional government. When we project those ideas, sometimes the people draw conclusions from them; but that is their business, not ours.

Mr. LANHAM. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. Why did you send all of this stuff into Florida and North Carolina at election time?

Mr. RUMELY. Because some of our friends down there got excited, as people do before election, and bought it and distributed it. We didn't do it. They bought it.

The CHAIRMAN. He refers here [record] to the New Deal party.

It shows how the New Deal is taking America into national socialism.

Between America under the New Deal party and Germany under the Nazi party, there are a great many differences.

Mr. RUMELY. That is Congressman Pettengill.

In the jury trial, that was brought up. We said the New Deal—there are some New Dealers in the Republican Party, also—is a philosophy of government that men like George and Byrd, and some of the soundest Democrats, reject.

We weren't fighting the Democratic Party; we were fighting a wrong philosophy of government.

Mr. DOYLE. May I hand you this memorandum dated November 21, 1949, addressed to you. I am not asking you to explain what it is.

I don't want you to use any names in connection with it. I call your attention to this line:

* * * and getting a line on what the Congressman who is to be reelected or defeated is actually doing.

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know what it is. Let me see it.

Mr. DOYLE. Within those limits, I will refresh your memory as a basis for my question.

That purports to be a memorandum to you. I don't want the name of the person that made the memorandum to you brought into the discussion.

I call your attention to that specific language.

Do you see the part of the memorandum that is underscored?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; I do.

Mr. DOYLE. That expressly refers to Congressmen that are to be reelected or defeated.

Mr. RUMELY. I can tell you that no action was taken upon that, anyway. I didn't recall the memorandum.

Mr. DOYLE. That expressly uses that language; doesn't it?

Mr. RUMELY. But no action was taken. We are not responsible for what people write us.

Mr. DOYLE. That is a confidential memorandum to you, isn't it?

Mr. RUMELY. I didn't recall it. I think, from the face of it, that it was sent to me.

Mr. DOYLE. That is a person very close to you in your organization?

Mr. RUMELY. We didn't act on it.

Mr. DOYLE. It is a member of your organization that wrote it to you?

Mr. RUMELY. When Congressman Gwinn—

Mr. DOYLE. I am not referring to Congressman Gwinn. I am talking about the memorandum. The person that made that memorandum to you is a person high in your own organization?

Mr. RUMELY. He is not high in the organization. He thinks straight, and we often distribute his material, in many different ways.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you still say that in spite of that memorandum to you, that your organization doesn't consider, in any manner—

Mr. RUMELY. We are not—let me tell you: When Frank Gannett wanted to run for President, I said, "Gannett, you can't use a single name of this committee; you will have to build your own list; you will have to put up your own money, because the committee is not partisan." And he said, "All right; I will resign as chairman."

When the Congressman that you are talking about first came up, a good friend of his, who happened to be chairman of our committee—

Mr. DOYLE. Dr. Rumely, you are volunteering a lot of information that I didn't ask for.

Mr. RUMELY. All right.

Mr. DOYLE. You insist on bringing in names of Congressmen. I want you to stop.

Mr. RUMELY. The fact that somebody wrote that memorandum—the committee has never gone out for the purpose of defeating any candidate for any party. We have projected our viewpoint where it would count most. We have got a lot of people that put out our stuff, because they think it is the best they can use. We don't, on the ground

that a man is a Democrat or a Republican, or that it is the Democratic or Republican Party, take a stand. Otherwise, we would lose half of our support.

Mr. DOYLE. But do you take, directly or indirectly, stands for or against candidates for Congress, in any congressional district—either directly or indirectly?

Mr. RUMELY. If you want to call this, we believe that labor monopolies are bad—

Mr. DOYLE. No; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you take stands for or against political candidates? That was the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not asking you, doctor, to make a speech on labor monopoly, or any other monopoly. I am asking you a simple question: Do you, directly or indirectly, in your judgment, take a stand for or against the election or defeat of any Member of Congress, in any congressional district?

Mr. RUMELY. We never, directly, take a stand for the election or defeat of a Member of Congress; but we do have material that flows out.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

Mr. RUMELY. That might indirectly affect the thinking of the constituency.

The Road Ahead affected the thinking in Florida. But we are entitled to do that.

Mr. DOYLE. All right; thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. To proceed with the organization of Fighters for Freedom, which you say is a brand-new organization, I want to call your attention to a letter that you sent out under date of June 16, 1949, to Hon. E. H. Moore.

Is that "Moose"?

Mr. RUMELY. Moore. Senator Moore; former Senator Moore.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Of Tulsa, Okla.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Read that into the record.

Mr. RUMELY (reading):

JUNE 16, 1949.

Hon. E. H. MOORE,

485 National Building, Tulsa, Okla.

DEAR SENATOR MOORE: I wish you might have been present in Philadelphia to hear Ralph Gwinn's presentation of the situation in Congress—desperate but not hopeless. Please read the statement in the bottom of the enclosed ad—"The crisis in your Congress—Labor Socialism. Will it take over America?"

The situation is not hopeless. Our mail—tens of thousands of letters—shows a Nation-wide readiness to respond to the program outlined in Fighters for Freedom. Our formula is organizing and perfecting itself. We have employed Irving McCann, full time. He was counsel for the Education and Labor Committee and managed the hearings which preceded the Taft-Hartley law enactment. He is moving through Texas, meeting groups of businessmen. He had a small meeting of businessmen which produced \$5,000. We shall move in, publish the ad, and write to much larger numbers.

We shall shortly publish the ad and move to enlist three to five millions of fighters. Our enlistment goal is 1 percent of the population, which equals 1.6 of those eligible to vote and 3 percent of those actually voting in 1948. If each enlisted fighter is given material for himself and to distribute to others—and given leadership—they can mobilize five to eight million fighters. We shall have a block of pervasive influence at the bar of public opinion, reaching 16 to 24 percent of all voters—enough to outweigh minority-pressure groups.

But time is of the essence, for we have only 100 days to enroll our first 100,000 who will give us \$400,000 of income and the personal influence needed for State-by-State organization. This State-by-State drive must be put into all States (now under way in three) by midfall, if we are to enlist 1,000,000 by early spring, and 2,000,000 by the end of 1940. Everything depends upon our being able immediately to start on a greater front. We must have the balance of 100,000 Norton books, at 60 cents to carry the book portion of the committee's distribution and \$100,000 nondeductible expenditure in amounts of not more than \$400.

Senator Hawkes has agreed to write a letter of endorsement for the Fighters for Freedom movement, urging everyone to join—which he is permitting us to use generally. It would be tremendously helpful if you are in touch with a few men of means, if you would encourage them to participate either by contribution or better, by the purchase of Norton books. Please see my letter to Mr. Gannett with its enclosures.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

P. S.—To enlist 100,000 fighters in 100 days is the bottleneck task. We can succeed if we can move immediately upon a broader front. It is a job like moving a vast mass of earth. We now have a tablespoon at work; \$100,000 will give us a broad shovel and with that we can build for using a bulldozer after midfall.

Mr. LANHAM. Did you get 4 percent—

Mr. RUMELY. That is from me to former Senator E. H. Moore, one of our trustees.

Mr. LANHAM. Did you get 4 percent of all those memberships?

Mr. RUMELY. After a certain minimum.

Mr. LANHAM. Eight percent for awhile, and then—

Mr. RUMELY. I put the figures in, yesterday. I get an income of about \$10,000, and have to take the balance in—

Mr. LANHAM. Four percent?

Mr. RUMELY. On a percentage basis.

If it gets much larger, I shall reduce the percentage, because I don't want to be earning to give away more than half my income to the Government.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does anyone else in the committee get a percentage?

Mr. RUMELY. I said, yesterday, no one else gets a percentage, except the field men, who sell books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many field men do you have now?

Mr. RUMELY. Eight, now.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you have how many people in the organization?

Mr. RUMELY. We have 70 people in the office, and 8 or 10 men in the field.

The CHAIRMAN. What final documents do you have, counsel?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have one here.

You have frequently conferred with members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. RUMELY. I have not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did not there come a time when you conferred on a constitutional limitation on individual income taxes?

Mr. RUMELY. I never conferred. Mr. Dresser is on the board of the National Association of Manufacturers, and he may have done it, individually. I did not. We never work with the National Association of Manufacturers. We haven't been able to do it since the committee was organized.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that R. B. Dresser, of Providence, R. I., the Republican national committeeman?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Trustee of your committee?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; a very public-spirited citizen; an authority on taxes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He also is a member of the National Association of Manufacturers, you say?

Mr. RUMELY. He is a member of the tax committee of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. FITZGERALD. He talked with you, didn't he, about the National Association of Manufacturers' policy, and asked for your recommendations as to what the National Association of Manufacturers should do with regard to this limitation on individual income tax?

Mr. RUMELY. He may have. I recall he did.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you gave advice on how the National Association of Manufacturers should operate on that point?

Mr. RUMELY. I gave him the advice that he shouldn't let the National Association of Manufacturers get out in front there.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you use the word "front"?

Mr. RUMELY. To take leadership. Many organizations believe over-taxation of the upper bracket is very harmful, because you kill off the sources of new taxes. Mr. King has made a very exhaustive study on that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Getting back to the use of the word "front," you said that the National Association of Manufacturers should not get out in front?

Mr. RUMELY. I mean, get out as a leader—don't use the word "front." Get out in front of the procession.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Whom did you suggest should get out in front?

Mr. RUMELY. I didn't suggest anyone. I thought it bad to have one group, of that type, take the leadership in the thing.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Why? Is there something evil about the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. RUMELY. No; there is nothing evil. It is just as we do not want to be branded as a millionaires' committee—as some people frequently try to do.

The CHAIRMAN. What other documents does counsel have?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't think that to make that issue—which is the issue of all citizens, of all workers—a businessman's issue, is good policy.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would like to identify these documents. I pass them to the chairman.

A letter dated May 17, 1948, from R. B. Dresser to E. A. Rumely; a letter dated May 18, 1948, from G. E. Hancock to R. B. Dresser; and letter from Edward A. Rumely to R. B. Dresser on May 18, 1948; a series of three letters. I would like to introduce those in connection with this matter.

(The letters above-referred to are as follows:)

EDWARDS & ANGELL,

15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, R. I., May 17, 1948.

Dr. E. A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The NAM Taxation Committee is to hold a meeting in New York on Thursday, May 20, at which, among other things, the following question will be considered: "Whether the association should take a stand for a constitu-

tional limitation on individual income taxation." I should like to get your views and those of some of the others as to whether it would be desirable to have the NAM take a position in favor of such a limitation.

Please do not broadcast this letter, as the information should be regarded in a measure as confidential. However, it is important, I think, that it be taken up with a few.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. DRESSER.

MAY 18, 1948.

Mr. R. B. DRESSER,
15 Westminster Street,
Providence 3, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: Dr. Rumely talked with me about your letter of May 17 and we discussed the matter at length. We are in accord here in the thought that it would perhaps be desirable if NAM took a stand in favor of the limitation, but we feel that it would be best if they did not exploit the project to any considerable extent.

In short, it seems to us that while it would be helpful to have the endorsement of NAM in certain quarters, there would be some resultant antagonism if NAM go out in front to a considerable degree in furthering this cause. I trust that I make myself clear, and of course your letter has been held in confidence.

Respectfully,

G. EDW. HANCOCK.

MAY 18, 1948.

Mr. ROBERT B. DRESSER,
15 Westminster Street,
Providence 3, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: Regarding your letter of May 17, I had a talk with O. A. Taylor who says he thinks they should take a stand positively without, however, promoting it so vigorously as to get out in front on the issue.

You know Dr. King's opinion which is that it is about a stand-off one way or the other, but also if the issue became too much identified as one in which business is primarily interested.

The fact that by overtaxing upper brackets relieves rank and file but moderately but deprives them of many times greater amounts that would come from better tools and high demand of the dynamic economy with increasing capital investment per worker.

I am asking Glen Hancock to write you his opinion.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As a matter of fact, Mr. Rumely, your organization did subsequently handle the program for a constitutional limitation on individual income tax, did it not?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; we did that, all along; we have led on that, for the whole country, for a long period of time.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You have been the one that has been out in front on that one?

Mr. RUMELY. I won't say we have been out in front, but we have put out much printed matter. One year we reached 650,000 people.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How long have you had that program?

Mr. RUMELY. Since 1942, I think.

Mr. FITZGERALD. To get into another subject, Mr. Rumely, I notice that the book, Labor Monopolies and Freedom—you publish that?

Mr. RUMELY. We did.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And distribute it?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It deals specifically with several legislative proposals. The general thesis of that book is shown in the following quotation on page 152:

What we should do is to repeal all Federal labor laws on wages, hours of labor, collective bargaining, minimum wage, etc., and abolish all boards, bureaus, and commissions that result from these laws.

Then, with regard to collective bargaining, it states:

* * * the abuse to be eliminated is collective bargaining itself. * * *

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that from the platform of the Fighters for Freedom?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; those are excerpts from the CCG publication Labor Monopolies and Freedom.

Mr. RUMELY. John W. Scoville wrote the book. That is his opinion. We don't censor every line in a book we publish.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In your appearance before this committee on June 6, 1950, one of the members of this committee stated:

If you have any booklets similar to that, in which you have set forth the reasons why certain legislative proposals before Congress should be enacted, or certain legislative proposals should be defeated, and you have sent those out over the country wholesale, either as gifts or through other organizations, then I think this committee has an absolute right to demand information on them.

You replied:

We have issued no such books.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I ask you——

The CHAIRMAN. What member of the committee made the interrogation?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That was transcript of hearing, June 6, page 62. I think Mr. Brown made that remark.

You replied:

We have issued no such books.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, I ask you, Mr. Rumely, has the Committee for Constitutional Government received more than \$500 in any one calendar quarter for the purpose of distributing copies of that book?

Mr. RUMELY. I can't tell you now, but that book does not come in the classification that you are trying to place it in. The passage is simply a passage relating to this man's opinion that labor monopoly is just as bad as business monopoly, and when the Government encourages labor monopoly it is engaging in a wrong economic policy. That isn't legislation—that is a general economic principle.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you produce the records set forth in the subpoena of June 6, 1950, so that this committee may make its own independent determination on that subject?

Mr. RUMELY. Give me the passage that you referred to.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The question was: Has the Committee for Constitutional Government received more than \$500 in any one calendar quarter for the purpose of distributing copies of that book, "Labor Monopolies"?

Mr. RUMELY. I would like to see the passage.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That isn't the question.

Mr. RUMELY. Before I answer the question, I would like to see the copy; where is the reference?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Page 152.

The CHAIRMAN. That has no reference to the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I would say this: that the text of the book speaks for itself. I don't think it is subject to any interpretation by the witness.

Mr. O'HARA. He has a right to look at it.

Mr. DOYLE. Sure he has. The book speaks for itself.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The question is, Has the Committee for Constitutional Government received more than \$500 in any one calendar quarter for the purpose of distributing copies of this book?

Mr. RUMELY. Probably.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is that?

Mr. RUMELY. Probably; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. State the names, dates, and amounts as best you remember them.

Mr. RUMELY. I can't.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Why can't you?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't carry in my mind the purchasers.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you get the names for us?

Mr. RUMELY. I am maintaining that that book is not a direct influence on legislation and, therefore, is privileged as other books that we publish.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You refuse to give access to any records pertaining to the distribution of this book?

Mr. RUMELY. I do.

Mr. LANHAM. What is that book?

The CHAIRMAN. You have engaged in mass distribution, through the Committee for Constitutional Government, have you not?

Mr. RUMELY. I put out 250,000 copies of that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the date of publishing of this book "Labor Monopolies and Freedom"—1946, is it not, doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. 1946.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am attempting to establish the position of the witness very clearly, with reference to specific persons and specific books as well as generally.

The CHAIRMAN. As to mass distribution?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes. The question of whether the witness should be cited for contempt for refusal to produce documents and answer questions should, in my opinion, be based on a very clear, complete record.

What about the book, "Why the Taft-Hartley Law," by McCann?

Mr. RUMELY. That isn't published yet.

Mr. FITZGERALD. "The Road Ahead"?

Mr. RUMELY. "The Road Ahead," I have told you all along, we put out 600,000. I am not going to give you the names of the people who bought it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Don't you feel "The Road Ahead" deals with specific legislation?

Mr. RUMELY. "The Road Ahead" deals with stopping the march into socialism and the destruction of our form of government.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I think that the true significance of "The Road Ahead" can be obtained only by reading it in its entirety, and I sug-

gest that the committee read it. It condemns practically all of the social legislation which has been passed by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, and opposes practically all of the present legislative program of President Truman. However, it does deal with specific legislation from time to time.

For example, it deals with the war powers: On page 158 it states:

We must curb the grasping hand of the Federal Government. We must restrain the grasping hand of the Executive. And our very first step must be to make a list of the emergency powers granted to the Executive for war purposes and then repeal every one of them.

It opposes compulsory national health insurance, the Brannan plan, Government credit regulation, and direct Government lending, as exemplified by the Farm Credit Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, home loan banks, Federal savings and loan institutions, FHA, Public Housing Administration, and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The members of the committee were furnished with a memo on that book, and several others, when Dr. Rumely appeared.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this your opinion, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee—

Mr. O'HARA. I don't think we are bound by that.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has been furnished with the notation.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, will you fix the date of publication of *The Road Ahead*—what was the first date of publication?

Mr. RUMELY. *The Road Ahead* was published in the spring of 1940, by Devin-Adair & Co., for the book trade.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The date of publication?

Mr. RUMELY. The date of publication was about June, as I recall.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The date of distribution?

Mr. RUMELY. We began to distribute in December 1940. Our first printing was 150,000 copies; our second printing, in December 1940, was 250,000 copies; our third printing, in February, 1950, 150,000; our fourth printing, in April 1950, was 200,000 copies; making a total of 750,000 copies.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many copies of *Labor Monopolies and Freedom* have you distributed?

Mr. RUMELY. About 250,000.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many copies of *Compulsory Medical Care*?

Mr. RUMELY. We have distributed about 130,000.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When did you distribute them?

Mr. RUMELY. In the last 4 or 5 months.

Mr. FITZGERALD. After the Lobby Act went into effect?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; after the Lobby Act went into effect.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is so with *Labor Monopolies and Freedom*?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many copies do you plan to distribute?

Mr. RUMELY. As many as we possibly can.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about the book, *Why the Taft-Hartley Law*?

Mr. RUMELY. As soon as that is ready, we will print 100,000 to 150,000 copies, and I will see what I can do to push it to large distribution.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You refuse to give us any information on those books?

Mr. RUMELY. I refuse to give the names of the purchasers of quantities of that book, on the ground that you are invading the first article of the Constitution.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Even though you might be subject to citation for contempt on this particular point?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may the record show that there is a quorum of the committee present at this time, and has been for the last hour?

The CHAIRMAN. That has been established.

Mr. O'HARA. Do we have to do that at every move?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Burkinshaw, of course, made that notation yesterday. We have to refresh our memories from time to time, I think.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In what bank does the Committee for Constitutional Government maintain accounts?

Mr. RUMELY. National City Bank.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are all the accounts there?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many accounts are there?

Mr. RUMELY. There are a number of accounts.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Rumely, if you would sit around and answer while facing the committee, instead of the audience, I think it would be better.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where are the receipts deposited?

Mr. RUMELY. In the National City Bank.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Everything goes into that bank?

Mr. RUMELY. We have some local accounts where we are organizing Fighters for Freedom.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where are those banks?

Mr. RUMELY. Those accounts are Knoxville, Nashville, wherever we have a Fighters for Freedom.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you identify the accounts? Certainly there are not so many that you don't know where they are. Would there be 10 accounts?

Mr. RUMELY. There might be 8 or 10 accounts.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where are they located?

Mr. RUMELY. There are about four at the present time. We just use them as temporary deposits and then draw the money into New York.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where, besides those two places, are the accounts located?

Mr. RUMELY. Knoxville, Memphis, Chattanooga, Nashville.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that the extent of your bank accounts?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about one in Washington; do you have one in Washington?

Mr. RUMELY. We do not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has the Committee for Constitutional Government received any loans of over \$500 in any one calendar quarter from any person since 1946?

Mr. RUMELY. We reported the loans that we have received except—give me my statement of June 6. I made an exact statement of what we were doing. I said:

I am going to produce the records on all contributions of \$1,000 or more within the period designated. I am willing to produce the record of all loans within the period designated, except a few that related to the promotion of The Road Ahead and advertising Fighters for Freedom, which has nothing to do with lobbying. I am not going to produce the names of people who bought books, because, under the Bill of Rights, that is beyond the power of your committee to investigate.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you take that position today?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say that the total amount of loans and contributions that you did furnish to the committee aggregate a very small amount. In fact, I think it is about \$25,000, in contrast to the very wide ramifications of conduct of your Committee for Constitutional Government, which, running as of the current quarter, will exceed \$1,100,000 this year. I think that we have a right to know and have a right to seek that information.

Mr. RUMELY. We are very hard up at the present time. We are always hard up. We are very hard up at the present moment. You people knocked down about 25 or 30 thousand of sales a month for us. Until we can recoup some people will have to carry us.

The CHAIRMAN. You admitted yesterday that we had helped to improve your business.

Mr. RUMELY. We owe a good deal of money at the present time to suppliers of books. Fortunately, they realize that we have the ability to sell. While I have 175,000 of The Road Ahead on hand, unsold at the moment, I have had to ask the people that do the printing to wait a while to get paid.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did Frank Gannett ever loan the committee money?

Mr. RUMELY. A few thousand dollars.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And did you report that?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; we reported that to you.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did Irénée du Pont ever lend the committee money?

Mr. RUMELY. Either \$2,500 or \$3,000. I reported it, and we paid it off within 6 months.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Were these loans of more than \$500 reported by the committee under the Federal Lobbying Act?

Mr. RUMELY. The Federal Lobbying Act contained no provision asking for loans; we answered all the questions in the Federal lobbying report. They were changed a short time ago, and we shall answer in the future. We answered every question fully and truthfully.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You didn't report any loans, though, under the Federal regulation of Lobbying Act, did you?

Mr. RUMELY. There was no question to that effect in the report.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I direct your attention to section 302 of the Lobbying Act, in which it states, very clearly, that the term "expenditure" includes a payment, distribution, loan, advance.

Mr. RUMELY. We assumed that the people who drew up that form knew what they were doing; and the fact that you found it necessary, or this committee found it necessary, to change the form a few months

ago, is an indication that they were on the wrong track in not putting the question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You have read the act, haven't you?

Mr. RUMELY. No; I have not. We got the forms and filled out what they asked us to fill out.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has Robert Donner, of Colorado Springs, Colo., ever sent any money to the committee for any purpose?

Mr. RUMELY. Donner—I don't know. Out of 65,000, I don't know. Tell me why you are asking.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has Mr. Cullen, of Houston, Tex., ever sent any money?

Mr. RUMELY. I can't remember. He may have bought a few things. I wish he would. I would like to have him buy a hundred thousand of *The Road Ahead*. But I haven't been able to persuade him to do it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You know him, then—Mr. Cullen?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is it not a fact that he contributed enough money to send copies of *The Road Ahead* to each school and library—

Mr. RUMELY. He didn't get a single copy of us. I have heard that he bought a condensation from the *Reader's Digest*.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You do distribute books to the school department in New York, to each teacher in New York City—copies of *The Road Ahead*?

Mr. RUMELY. Not in New York City. We have, in some cities.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What cities?

Mr. RUMELY. In Houston. An attorney wrote in that he would get a few people to contribute money, enough to send *The Road Ahead* to every teacher in the town. We got an order for 3,000 copies. What we did was to send the Bill of Rights to about 200,000 schoolrooms, so that they could hang it up and have a ceremony, reading the Bill of Rights.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has the American Medical Association ever sent the Committee for Constitutional Government more than \$500, for books or other purposes?

Mr. RUMELY. The American Medical Association never sent the committee a penny. They want to spend their own money. Some State organizations have bought books.

The CHAIRMAN. State medical societies or State medical groups?

Mr. RUMELY. Some State organizations have bought books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where have they been located?

Mr. RUMELY. I won't tell you. I am not giving the names of the people who bought books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is one of the things you refuse to do?

Mr. RUMELY. That is one of the things I refuse to do.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Are there more than 20 State medical associations who have sent the committee more than \$500?

Mr. RUMELY. No; no. There happen to be a few that have taken active leadership, and they bought, maybe, five or six.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has the Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Care ever sent you more than \$500?

Mr. RUMELY. Not a penny for *The Road Ahead*. We made a deal to acquire compulsory medical care, which had been worked up before they disbanded. One of the great European economists was sent from country to country to study the effects of socialized medicine. He put it into manuscript form.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the National Institute of Professional Service?

Mr. RUMELY. That was organized by—

The CHAIRMAN. They sent you a contribution of \$20,000; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. We turned around and bought, for \$18,000 of that, an edition of the book they had on hand, and spent \$2,000 in sending those books out; so that it washed out, but left us with—

The CHAIRMAN. The cost of distribution?

Mr. RUMELY. Copyright use to publish the book further.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has any person or group ever sent in more than \$500 at any one calendar quarter since January 1, 1947, for books, pamphlets, or for other purposes, other than the loans we have spoken of?

Mr. RUMELY. Loans and contributions—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has any person—

Mr. RUMELY. If you let me, I will give you an answer to that. Probably 15 percent of the total number of books that we have put out have been bought in quantities of 100 or more; 85 percent have been bought in quantities of from 1, 2, 5, 10, or 20. We desire the small purchasers, because it gives us a lot of enthusiastic workers who may buy more. Fifteen percent of the total volume has been purchased in larger quantities.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Those are the names that you do not wish to divulge?

Mr. RUMELY. Those are the names that I decline to give you; I decline to give you any names of people who bought our books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see.

That is all at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, as a member of this committee, that the material which our counsel has asked for in the last few questions, and which he asked for yesterday, and which information this witness has refused to give, repeatedly, is material which is pertinent; and, in accordance with the legal rights and responsibilities of this committee, and I believe that it is necessary to the proper functioning of this congressional committee, that this witness be required to answer these questions. I believe it is within the jurisdiction of Congress, which assigned this responsibility to us, under House Resolution 298.

I make this statement because I want the record to show that I believe that this witness has refused contemptuously to answer questions that are pertinent and perfectly proper, perfectly legal, and which are material, and which are in the best interests of the people of this country. I want the record to show that that is my belief and my position.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness refuses, of course.

Mr. RUMELY. I certainly refuse to disclose those names—not contemptuously, but respectfully, because I feel it is my duty to uphold the fundamental principles of the Bill of Rights. I think that there is no power to require of a publisher the names of the people who buy his products, and that you are exceeding your right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Because of the witness' refusal, I have no further material to offer at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

Mr. RUMELY. I do so on the advice of counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions by the members of the committee?

Mr. DOYLE. Your counsel just now whispered to you.

Mr. RUMELY. I said that before, that he had advised me; I said that in my statement to you, Mr. Chairman, that I was acting after consultation with my trustees and after consultation and advice of Neil Burkinshaw, my counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask a few other questions?

Mr. Rumely, do you, as executive director of the Committee for Constitutional Government, have you, since the Lobbying Act was enacted into law, consulted or conferred with executive directors or managers of other recognized lobbying groups that you knew were also registered lobbyists, as to legislation?

Mr. RUMELY. On this question—

Mr. DOYLE. On what question—on the general question of legislation in Congress, or any specific bills.

Mr. RUMELY. You sometimes meet people that are doing work in similar lines; but I have never consulted. We have never done any teamwork.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you ever had lunches together, informally or formally?

Mr. RUMELY. Occasionally, some distinguished man is brought forward, and we attend a luncheon.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, in answer to my question, would you say that you have not, since the Lobbying Act was made law, you have not cooperated with any other lobbying organization?

Mr. RUMELY. That is true; we have not cooperated nor done teamwork.

Mr. DOYLE. There has been no teamwork with any other organization?

Mr. RUMELY. We have had no teamwork or cooperation. We believe every tub should stand on its own bottom.

Mr. DOYLE. Even if it has a hole in it.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned.

Mr. RUMELY. Am I through?

The CHAIRMAN. You are through, and may go home. We thank you for your attendance.

The committee will meet in executive session at 10:30 a. m. tomorrow morning. Public hearings will resume on Tuesday, July 11, when we will have the Americans for Democratic Action. The witnesses will be Mr. Francis Biddle and Mr. James Loeb.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the committee adjourned, to meet in executive session at 10:30 a. m., Friday, June 30, 1950.)

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1950

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:05 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Lanham, Albert, Doyle, Brown, and O'Hara.

Also present: Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you take your seat, Mr. Rumely?

The meeting will come to order, please. The hearing this morning has to be brief for several reasons. The House is scheduled to meet this morning at 11 a. m., and we would like to finish in time to attend the session.

Also Mr. Rumely told me over the telephone earlier this week that he intended to make a short trip, and postponed it until today, and I assured him that we would be able to get through with this hearing this morning, and enable him to get out on the noon plane.

Now, the hearing was called for a specific purpose. This is not a hearing inquiring into lobbying techniques and methods such as we went into with the Committee for Constitutional Government before, or at their scheduled hearings back in June. It is a specific request for information from the witness.

As we all know, Mr. Rumely refused on June 6, in answer to a subpoena, to produce certain records of his organization dealing with receipts and contributions.

When he was called later on June 27, 28, and 29 for the series of hearings into the Committee for Constitutional Government's lobbying activities and methods and operations, he again refused to provide information on the names of contributors and the amounts of their payments. Since then we have obtained from numerous sources information dealing with the payment of specific sums of money to the Committee for Constitutional Government, and I have given to Mr. Rumely the citations of some of these specific payments, so that he knows exactly the ones that we are most interested in today.

We have asked him to bring in the information on these particular instances. It is regrettable to me that we have had to go to the lengths that were necessary in order to dig out essential facts about this lobbying organization.

This investigation is not and never has been a snooping expedition, and it is regrettable to me when a committee of Congress is set aside in such manner that requests for information that it requires in order to make a comprehensive, intelligent, and objective investigation are refused so that we have had to resort to invoking our powers of subpoena and getting the information where it could be found.

I would like to have recorded here the fact that there is a quorum present consisting of myself, Mr. Canham, Mr. Albert, and Mr. Doyle; Mr. Brown and Mr. O'Hara are on their way over, and you will note as they enter the room, Mr. Stenographer, that a quorum is present at this time.

Will you be sworn, Mr. Rumely?

Do you solemnly swear by Almighty God that the statements you make before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. RUMLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will proceed.

MR. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, you appeared this morning in response to a subpoena served on you calling for your presence here; is that not so?

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD A. RUMELY, ACCOMPANIED BY NEIL BURKINSHAW, COUNSEL—Resumed

MR. RUMELY. I do.

MR. FITZGERALD. I want to direct your attention to this exhibit that I hold in my hand which purports to be a carbon copy of a subpoena issued by the chairman, Congressman Frank Buchanan, on the 21st day of August 1950. Is that an accurate copy?

MR. RUMELY. That is the one that was served on me.

MR. FITZGERALD. And that requires your appearance here on Friday, August 25, 1950, at 10 o'clock. You are now before the committee mentioned in the subpoena pursuant to the directions set forth therein.

MR. RUMELY. I am.

MR. FITZGERALD. Have you brought with you the documents that have been described in this subpoena and the attachment affixed thereto?

MR. RUMELY. I have brought along information on all the 25 points about which Chairman Buchanan telephoned.

MR. FITZGERALD. I did not ask you that question. I asked you if you had brought the material that is mentioned in this subpoena. I am not mentioning any telephone call or anything else—this subpoena and the attachment affixed thereto; have you brought that material?

MR. RUMELY. As far as it was physically possible. But you asked for things that could not be produced in the course of months if we put six or eight people to work on it; so far as we physically could, I did, and I have got a statement outlining exactly the situation, if you—

MR. FITZGERALD. Because of the limited time, I will go through these then, Mr. Rumely, and at this time I would like to offer the copy of the subpoena and the return of the person serving the same in evidence, and respectfully suggest that it be made part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it will be included as a part of the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

[Copy]

Subpoena for _____
before the Committee on the _____
Served: This subpoena, together with the Annex affixed thereto, was served in
hand by me on Edward A. Rumely, at the offices of the Committee for Consti-
tutional Government, Suite 300, 205 East 42nd St., New York City, N. Y., Tuesday,
August 22, 1950, at 2:15 P. M.

WM. EARL GRIFFIN,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

[Copy]

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To Wm. Earl Griffin:

You are hereby commanded to summon Edward A. Rumely, Executive Secre-
tary, Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42nd St., New
York City, N. Y., to be and appear before the Select Committee on Lobbying
Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the
Hon. Frank Buchanan is chairman, and to bring with him the following docu-
ments in his custody (see Annex) relating to—

(a) The organization and finances of the Committee for Constitutional Gov-
ernment, Inc., and

(b) The activities of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., its
members, officers, directors, representatives, agents, and employees pertaining
to legislation, in their chamber, Room 302, Old House Office Building, in the city
of Washington, on Friday, August 25, 1950, at the hour of 10, then and there
to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said Committee; and he is not
to depart without leave of said Committee.

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United
States, at the city of Washington, this 21st day of August 1950.

[SEAL]

Frank Buchanan
FRANK BUCHANAN, *Chairman.*
RALPH R. ROBERTS, *Clerk.*

Attest:

SUBPOENA ANNEX—COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

1. Such of the records of the Committee as indicate:

(a) the name and address of each person¹ from whom a total of \$500 or more
has been received by the Committee during the period from January 1, 1947
to August 1, 1950 for any purpose.

(b) as to each such person,¹ the amount, date and purpose of each payment
which formed a part of the total of \$500 or more, and all correspondence² relat-
ing to each such payment.

2. Each monthly statement for each bank account maintained by the Com-
mittee at any time between January 1, 1947 and August 1, 1950, including but
not limited to the following:

a. at the National City Bank, East Midtown Branch, accounts denominated
Deposit Account "C"; Disbursing Account "C"; Deposit Account "I"; Disburs-
ing Account "I"; General Fund Account "A".

b. Accounts in Knoxville, Tennessee.

c. Accounts in Nashville, Tennessee.

d. Accounts in Memphis, Tennessee.

e. Accounts in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

3. Each check drawn on each such account referred to in paragraph 2 which
has returned to the possession of the Committee.

¹ The term "person" as here and hereinafter used throughout this Subpoena includes an
individual, partnership, corporation, association, committee and any other organization or
group of persons.

² The term "correspondence" means letters, telegrams, memoranda, and transcripts or
memoranda of telephone conversations.

As to all documents called for in this subpoena, carbon, photostat or recordak copies should be produced in the event that original documents are not in the possession of the Committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Dr. Rumely, did you bring with you this morning each monthly statement for the "deposit account C" which the Committee for Constitutional Government maintains at the National City Bank, East Midtown Branch, New York, N. Y.?

Mr. RUMELY. I did; yes, sir.

Mr. FITZGERALD. East Midtown Branch?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is for the years 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1950, to date?

Mr. RUMELY. That is the monthly statements; yes, sir.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Prior to going into that, Doctor, in your testimony heretofore you testified that you were the executive secretary for the Committee for Constitutional Government—

Mr. RUMELY. I am.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Incorporated? And you also in that position served in an advisory capacity over Fighters for Freedom, which is—

Mr. RUMELY. It is a division of the committee.

Mr. FITZGERALD. A division of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.; and you also had some interest in the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc.?

Mr. RUMELY. I have no interest in it, but I give them the benefit of any judgment that I may have, and if they want a little help, I give it to them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you countersign their checks?

Mr. RUMELY. I countersign their checks; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now with regard to America's Future, Inc., that is a third organization?

Mr. RUMELY. That is, both the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., and America's Future, Inc., are wholly independent organizations.

(Representative Brown is now present.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. But you have an interest in America's Future, Inc.?

Mr. RUMELY. I have no interest, except that I volunteered to help them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you countersign their checks?

Mr. RUMELY. I countersign their checks.

Mr. FITZGERALD. With regard to the fifth organization, the Features for America, Inc.—

Mr. RUMELY. That is a syndicating organization that sells to newspapers the column of Dr. King and Ralph W. Gwinn.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you have any interest in that?

Mr. RUMELY. It is a separate organization, but because of my knowledge, if they want to ask my advice, they get it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you countersign their checks, too?

Mr. RUMELY. No; I do not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, are all the checks for—

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you do not countersign the checks for America's Future, Inc.; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. I have the power—I am one of those who has the power—to countersign the checks of America's Future, Inc.; Founda-

tion also, or not—no; I don't countersign the checks of the Foundation, only America's Future, Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. What foundation are you speaking of?

Mr. RUMELY. That is the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is incorporated.

Mr. RUMELY. Incorporated.

The CHAIRMAN. But you just completed making a statement that you do countersign.

Mr. RUMELY. I want to be corrected.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to be corrected?

Mr. RUMELY. I want that corrected. Often people who countersign are absent and, therefore, they give the power to countersign to one or two extra so that always someone is available.

Mr. FITZGERALD. But you have an interest in all of these five organizations?

Mr. RUMELY. I have no interest, excepting I give my advice. Saying that I have an interest in them is a wrong statement.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now they are all in the same building; is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. America's Future happens to be on the fourth floor, and we are on the third floor.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Which one of these outfits does your daughter work for?

Mr. RUMELY. My daughter began working for America's Future in January.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And that is Isabel Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. That is Isabel Rumely.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does she work for any other of these organizations?

Mr. RUMELY. No.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, passing on to the question of—

Mr. RUMELY. She happens to be expert in radio, spent her whole life in radio, built a radio station, sold it, and America's Future needed somebody who had radio experience, and they went to her not because she is my daughter but because she is an expert in the radio field.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now you have answered in the affirmative with regard to the production before this committee of the monthly statement of the "deposit account C" which the Committee for Constitutional Government maintains at the National City Bank, East Midtown Branch, New York, N. Y.?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You are passing the material over to me now.

Now with regard to another point in the subpoena, did you bring with you this morning each monthly statement for the account denominated "disbursing account C" which the Committee for Constitutional Government maintains at the National City Bank, East Midtown Branch, New York, N. Y.

Mr. RUMELY. It is here.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that "disbursing account C"?

Mr. RUMELY. This is general account, "general fund account C," and the "disbursement fund account C" which was handed to you just a moment ago.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, deposit and disbursing account C will be included in the record at this point.

(The documents referred to above are as follows.)

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.				
ACCOUNT OF			STATEMENT	
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOV'T., INC., INCORPORATED NOV. 10, 305 E. 40TH ST. NEW YORK 17, N. Y.			DE - CREDITORS' STATEMENT CR - CREDITORS' STATEMENT DE - CREDITORS' STATEMENT CR - CREDITORS' STATEMENT DE - CREDITORS' STATEMENT CR - CREDITORS' STATEMENT	
CHECKS - PAID ACROSS	DEBITED	DATE	BALANCE	
200.00	242.00	JUL 1 1949	2,893.31	
244.55	7.78	JUL 1 1949	2,190.28	
390.00	176.50	JUL 1 1949	1,834.62	
92.30	140.04	JUL 1 1949	628.25	
1,204.57		JUL 1 1949	4,628.25	
689.00	4,152.86	JUL 1 1949	193.69	
90.00	200.00	JUL 1 1949	5,116.31	
110.00	550.00	JUL 1 1949	5,810.91	
54.17	500.00	JUL 1 1949	5,010.91	
445.49		JUL 1 1949	4,564.42	
4,751.41	175.55	JUL 1 1949	6,552.87	
1,000.00	100.00	JUL 1 1949	1,881.46	
69.00	90.40	JUL 1 1949	2,069.16	
73.85	57.00	JUL 1 1949	1,748.82	
43.80	200.00	JUL 1 1949	5,803.02	
87.50	50.00	JUL 1 1949	4,354.15	
492.31	255.00	JUL 1 1949	4,854.15	
442.50	75.00	JUL 1 1949	4,233.29	
209.00	391.77	JUL 1 1949	7,032.52	
174.50	3,024.47	JUL 1 1949		
60.25	88.50	JUL 1 1949		
85.00		JUL 1 1949		
907.86		JUL 1 1949		
45.00		JUL 1 1949		
102.11	2,436.32	JUL 1 1949		
1,020.11		JUL 1 1949		
102.11		JUL 1 1949		
255.40	500.00	JUL 1 1949		
96.60	74.12	JUL 1 1949		
78.00	100.00	JUL 1 1949		
200.00	44.25	JUL 1 1949		
500.00		JUL 1 1949		
457.15	151.24	JUL 1 1949		
70.00	159.50	JUL 1 1949		
PLEASE RETURN THE CHECKS WITHIN 60 DAYS OF THE DATE IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE				
WITHIN THE (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN WRITING OF ANY OBJECTION(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.				

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

MEMORANDUM

PLEASE
NOTE
DATE OF
ANY CHANGE
IN THIS
ADDRESS

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
HUFF. INC. DISSEMINATING ACCT '61
205 West 42nd St.,
N.Y. 36 12

NO - DEPOSITED - CHECK
NO - DEPOSITED - CASH
NO - DEPOSITED - CASH
NO - DEPOSITED - CASH
NO - DEPOSITED - CASH
NO - DEPOSITED - CASH
NO - DEPOSITED - CASH

BOLERO

L-28

CREDITS - READ ACROSS		DEBITS		DATE	BALANCE
532.50		45.00	1,000.00	11-24-61	1,532.50
30.00		100.00	101.06	12-24-61	306.42
170.00		200.00	1.50	12-24-61	86.90
963.39		47.45	126.00	12-24-61	4,411.00
87.50				12-24-61	3,085.91
6.43				12-24-61	4,085.91
3,085.91		87.50	87.50	12-24-61	3,524.61
3,085.91		200.00	1,000.00	12-24-61	10,093.60

PLEASE SIGN THE DEBIT SIDE ABOVE OF THIS CHECK IN ALL COUNTERS

100-1000-1000

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US BY
WRITING OF ANY EXCEPTION(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVT., INC., DISBURSING ACCT., INC.
805 E. 48TH ST.
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

STATEMENT
AS OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1964
BY THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
FOR THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVT., INC., DISBURSING ACCT., INC.

CHECKS-DEBIT ACCOUNT		DEPOSITS	DATE	BALANCE
			AS OF	
740.00	125.00	25.00		10,093.80
85.00	30.45	341.23	SEP 14	6,147.10
91.04	1,000.00	141.45	SEP 14	7,911.61
625.42	5.14	42.50	SEP 24	7,289.19
400.00	90.00	2,700.00	SEP 24	11,134.25
1,857.42	1,000.53	500.00	SEP 24	9,276.88
800.00	54.12	1,000.00	SEP 24	8,476.28
4,154.02	64.17	1,000.00	SEP 24	7,372.11
500.00	68.45	10.00	SEP 24	6,574.06
4,816.25	14.30	1,000.00	SEP 24	5,574.06
1,500.00	1,279.30	1,000.00	SEP 24	4,304.76
10.00	188.25	1,000.00	SEP 24	3,326.51
1,031.00	64.95	6,467.52	SEP 24	12,453.87
667.50	87.50	223.53	SEP 24	12,453.87
300.00	65.00	65.00	SEP 24	12,453.87
131.10	19.95	75.85	SEP 24	12,453.87
83.94	10.00	1,000.00	SEP 24	13,453.87
65.08	19.95	75.85	SEP 24	13,453.87
200.00	169.04	45.80	SEP 24	13,453.87
85.08	200.00	45.80	SEP 24	13,453.87
432.70	29.57	48.38	SEP 24	13,453.87
300.00	23.84	796.47	SEP 24	13,453.87
135.44	45.78	119.70	SEP 24	13,453.87
1,944.58	131.85	103.34	SEP 24	13,453.87
100.14	50.71	103.34	SEP 24	13,453.87
33.05	1,211.25	1,000.00	SEP 24	13,453.87
62.20	127.83	129.40	SEP 24	13,453.87
91.88	68.32	92.30	SEP 24	13,453.87
113.40	10.00	223.23	SEP 24	13,453.87
165.23	70.28	3,500.00	SEP 24	13,453.87
10.00	185.40	74.86	SEP 24	13,453.87
66.22	6.00	5.00	SEP 24	13,453.87
56.57	21.34	67.50	SEP 24	13,453.87
100.00	158.84	574.20	SEP 24	13,453.87
44.33	3.17		SEP 24	13,453.87
864.18			SEP 24	13,453.87
5.00			SEP 24	13,453.87
60.00			SEP 24	13,453.87
46.55			SEP 24	13,453.87
1.00			SEP 24	13,453.87

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, N. Y.

WHEN THE (1) BALANCE OF DEPOSIT ON THIS STATEMENT PLEASE REPORT TO US
WHEN AN ANY DISBURSEMENT MADE BY THE PAYING TELLER.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

SYMBOLS

NAME
OF
ACCOUNT
OWNER

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOV'T., INC. DISBURSING ACCT C
205 WEST 42ND ST.,
NEW YORK NY 17

CH - CREDITED CHECKS
CR - CASHED TO CREDIT OTHER
DC - DEBIT CHECKS
LO - CHECK LEFT
OP - OUTSTANDING
PO - CHECK TO FROM BOOK
PMT - PAYMENT

DATE

25

CHECKS-HEAD AMOUNT	DEPOSITS	DATE	BALANCE
100.00	150.00	AS 1949	5,596.31
26.95	63.01	AS 1949	4,607.62
1,750.76	3,500.00	AS 22 49	3,816.86
200.00	26.70	AS 22 49	6,002.76
1,175.89	1,700.00	AS 23 49	4,826.87
131.33	45.80	AS 23 49	7,095.44
364.99	1,000.00	AS 24 49	4,082.94
336.37	1,000.00	AS 24 49	4,879.49
200.00	30.00	AS 25 49	4,516.67
125.12	15.00	AS 25 49	6,786.67
76.00	76.56	AS 26 49	5,475.57
200.00	10.00	AS 26 49	6,185.07
67.21	11.68	AS 29 49	5,825.16
26.95	6.37	AS 29 49	6,272.54
27.67	1.15	AS 30 49	5,502.83
269.15	66.67	AS 30 49	7,116.03
200.00	500.00	AS 31 49	7,211.50
404.43	1,500.00	AS 31 49	8,661.50
50.00	41.50		

PLEASE RETURN THE CHECKS AND NOTES ON YOUR ORDER IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

100-1000-1000

WITHIN THE (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US BY
WRITING OF ANY REVISION(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL REASON.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.				STANDARD	
ACCOUNT OF					
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVT., INC., DISBURSING AGT., C.					
805 E. 42ND ST. NEW YORK 17, N. Y.					
CHECKS DEBIT				DEBITS	
DATE				BALANCE	
1954				1954	
100.00	1,449.62	1,450.34	1,500.00	SEP 10	6,704.92
883.82			1,449.62	SEP 10	8,657.50
100.00	145.27	45.80		SEP 10	8,657.50
27.10				SEP 10	8,657.50
917.95				SEP 10	8,657.50
79.31				SEP 10	8,657.50
87.50	90.40	88.38		SEP 1	2,164.58
13.00	24.75	1,989.68		SEP 7	2,064.58
100.00			500.00	SEP 7	2,064.58
131.10	41.88	102.31	1,200.00	SEP 7	3,494.57
144.61				SEP 8	3,274.57
300.00				SEP 8	3,274.57
24.12	76.64	171.57		SEP 8	2,973.57
5.27				SEP 9	3,769.34
350.00	50.00	23.72	1,500.00	SEP 12	1,564.48
2,440.46			500.00	SEP 12	3,324.48
200.00				SEP 12	3,124.48
2,670.83				SEP 12	458.13
100.00	92.50	45.80		SEP 14	404.24
50.00			1,200.00	SEP 14	1,606.14

PLEASE MENTION THE GRADING BANK CHECKS ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM IN WRITING OF ANY DISCREPANCY TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVT., INC., DISBURSING AGT.,
205 E. 42ND ST.
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

SYMBOLS

CP - CREDIT CARD
CR - CREDIT CARD
DE - DEBIT CARD
DP - DEBIT CARD
EP - DEBIT CARD
FP - DEBIT CARD
GP - DEBIT CARD
HP - DEBIT CARD
IP - DEBIT CARD
JP - DEBIT CARD
KP - DEBIT CARD
LP - DEBIT CARD
MP - DEBIT CARD
NP - DEBIT CARD
OP - DEBIT CARD
PP - DEBIT CARD
QP - DEBIT CARD
RP - DEBIT CARD
SP - DEBIT CARD
TP - DEBIT CARD
UP - DEBIT CARD
VP - DEBIT CARD
WP - DEBIT CARD
XP - DEBIT CARD
YP - DEBIT CARD
ZP - DEBIT CARD

CHECKS - RECD. ACTIONS

DEBIT

DATE

BALANCE

15.00

578.04

25.92

2,000.00

SEP 15 49

1,606.14

200.00

1,500.00

SEP 15 49

4,486.50

1,153.47

1,000.00

SEP 16 49

5,333.11

2,181.28

1,500.00

SEP 16 49

5,401.41

300.00

100.00

40.50

1,500.00

SEP 19 49

1,240.15

164.06

45.80

146.07

1,500.00

SEP 19 49

1,016.65

181.85

109.18

86.54

1,500.00

SEP 20 49

560.95

2,177.60

6,000.00

SEP 20 49

5,400.59

80.46

900.00

SEP 21 49

3,216.15

3,592.41

500.00

SEP 22 49

3,590.18

70.57

549.68

21.79

500.00

SEP 22 49

2,805.88

63.35

40.27

79.01

500.00

SEP 23 49

2,159.78

35.00

3.50

49.80

1,000.00

SEP 23 49

4,141.78

67.66

68.44

510.00

1,000.00

SEP 26 49

977.76

18.00

125.02

603.40

1,000.00

SEP 26 49

760.11

1,625.50

326.57

47.66

1,500.00

SEP 26 49

2,260.11

356.37

125.35

3,500.00

SEP 27 49

3,179.62

92.30

31.57

2,500.00

SEP 28 49

674.04

1,500.00

10.56

1,000.00

SEP 29 49

1,413.94

1,080.49

50.00

4,000.00

SEP 30 49

5,329.88

2,474.01

50.00

1,000.00

SEP 30 49

5,329.88

1,400.00

50.00

1,000.00

SEP 30 49

5,329.88

949.46

50.00

1,000.00

SEP 30 49

5,329.88

50.00

50.00

1,000.00

SEP 30 49

5,329.88

PLEASE RETURN THE CHECKS WITHIN 10 DAYS OF YOUR CHECK IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

LAST AMOUNT ABOVE IN THIS FIRST COLUMN

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN
WRITING OF ANY RECEIPT(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.				
ACCOUNT OF			SYMBOLS	
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVT., INC. DISBURSING ACCT. OF			DE - DEBITOR'S NAME CR - CREDITOR'S NAME DE - DEBITOR'S ACCOUNT CR - CREDITOR'S ACCOUNT DE - DEBITOR'S BALANCE CR - CREDITOR'S BALANCE	
20 205 E. 42ND ST. NEW YORK 17, N. Y.				
CHARGE - DEBIT ACROSS			DEBIT	
BALANCE BROUGHT FROM LAST PAGE			BALANCE	
2774.40			CT 349	2555.08
1,151.01			CT 349	1,404.07
729.12	1,390.70		CT 449	719.55
2,379.84			CT 449	3,784.17
655.40			CT 549	1,404.33
100.00			CT 649	748.35
100.00	100.00		CT 649	1,148.93
2,025.75	100.00		CT 749	505.42
	100.00		CT 749	780.54
			CT 1049	1,247.88
46.30	20.00	1,665.00	CT 1049	292.45
274.25	159.14		CT 1149	1,805.48
			CT 1149	1,297.52
1,051.72	240.00	45.00	CT 1249	465.40
400.00			CT 1349	1,779.60
41.12	50.36	62.00	CT 1449	501.84
141.10			CT 1449	1,518.34
200.00	174.50	1,000.00	CT 1549	437.14
50.00	112.20	1,000.00	CT 1649	2,520.74
100.00	50.00		CT 1749	3,002.04
100.00	50.00		CT 1849	1,707.04
50.00	50.00		CT 1949	2,622.07
2,727.40			CT 2049	2,294.01
3,374.23			CT 2149	4,460.36
100.00			CT 2249	4,860.36
1,000.00	50.00		CT 2349	2,776.12
283.00	50.00	45.00	CT 2449	3,002.24
60.00	70.40	80.00	CT 2549	2,816.21
	70.40	153.20	CT 2649	4,766.21
3,374.25			CT 2749	1,788.22
200.00	50.00			

PLEASE RETURN THE CHECKS SHOWN ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

WITHIN THE (100) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE RETURN US IN WRITING OR BY CHECK (OR) CASH IF YOU HAVE FULL PAYMENT.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVT., INC., DISBURSING ACCT. 'C'
305 E. 42ND ST.
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

PLEASE
NOTE
NAME OF
ANY CHANGE
IN THIS
ACCOUNT

DEPOSIT

WITHDRAW

20

SYMBOLS

CR - CREDITED (DEPOSIT)
DR - DEBITED (WITHDRAWAL)
NO - NO CHANGE (BANK)
SI - CREDIT (SALE)
DI - DEBIT (DRAWING)
RE - REVERSAL (CREDIT)
P - PAYEE'S NAME

THRU DATE			DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE
1,497,271.5					6,652.23
150,000	2,007,951.5				5,141.86
2,157,951.5					2,903.73
77.19	131.10	77.77	2,007.95		2,833.75
95.91	847.40	325.91	3,500.00		1,858.11
161.10	64.95	10.52			5,358.11
			500.00		5,866.71
64.95	64.95	64.95	3,000.00		7,866.71
55.00	61.49	241.74			5,896.52
59.41	457.70				
200,000	80.66	125.10			
21.25	154.20	20.69	2,500.00		500.00
			500.00		500.00
47.00	54.17	3.50			8,714.52
255.00					8,354.95
1,084,161.5	95.31	5.37	1,500.00		9,664.27
100.00	45.80				8,570.11
9,672,111.5					8,424.31
200,000	16.34		2,000.00		847.80
			2,500.00		3,435.86
58.23	2,000.00	957.80			
75.00	150.00	579.41			
152.00					
45.80	80.95		1,000.00		516.58
173.51	68.30	3,000.00			386.57
85.00	1,466.66	853.74			
73.94	88.50	500.00			
200,000	195.27	92.30	11,500.00		5,952.78
591.77	640.41	168.00			5,056.95
54.17	356.37	263.05			
200,000	2,183.58		500.00		3,205.18
			2,000.00		3,321.50
2,559,801.5					761.00
125,000	13.00		500.00		1,123.00
65.00	161.10	1.25			
180.95	65.00	21.96			
188.74	14.22		5,000.00		3,225.00

PLEASE NOTE THE DEBIT NAME GIVEN ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL DISBURSMENTS

DATE OF STATEMENT

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN
WRITING OF ANY CORRECTION(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.				ACCOUNT OF		SYMBOLS	
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVT., INC. DISBURSING ACCT. 'C'							
305 E. 42ND ST. NEW YORK 17, N. Y.							
CHUCK W. KRAVITZ				DEPOSIT		DATE	
BALANCE				DATE		BALANCE	
20.00 -	2,300.00 -	2.00 -			DEC 1 44	6,913.05	
344.36 -	27.15 -	14.74 -					
88.50 -	356.37 -	350.00 -					
1,979.3068			2,500.00	DEC 1 44	3,429.35 -		
1,978.9013				DEC 1 44	3,950.05 -		
2,684.3813			1,979.3068	DEC 1 44	5,950.43 -		
100.0000	26.72 -	21.33 -		DEC 2	1,322.15 -		
123.75 -	90.00 -	13.94 -	5,500.00				
554.1715			2,500.00	DEC 2 44	6,456.41 -		
550.00			6,000.00	DEC 5 44	7,952.24 -		
67.00 -	3,447.53 -	13.95 -	1,000.00	DEC 5 44	14,946.74 -		
1,466.87 -	1,120.00 -	110.04 -					
47.92 -							
250.0000	87.58 -	159.21 -		DEC 6 44	8,671.03 -		
5,629.8613			1,500.00	DEC 6 44	8,194.84 -		
250.0000	76.17 -	55.61 -	2,000.00	DEC 7 44	9,694.44 -		
			6,261.00	DEC 7	4,064.78 -		
54.17 -	356.37 -	254.44 -					
65.00 -	30.00 -			DEC 8 44	5,756.61 -		
200.0000	7.28 -		1,500.00	DEC 8 44	4,996.63 -		
4,109.1013				DEC 9 44	6,289.35 -		
300.0000	16.52 -	50.86 -		DEC 9 44	2,180.25 -		
27.69 -			8,000.00	DEC 12 44	5,785.18 -		
5,520.2113	45.80 -	50.00 -		DEC 12 44	4,264.97 -		
200.0000			1,500.00	DEC 12 44	5,457.47 -		
51.70 -			4,000.00	DEC 13 44	2,403.26 -		
5,054.2113				DEC 13 44	8,214.59 -		
188.67 -			500.00	DEC 14 44	2,311.19 -		
3,903.4013	21.25 -	60.00 -	2,000.00	DEC 14 44	4,529.94 -		
200.0000							
15.80 -	43.70 -	35.12 -					
1,000.00 -	62 -	800.00 -					
77.50 -				DEC 15 44	5,057.20 -		
221.48 -	74.30 -	168.32 -					
104.58 -			1,500.00				
			2,500.00	DEC 15	6,488.77 -		

PLEASE WRITE THE DRAWN NAME SHOWN ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM THE
SIGNING OF ANY RECEIPT (S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

Committee For Constitutional
Govt. 1st Disbursing Acct. 60th
206 E. 42nd St.,
New York 17, N.Y.

SYMBOLS

CC - CREDIT / DEBIT
CR - CREDIT ON PROXY BOOK
DR - DEBIT ON PROXY BOOK
LS - LOAN / LOSS
AS - ASSET / LIABILITY
AC - ASSET / LIABILITY
EQU - EQUITY / DEBT

PLEASE
NOTE
ANY
CHANGES
IN
YOUR
ACCOUNT

PLEASE
NOTE
ANY
CHANGES
IN
YOUR
ACCOUNT

CHECKS-READ ACCOUNT			DEPOSIT	DATE	BALANCE
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD BY					
255.00	71.77	104.50			2,488.77
240.00	3.95				
2,555.45			1,500.00	DEC 16	5,784.15
			400.00	DEC 16	5,128.70
2,555.29			2,555.45	DEC 16	5,128.86
2,934.72				DEC 1949	2,194.14
200.00	200.00	45.00			
165.55	33.08	5.61			
25.00			1,000.00	DEC 1949	2,521.12
35.00	18.00	78.71			
88.50	32.65	3,190.40			
676.90	161.10			DEC 2049	1,764.25
200.00	91.81	17.42	2,500.00	DEC 2049	1,026.54
68.28	5.00	787.50	1,500.00	DEC 2149	289.31
123.20	135.21	812.05	1,505.28	DEC 2149	1,219.37
209.23	64.72		4,500.00	DEC 2149	3,779.19
400.00	55.50	1,505.28		DEC 2249	3,578.82
64.95	90.40	32.02		DEC 2249	4,279.82
12.00			1,000.00	DEC 23	3,169.83
190.00	149.00				
1,109.99					
500.00	40.65	45.00			
31.41	31.05	40.00			
25.00				DEC 23	2,855.90
123.32	457.70	47.36			
54.95	13.26			DEC 27	1,969.31
300.00	18.30	16.00			
50.00	18.75	35.00			
38.40	28.00	32.50	7,000.00	DEC 27	8,440.76
4,501.91				DEC 28	8,408.28
500.00	300.00	21.25		DEC 28	7,416.27
10.00	30.00	50.00	6,000.00	DEC 28	6,505.12
780.84				DEC 28	697.06
300.00	27.50		1,000.00	DEC 28	1,369.58
827.80				DEC 3049	941.88
800.00	800.00	153.27	1,000.00		
59.00	175.34	10.50	12,000.00		
5.00	5.00	108.70	1,000.00	DEC 30	11,375.25

PLEASE NOTE THE CHECKS HAVE BEEN DEPOSITED IN ALL CASHES

LAST CHECK DEPOSITED IN THE FULL ACCOUNT

WITHIN THE (15) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US BY
WRITING OF ANY DISCREPANCIES (VARIES BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS)

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

ACCOUNT OF

NEW YORK, N. Y.

PLEASE
CARRY
PAGE OF
ANY OTHERS
IN THIS
ACCOUNT

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVT. INC., DISSEMINATING ACCT. CO.
305 E. 42ND ST.
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

SYMBOLS

CR - CREDITED CHECKS
DR - DEBITED CHECKS
DC - DEBITED CASH
DP - DEBITED PAYEE
DO - DEBITED OTHER
DQ - DEBITED OTHER

CHECKS

DATE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

CHECKS - DEBIT ACTIONS			DEBITS	DATE	BALANCE
				JAN 5	1,575.83
893.1915				JAN 5	1,575.83
1,746.4215			3,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
			5,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
12,944.6315				JAN 4	1,575.83
300.0000	200.0000	300.0000		JAN 4	1,575.83
188.4900	108.4900	71.2700		JAN 4	1,575.83
100.0000			500.00	JAN 4	1,575.83
1,225.9415				JAN 5	1,575.83
19.1200	50.0000		1,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
3,720.4615			4,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
45.4500				JAN 5	1,575.83
629.5215			2,500.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
400.0000	25.7200	128.0500		JAN 5	1,575.83
24.0500	27.1500	400.0000		JAN 5	1,575.83
381.4800				JAN 5	1,575.83
300.0000			14,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
8,647.7215				JAN 5	1,575.83
200.0000			1,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
88.3000	899.7000	223.0700		JAN 5	1,575.83
252.1700	32.7400	123.0000		JAN 5	1,575.83
115.8500			1,400.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
300.0000				JAN 5	1,575.83
3,285.8815			2,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
220.0000	227.2200	109.8000		JAN 5	1,575.83
200.0000	64.3700	64.3700		JAN 5	1,575.83
510.0000	200.0000	4.0000		JAN 5	1,575.83
2,334.6115			5,500.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
5,170.4515				JAN 5	1,575.83
300.0000	15.0000	185.7700		JAN 5	1,575.83
55.9700	105.6600		2,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
2,501.1615			5,000.00	JAN 5	1,575.83
200.0000	500.0000	3.5000		JAN 5	1,575.83
132.2500	125.0000	64.3700		JAN 5	1,575.83
65.0000	65.0000	65.0000		JAN 5	1,575.83
65.0000	1,000.0000	871.0800		JAN 5	1,575.83

PLEASE RETURN THE REMAINING CHECKS ON YOUR ORDER IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES

LAST ACCOUNT STATEMENT

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN
WRITING OF ANY REVISION (S) TAKING US YOUR OFFICE FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.				SYMBOLS	
ACCOUNT OF				DATE	
Committee For Constitutional Govt. Inc. Disbursing Acct. C 205 E. 42nd St., New York 17, N.Y. 2				BALANCE	
CHECKS - DEBIT				CREDIT	
DATE				AMOUNT	
				JAN 19	4,441.82
400.00				JAN 19	8,541.82
3,370.28				JAN 20	2,371.54
25.36				JAN 20	6,428.27
5,474.56				JAN 23	46.60
2.20				JAN 23	2,795.42
61.04				JAN 24	2,566.84
77.68				JAN 24	20,021.84
700.00				JAN 25	27,278.92
1,027.23				JAN 25	26,440.68
13,485.89				JAN 26	26,348.68
500.00				JAN 26	13,462.79
1,275.00				JAN 26	19,162.79
50.00				JAN 27	19,057.63
2,868.89				JAN 27	39,650.94
25.00				JAN 28	61,458.27
928.71				JAN 28	26,998.27
156.36				JAN 30	27,998.27
368.88				JAN 31	28,000.00
43.33				JAN 31	28,000.00
2,441.75				JAN 31	28,000.00
28,000.00				JAN 31	28,000.00

PLEASE PRINT THE CHECK DATE WHEN ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE NOTIFY US BY WRITING OF ANY DISCREPANCY(IES) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, passing on to the next question, did you bring with you this morning each monthly account for the "deposit account I" which the Committee for Constitutional Government maintains at the National City Bank, East Midtown Branch, New York, N. Y.? Have you brought that with you? Your answer is "yes", Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir; my answer is "yes."

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now did you bring with you this morning each monthly statement for the "disbursing account I"? How about the "deposit account I"?

Mr. RUMELY. They are both in the same folder.
(The document referred to follows:)

28

19 30

February 9

New York

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

1-6

TO THE ORDER OF

FOR DEPOSIT ONLY

\$ 100.00

DOLLARS

FOR INSTITUTIONAL CREDIT, IN THE ACCOUNT

W. H. R. M. P. R.

W. H. R. M. P. R.

(In duplicate)

[illegible]

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.			
ACCOUNT OF		STOCKS	
PLEASE PRINT NAME OF ANY ORGAN IN YOUR ADDRESS 200 West 42nd St., New York 17, N.Y.		20 - DEPOSITED WITH 20 - DEPOSITED AS OTHER CASH 20 - DEPOSITED AS OTHER CASH 20 - DEPOSITED AS OTHER CASH 20 - DEPOSITED AS OTHER CASH 20 - DEPOSITED AS OTHER CASH 20 - DEPOSITED AS OTHER CASH 20 - DEPOSITED AS OTHER CASH	
CHECKS - READ ACROSS	DEPOSITS	DATE	BALANCE
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD \$00			
114.95--	114.55	FEB 9 30 FEB 9 30	114.95-- 00
PLEASE PRINT THE ORGAN NAME HERE ON THE CHECKS OF ALL CORRESPONDENTS		DATE RECEIVED BY YOUR BANK	
WITHIN THE (30) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN WRITING OF ANY RECEPTION (S). THANKS BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.			

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

Committee For Constitutional Government
Inc. "I" Account
205 West 42nd St.,
New York 17, N.Y.

DEPOSIT
DATE OF
LAST DEPOSIT
IN THIS
ACCOUNT

STANDARD
NO. 1 - NATIONAL BANK
NO. 2 - NATIONAL CITY BANK
NO. 3 - NATIONAL TRUST
NO. 4 - NATIONAL CITY
NO. 5 - NATIONAL TRUST
NO. 6 - NATIONAL CITY

DEPOSITS	DATE	BALANCE
100.00 -	10 10 50	100.00 -
	12 10 50	.00 -

PLEASE MENTION THE CHECK NO. SHOWN ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN WRITING OF ANY DISCREPANCY (S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you bring with you this morning each monthly statement for the general fund account A which the Committee for Constitutional Government maintains at the National City Bank, East Midtown Branch, New York, N. Y.? What is your answer to that?

Mr. RUMELY. My answer is yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Pass the material over please, and I thank you.
(The material referred to was inserted at this point.)

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

Committee For Constitutional Government
Inc. General Fund Account "A"
206 East 42nd St.,
New York, N.Y.

SYMBOLS

DE - DEPOSIT (CASH)
CR - CREDIT (CASH)
DR - DEBIT (CHECK)
CR - CREDIT (CHECK)
DE - DEBIT (CASH)
CR - CREDIT (CASH)
DE - DEBIT (CASH)
CR - CREDIT (CASH)

PLEASE
ENTER
DATE OF
PAYMENT
IN THIS
COLUMN

DEBIT
CREDIT

DATE

98

CHECKS - DEBIT

DEPOSIT

DATE

BALANCE

6.36

DEBIT - CREDIT - BALANCE

1,386.25
2,055.57

JUN 31

10,625.76

OK

PLEASE SIGNATURE THE BANK NAME ABOVE ON THE CHECKS IN ALL SUBSEQUENT MONTHS

YOUR SIGNATURE

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM THE
WRITING OF ANY RECEIPT(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.				
ACCOUNT OF			SYNOPSIS	
Committee For Constitutional Government Inc. General Fund Account "A" 306 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y.			DEBIT CREDIT BALANCE DATE BALANCE	
10,500.00LS			1,482.45	FEB 150 10,635.76
22.00CH			1,607.90	FEB 150 125.76
			1,417.45	
1,000.00--	1,000.00--	1,000.00--	2,274.57	FEB 150 4,621.56
1,000.00--	500.00--		1,889.15	FEB 250 1,621.56
			4,544.53	FEB 3 3,896.13
1,000.00--	1,000.00--		990.40	FEB 6 2,396.13
15.00CH			722.94	FEB 6 8,629.81
4,500.00LS			3,853.81	FEB 7 6,829.81
			2,000.00	
500.00--	500.00--	500.00--		FEB 7 8,528.15
500.00--				FEB 8 2,028.15
				FEB 8 7,861.96
				FEB 9 5,861.96
			214.55	
5,500.00LS			5,389.79	FEB 9 9,466.30
7.00CH				FEB 10 5,966.30
1,000.00--	500.00--	500.00--	5,784.93	FEB 10 9,744.23
500.00--	500.00--	500.00--		14 6,244.23
			1.40	
6,000.00--			5,811.43	FEB 14 13,695.08
			2,638.02	
			1,949.19	FEB 15 9,695.08
			7.00	
9,580.00--			968.30	
			1.25	FEB 15 1,642.08
				FEB 16 5,120.82
			2,337.27	
			1,061.30	
4,500.00--			2,424.60	FEB 16 8,953.99
2.00CH				FEB 17 435.99
			729.46	
			7,352.76	FEB 17 8,513.35
PLEASE RETURN THE BALANCE SHOWN IN 1952 CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE			LAST ACCOUNT CLOSURE IS THIS FINAL BALANCE	
WITHIN THE 150 DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT PLEASE INFORM US BY WRITING OF ANY EXCEPTION(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.				

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

PLEASE PRINT
NAME OF
ANY OTHER
IN YOUR
ADDRESS

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT
GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT A
205 EAST 42ND ST.,
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

NAME OF
BANKER

CURRAN BEAN SCHON

SYMBOLS

ONE CENTIMETER = ONE
ONE INCH = ONE FOOT
ONE FOOT = ONE YARD
ONE YARD = ONE ROD
ONE ROD = ONE FURLOM
ONE FURLOM = ONE MILE
ONE MILE = ONE KILOMETER
ONE KILOMETER = ONE METER
ONE METER = ONE CENTIMETER

DEBIT		CREDIT	
MAR 130		10.267.94	
6,800.00 --			
3,500.00			
3,400.00 --			
	2,745.15		
	2.08		
	959.93		
2,700.00 --	2,319.79		
	3,375.40		
3,500.00 --	3,375.75		
	7,357.06		
	2,500.00		
	6,408.62		
3,300.00 --			
10,000.00 --			
	1,752.60		
	313.45		
	1,000.00		
	1,875.38		
6,300.00 --			
1,700.00 --			
	2,321.33		
3,200.00 --			
	3,251.00		
2,532.64			
	2,532.64		
	2,627.34		
	3,310.56		
5,000.00 --	4,845.29		
3,400.00 --			
	2,779.21		
7,600.00 --			

MAR 1	3,487.94 --
MAR 1	6,231.65 --
MAR 2	2,831.45 --
MAR 3	6,111.37 --
MAR 3	3,411.37 --
MAR 3	6,781.52 --
MAR 6	3,487.52 --
MAR 6	19,751.20 --
MAR 7	6,451.20 --
MAR 7	8,203.80 --
MAR 8	11,398.63 --
MAR 9	3,392.63 --
MAR 9	5,713.96 --
MAR 10	2,513.96 --
MAR 10	5,049.85 --
MAR 10	5,144.55 --
MAR 13	13,500.40 --
MAR 14	4,900.40 --
MAR 14	7,573.61 --
MAR 15	2,261.00 --

PLEASE SIGNATURE THE SIGNATURE NAME SHOWN ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCES

LAST AMOUNT ADDED IS
YOUR FINAL BALANCE

WHEN THE (10) DATE OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE RETURN IN THE
WRITING OF ANY RECEIPT(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.			
ACCOUNT OF		SYMBOLS	
Committee for Constitutional Government General Fund Account A 205 East 42nd St., New York 17, N.Y.		20 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 21 - PAYMENTS ON CREDITORS' CHECKS 22 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 23 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 24 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 25 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 26 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 27 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 28 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 29 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 30 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 31 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 32 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 33 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 34 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 35 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 36 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 37 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 38 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 39 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 40 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 41 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 42 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 43 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 44 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 45 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 46 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 47 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 48 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 49 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 50 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 51 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 52 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 53 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 54 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 55 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 56 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 57 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 58 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 59 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 60 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 61 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 62 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 63 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 64 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 65 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 66 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 67 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 68 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 69 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 70 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 71 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 72 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 73 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 74 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 75 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 76 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 77 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 78 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 79 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 80 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 81 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 82 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 83 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 84 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 85 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 86 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 87 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 88 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 89 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 90 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 91 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 92 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 93 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 94 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 95 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 96 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 97 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 98 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 99 - CREDITORS' CHECKS 100 - CREDITORS' CHECKS	
CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT	BALANCE
			79.61
	MAR 15	2,078.57	
	MAR 15	4,500.00 -	
	MAR 17	1,140.03 -	
	MAR 17	4,128.29	
	MAR 20	928.29 -	
	MAR 20	5,346.28 -	
	MAR 21	5,246.28 -	
	MAR 21	5,817.64	
	MAR 22	2,617.64 -	
	MAR 22	3,952.53 -	
	MAR 23	1,452.93 -	
	MAR 23	1,761.42 -	
	MAR 24	2,361.42 -	
	MAR 24	4,901.28 -	
	MAR 27	2,281.28 -	
	MAR 27	10,855.11 -	
	MAR 28	2,851.11 -	
	MAR 28	1,373.12 -	
	MAR 30	5,840.12 -	
	MAR 30	4,240.12 -	
	MAR 30	10,631.02 -	
	MAR 31	11,375.81 -	
	MAR 31	6,275.81 -	
	MAR 31	11,296.08 -	

PLEASE SIGN THE CHECKS BANK SHOWS ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN WRITING OF ANY EXCEPTION(S), TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

PLEASE
NOTE
DATE OF
ANY CHANGE
IN YOUR
ACCOUNTCOMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT
GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT A
205 EAST 42ND ST.,
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

STANDARD

THIS STATEMENT IS
FOR THE MONTH OF
APRIL 1968
AND IS SUBJECT TO
REVISION
IF NECESSARY
FOR THE MONTH OF
MAY 1968MONTH
STATEMENT

CHECKS - DEBIT ACCOUNT

DATE	DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE
4.000.00 -	3.400.00 -		APR 3 11,296.68
		85.00	APR 3 1,096.68
		2,782.45	
1.000.00 -		6,097.37	APR 3 10,061.90
		1,123.30	APR 4 9,061.90
9.000.00 -		906.06	APR 4 11,091.26
		60.90	APR 5 2,091.26
2.000.00 -		1,674.15	APR 5 4,046.31
		2,849.16	APR 6 2,046.31
2.000.00 -		1,561.05	APR 6 4,095.47
		2,651.00	APR 7 2,025.47
2.900.00 -		2,623.03	APR 7 4,456.52
		1,107.35	APR 10 1,556.52
1.500.00 -		575.75	APR 10 2,030.55
		2,126.57	APR 11 8,630.55
5.500.00 -		1,106.85	APR 11 7,213.61
		3,000.00	APR 12 1,213.61
1.700.00 -		2,720.47	APR 12 3,040.28
		2,758.31	APR 13 2,140.28
1.000.00 -	2.100.00 -	1,200.00	APR 13 1,241.13
		675.62	APR 14 3,141.13
3.000.00 -		2,000.00	APR 14 5,061.60
25.000.00		2,445.75	APR 14 2,451.60
		1,669.16	APR 17 7,264.27
2.800.00		1,200.00	APR 18 1,064.27
		675.62	APR 18 4,264.27
2.150.00 -	4.400.00 -	2,000.00	APR 18 6,539.89
		2,445.75	APR 19 10.11
4.000.00 -		2,445.75	APR 19 4,474.19
		2,445.75	APR 20 7,419.94
		2,445.75	APR 21 3,015.04

PLEASE RETURN THE CHECKS HERE SHOWN AS YOUR DEBIT IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

WITHIN TWO (2) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN
WRITING OF ANY REVISION(S) TAKEN BY YOU. THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

ACCOUNT OF

NEW YORK, N. Y.

PLEASE
NOTE
NAME OF
ANY CHANGE
IN YOUR
ADDRESS

Committee for Constitutional
Government
General Fund Account A
206 N. 42nd St.,
New York 17, N.Y.

BRANCH

AT NEW YORK

BRIKES HEAD LIBRARY

HYDROGEN

FOR CREDIT ONLY
FOR CREDIT ONLY
FOR CREDIT ONLY
FOR CREDIT ONLY
FOR CREDIT ONLY
FOR CREDIT ONLY
FOR CREDIT ONLY
FOR CREDIT ONLY

DEBIT

DATE

BALANCE

APR 21

APR 21

5,014.54

1,000.00

508.04

1,502.40

1,411.16

362.22

1,791.02

645.01

501.96

1,907.67

500.00

2,068.57

80

2,634.63

APR 24

APR 25

APR 26

APR 27

APR 27

APR 28

APR 28

APR 28

APR 28

APR 28

APR 28

APR 28

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APR 28

4,400.00 =

1,700.00 = 5,700.00 =

1,700.00 =

250.00 =

540.00

17500

1,900.00 =

10.000

PLEASE MENTION THE BRANCH BANK SHOWN ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

LAST ACCOUNT DEPOSITED
NEW YORK, N.Y.

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE RETURN IN
WRITING OF ANY EXCEPTIONS OR TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

NEW YORK, N. Y.

ACCOUNT OF

SYMBOLS

PLEASE
PRINT
NAME OF
ANY CHANGE
IN YOUR
ADDRESS

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT
GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT A
209 EAST 42ND ST.,
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

DEPOSIT TO CREDIT OF
DEBIT TO CREDIT OF
DEBIT TO CREDIT OF
DEBIT TO CREDIT OF
DEBIT TO CREDIT OF
DEBIT TO CREDIT OF

PLEASE
PRINT
NAME OF
ANY CHANGE
IN YOUR
ADDRESSPLEASE
PRINT
NAME OF
ANY CHANGE
IN YOUR
ADDRESS

CHARGES—DEBIT ACCOUNT

DEPOSIT

DATE

BALANCE

700.00 -
1.100

MAY 15 9718.76

2600.00 -

MAY 1 2718.76

2600.00 -

MAY 1 2506.21

3600.00 -

MAY 2 2906.21

25.000

MAY 2 6449.75

1500.00 - 4550.00 -

MAY 3 3649.75

2100.00 -

MAY 3 9231.45

1900.00 -

MAY 4 1631.45

526.000

MAY 4 8179.04

700.00 -

MAY 5 2129.04

2850.00 -

MAY 5 1870.09

2500.00 -

MAY 5 4047.72

4.000

MAY 5 1947.72

1100.00 -

MAY 6 3198.21

WITHIN TEN (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM THE
WRITING OF ANY EXCEPTION(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK NEW YORK, N. Y.			
ACCOUNT OF		SYNOPSIS	
Committee For Constitutional Government General Fund Account A 205 East 42nd St., New York, 17, N.Y.		NO - CREDITED CHECKS CR - CREDITED CHECKS DR - DEBITED CHECKS BR - CREDITED BANK CR - CREDITED BANK DR - DEBITED BANK BR - CREDITED BANK CR - CREDITED BANK	
CHECKS - REAT ACROSS		DEPOSIT	BALANCE
		JAN 19	5169.51
		2125.25	
		2877.00	
		1724.88	
		4.62	
		7.22	
3100.00 -	6700.00 -	JAN 19	9908.40
		JAN 20	108.48
1500.00 -		JAN 20	4184.45
		JAN 21	2436.45
2500.00 -		JAN 21	5986.20
		JAN 22	1486.20
1400.00 -		JAN 22	3277.88
4600 -		JAN 23	1077.88
		1504.00	
		847.55	
		5000.00	
		1310.28	
1800.00 -	2330.00 -	1944.48	
	8200.00 -	JAN 26	12501.12
2500.00 -		JAN 27	191.12
		JAN 28	2404.48
1000.00 -		JAN 28	1044.48
2500 -	2000 -	JAN 29	1757.48
		JAN 29	197.46
		JAN 29	1406.55
2200.00 -		JAN 29	2501.07
		JAN 30	101.27
		1500.00	
		1000.00	
		1000.00	
		1000.00	
		JAN 30	4702.52

PLEASE SIGN THE CHECK NAME ABOVE ON YOUR CHECKS IN ALL DISBURSEMENTS

WITHIN THE (10) DAYS OF RECEIPT OF THIS STATEMENT, PLEASE INFORM US IN WRITING OF ANY EXCEPTION(S) TAKEN BY YOU, GIVING FULL DETAILS.

Mr. RUMELY. There was a change in the name of the account. At first it was "C", and later it was called "A", and you have asked for them separately, but we have supplied them as one, because it was one account.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now your organization, Mr. Rumely, maintained accounts "C" and "I" simultaneously, but later combined them into "account A," and that is what you have just explained?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see.

(Representative O'Hara is now present.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you explain what the significance of your account "C" is in your "deposit account C" and "disbursing account C"?

Mr. RUMELY. Well, formerly we kept corporations separate from individuals, but we abandoned that, and threw them together into one account.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the significance of "I" in your "deposit account I" and in "disbursing account I"?

Mr. RUMELY. That was individuals.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Individuals.

What does "C" mean?

Mr. RUMELY. Corporations.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, what is the significance of the "A" in "general fund account A"?

Mr. RUMELY. Well, that was we had to have some letter to make it, and it was just the first letter handy.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see.

Who was authorized to make withdrawals from your "deposit account C"?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify yourself for the record, please?

Miss HIMSWORTH. I am Hazel Himsworth.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is your occupation?

Miss HIMSWORTH. I am the bursar for the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is your answer to that question, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. You asked who had to countersign the checks. Sumner Gerard, the treasurer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who had to sign the checks for the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.?

Mr. RUMELY. Countersign the checks?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; sign the checks.

Mr. RUMELY. Sumner Gerard, the treasurer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who had to countersign them?

Miss HIMSWORTH. They were not countersigned.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is your answer, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Gerard had the power to sign the checks without countersignature.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now who was authorized to make withdrawals from your "disbursing account C"?

Miss HIMSWORTH. Edward A. Rumely.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me swear you, please.

Do you solemnly swear that these statements you make before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss HIMSWORTH. I do.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would you read that question, Mr. Reporter?

(The pending question was thereupon read by the reporter.)

TESTIMONY OF HAZEL HIMSWORTH, BURSAR, COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

Miss HIMSWORTH. The "disbursement account C" has been closed, and I gave this information just from memory. The "disbursement account C" checks were signed by Edward A. Rumely or Glen Edwards Hancock.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who had to countersign the checks?

Miss HIMSWORTH. And they were countersigned by Hazel Himsworth, bursar, or Jeannette Comoroda.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Doctor, can't you give us this information? Is it necessary that we have the bursar here? Don't you know whether you had to sign checks or countersign?

Mr. RUMELY. We have so many accounts I cannot keep them straight. If they will refresh my memory, I will testify.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I see; all right.

Who was authorized to make withdrawals from your "deposit account I"?

Miss HIMSWORTH. The same names as "deposit account C."

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely countersigned the checks on that account?

Miss HIMSWORTH. From "deposit account C" Sumner Gerard signed the checks without countersignature.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who was authorized to make withdrawals from your "disbursing account I"?

Miss HIMSWORTH. Edward A. Rumely or Glen Hancock, when countersigned by Hazel Himsworth or Jeannette Comoroda.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who was authorized to make withdrawals from your "general fund account A"?

Miss HIMSWORTH. Sumner Gerard or Jeannette Comoroda, when countersigned by Edward A. Rumely, Glen Hancock, or Dorothy Pope.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Mr. Rumely, have you brought here each monthly statement for each bank account maintained by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., in Memphis, Tenn.?

Mr. RUMELY. Memphis, Tenn., was not opened by us, but by a local group, and that is not our account, but all others I brought.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the name of that local group in Memphis, Tenn.?

Mr. RUMELY. I think they call themselves either Memphis Committee for Constitutional Government—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you brought here each monthly statement for each bank account maintained by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., in Nashville, Tenn.?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; we have.

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I have those, please?

Mr. RUMELY. I have got them all together in all out-of-town banks.

Mr. FITZGERALD. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into all the statements, do you accept and adopt as your statements the statements made by the lady?

Mr. RUMELY. Do I?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RUMELY. Those statements are my own; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those statements made by Miss Himsworth prior to mention of the two Tennessee accounts are your own?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The statements made by—

Mr. RUMELY. Miss Himsworth.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You adopt as your own?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You adopt as your own statements.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, have you brought here each monthly statement for each bank account maintained by the Committee for Constitutional Government in Memphis, Tenn.?

Mr. RUMELY. I just said we do not control that. It is not our account.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you brought here each monthly statement for each bank account maintained by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., in Chattanooga, Tenn.?

Mr. RUMELY. I have, and it is right there.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You passed that over to me in this folder?

Mr. RUMELY. I passed that over to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection the previous folders will be placed in the record.

(The documents referred to were inserted at this point.)

Class out

THE CHIEF NATIONAL BANK OF COLUMBUS
Columbus, Ohio

OLD. MISTAKE FOR 1949
BY JON W. LAYTON, 10/10/49

PLEASE EXAMINE IF ANY CORRECTION REQUIRED AT ONCE



CHECKS	DEPOSITS	DATE	BALANCE
BALANCE FORWARD			
	200.00	SEP 149	200.00*
	25.00		
	100.00	SEP 749	325.00*
	90.00	SEP 1949	415.00*
	225.00	OCT 4/49	640.00*
	134.00		
	100.00		
		OCT 11/49	894.00*
	485.00	OCT 11/49	1,379.00*
	125.00	NOV 14/49	1,504.00*
648.00-		NOV 17/49	856.00*
	135.00	NOV 17/49	991.00*
800.00-	220.00	NOV 17/49	411.00*
150.00-		NOV 20/49	261.00*
	75.00	NOV 21/49	336.00*
200.00-		NOV 24/49	136.00*
53-10		NOV 26/49	135.17*
	450.00	NOV 26/49	585.17*
500.00-		NOV 27/49	85.17*
28-10		NOV 24/49	84.69*
80.00-		NOV 24/49	4.69*
45.00-		NOV 24/49	.00*

1384.69
1.21
1384.00

Y384.0

OK

	NAME	Fightback for Freedom Division of Committee for Constitutional Gov. Inc. 305 East 42nd St. N.Y.C.	
	ADDRESS	HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK CHATTANOOGA, TENN.	
STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE ON BUSINESS PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT			
DATE	CHECKS IN DETAIL	DATE	DEPOSITS
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD BY		255.75	80.00
BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS 335.75 80.00			
This statement is furnished to you as evidence of balance of this pass book. It will not be the basis of settling your pass book to the bank and getting for it to be balanced. Your statement will be used for convenience to verify it and for			
USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS			

		NAME Fighters for Freedom	
ADDRESS Division of Committee for Constitutional Gov. Inc. 307 West 32nd St. N. Y.			
HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK CHATTANOOGA, TENN.			
STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE. IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT			
DATE	CHECKS IN DETAIL	DATE	DEPOSITS
	BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD	08/29/56	50.00
		08/31/56	50.00
BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS			
This statement is furnished to you upon request of examining the above book. It covers your deposits of bringing your pass book to the bank and making the deposits. These statements will be placed with the statement to check on and his			
USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS.			

NAME **Address**

Fighters for Freedom
Division of Committee for
Constitutional Gov. Inc.
305 East 42nd St.
N. Y. 17, N. Y.

HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS
PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT

DATE	CHECKS IN DETAIL	CASH	DEPOSITS
		407.51 75	80.00
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD BY			
BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS		407.51 75	80.00

You attention is directed to our customers system of balancing the pass book. To give you the benefit of having your pass book in the hand and making for it to be balanced. These statements will be issued every statement to check up and for

USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS.



NAME

ADDRESS

Fighters for Freedom
Division of Committee for
Constitutional Gov. Inc.
205 East 42nd St.
N. Y.

HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK CHATTANOOGA, TENN.



STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS
PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT

DATE

CHECKS IN DETAIL

DATE

DEPOSITS



BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS

2000

This statement is furnished as an convenience instead of returning the pass book. It serves you the benefit of knowing your pass book to the bank and keeping track of the balance. These statements will be found very convenient to check up and file.

USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS

		NAME Fighters for Freedom Address Division of Committee for Constitutional Gov. Inc. 305 East 42nd St. N. Y. 17, N. Y.	
HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK CHATTANOOGA, TENN.			
STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE. IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT.			
DATE	CHECKS IN DETAIL	DATE	DEPOSITS
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD ON FEB 28 '56			70.00
		MAR 30 '56	100.00
BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS MAR 31 '56			130.00
This statement is furnished to our customers upon the closing of the year book. It shows you the results of bringing your year book to the bank and seeing that it is so balanced. These statements will be found here in columns to check up and file. USE YOUR YEAR BOOK ONLY AS A CHECKUP BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS.			



NAME

ADDRESS

Fighters for Freedom
Division of Committee for
Constitutional Gov. Inc.
308 East 42nd St.
N.Y. 17, N.Y.

HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.



STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS
PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE IF AN ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE AMOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT

DATE

CHECKS IN DETAIL

DATE

DEPOSITS

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD \$

10051.50

70.00

BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS \$10051.50

70.00

USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS

Statement of Account to Close up Business
HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

PLEASE RETURN TO BANK IF NO SERVICE IS REQUIRED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CLOSED

DATE	DEBITED IN DETAIL	DATE	CREDITS
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD BY		06/01/30	50.00
		06/15/30	12.00
		06/27/30	2.00
BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS		06/30/30	64.00

This statement is furnished to you as evidence of the balance of the account. It does not constitute a withdrawal of funds from the bank and is not to be used as a receipt for the same. These statements will be found very convenient to check up and to use your own books and as a receipt when the account is closed.

USE YOUR OWN BOOKS AND AS A RECEIPT WHEN THE ACCOUNT IS CLOSED

OK

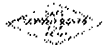


NAME

ADDRESS

Fighters for Freedom
Division of Committee for
Constitutional Gov., Inc.
305 East 42nd St.
N. Y. C.

HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.



STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS
PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT

DATE

CHECKS IN DETAIL

DATE

DEPOSITS

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD \$99

NOV 30 49

49.00

DEC 8 49

1.00

DEC 12 49

2.00

DEC 29 49

4.00

JAN 3 1950

BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS DEC 31 49

56.00

This statement is furnished for your records. If you are not the holder of the pass book, please return it to the bank and waiting for it to be replaced. These statements will be closed with statements in check for the year.

USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS.

NAME **Signature for Payee**
ADDRESS **Division of Commission for**
Commissioners, P.O. Box 100
Box 100 and St.
WASHINGTON NATIONAL BANK
WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS
 PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN 7 DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT

DATE	CHECKS IN DETAIL	DATE	DEPOSITS
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD BY		OCT 31 49	904.60
		NOV 1 49	12.00
NOV 2 49	350.00--	NOV 2 49	64.00
NOV 3 49	400.00--	NOV 3 49	27.00
		NOV 4 49	27.00
		NOV 5 49	35.00
		NOV 7 49	21.00
		NOV 8 49	75.00
		NOV 9 49	77.00
		NOV 10 49	20.00
NOV 12 49	200.00--	NOV 14 49	7.00
		NOV 15 49	25.00
		NOV 18 49	5.00
NOV 21 49	200.00--		
BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS		NOV 30 49	49.00

This statement is prepared by the Treasury Bureau of Printing and Engraving. It is not for the purpose of showing your account in the bank and is not a receipt for a deposit. These statements will be found later in your copy of the

USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS

NAME

Fighters for Freedom
 ADDRESS Division of Committee for Constitutional
 Government, Inc.
 305 East 12th St.

HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK
 CHATTANOOGA, TENN.



STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT TO CLOSE OF BUSINESS
 PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED IN TEN DAYS THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT

DATE	CHECKS IN DETAIL	DATE	DEPOSITS
	BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD BY	OCT 25 49	132.00
		OCT 26 49	231.00
		OCT 27 49	85.00
		OCT 28 49	81.00
		OCT 29 49	241.00
		OCT 31 49	34.00
	BALANCE AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS	OCT 31 49	804.00

This statement is furnished to our customers toward all entering the pass book. It sets out the number of deposits your pass book to the bank and what is to be balanced. These payments will be found very convenient to check up and file.

USE YOUR PASS BOOK ONLY AS A RECEIPT BOOK IN MAKING DEPOSITS.

COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, KNOXVILLE, TENN.				
FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM				
CHARGE	DEPOSIT	DAYS	NO OF CHECKS	BALANCE
	BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD	Jul 30, 50		\$15.32
* 1387		Jul -1-50	1	\$1.00
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				99
				100

PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE

THE LAST AMOUNT IN THIS COLUMN IS YOUR BALANCE

BC - BANK CREDIT
 BT - RETURN
 CL - LIST
 CS - COLLECTION
 DM - DEBIT MEMO
 CM - CREDIT MEMO
 CC - CREDIT CHECK
 SC - SERVICE CHARGE
 EX - EXCHANGE

COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, KNOXVILLE, TENN.

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

DATE	DEPOSIT	DATE	NO. OF CHECKS	BALANCE
	MADE DEPOSIT FORWARD BY	MAY 28-50	*	72.29
	* 15.84	JUN 14-50	*	90.23
	* 25.00	JUN 29-50	*	115.23
	<i>4.16</i>			119.39
				123.55
				127.71
				131.87
				136.03
				140.19
				144.35
				148.51
				152.67
				156.83
				160.99
				165.15
				169.31
				173.47
				177.63
				181.79
				185.95
				190.11
				194.27
				198.43
				202.59
				206.75
				210.91
				215.07
				219.23
				223.39
				227.55
				231.71
				235.87
				240.03
				244.19
				248.35
				252.51
				256.67
				260.83
				264.99
				269.15
				273.31
				277.47
				281.63
				285.79
				289.95
				294.11
				298.27
				302.43
				306.59
				310.75
				314.91
				319.07
				323.23
				327.39
				331.55
				335.71
				339.87
				344.03
				348.19
				352.35
				356.51
				360.67
				364.83
				368.99
				373.15
				377.31
				381.47
				385.63
				389.79
				393.95
				398.11
				402.27
				406.43
				410.59
				414.75
				418.91
				423.07
				427.23
				431.39
				435.55
				439.71
				443.87
				448.03
				452.19
				456.35
				460.51
				464.67
				468.83
				472.99
				477.15
				481.31
				485.47
				489.63
				493.79
				497.95
				502.11
				506.27
				510.43
				514.59
				518.75
				522.91
				527.07
				531.23
				535.39
				539.55
				543.71
				547.87
				552.03
				556.19
				560.35
				564.51
				568.67
				572.83
				576.99
				581.15
				585.31
				589.47
				593.63
				597.79
				601.95
				606.11
				610.27
				614.43
				618.59
				622.75
				626.91
				631.07
				635.23
				639.39
				643.55
				647.71
				651.87
				656.03
				660.19
				664.35
				668.51
				672.67
				676.83
				680.99
				685.15
				689.31
				693.47
				697.63
				701.79
				705.95
				710.11
				714.27
				718.43
				722.59
				726.75
				730.91
				735.07
				739.23
				743.39
				747.55
				751.71
				755.87
				760.03
				764.19
				768.35
				772.51
				776.67
				780.83
				784.99
				789.15
				793.31
				797.47
				801.63
				805.79
				809.95
				814.11
				818.27
				822.43
				826.59
				830.75
				834.91
				839.07
				843.23
				847.39
				851.55
				855.71
				859.87
				864.03
				868.19
				872.35
				876.51
				880.67
				884.83
				888.99
				893.15
				897.31
				901.47
				905.63
				909.79
				913.95
				918.11
				922.27
				926.43
				930.59
				934.75
				938.91
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				963.87
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				992.99
				997.15
				1001.31
				1005.47
				1009.63
				1013.79
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				1038.75
				1042.91
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				1067.87
				1072.03
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				1080.35
				1084.51
				1088.67
				1092.83
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				1101.15
				1105.31
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				1121.95
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				1130.27
				1134.43
				1138.59
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				1192.67
				1196.83
				1200.99
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				1463.07
				1467.23
				1471.39
				1475.55
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				1500.51
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				1508.83
				1512.99
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				1596.19
				1600.35
				1604.51
				1608.67

COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, KNOXVILLE, TENN.

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

CHARGE	DEPOSIT	DATE	NO. OF CHECKS	BALANCE
	BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD	JUL 20 50	4	\$11.10
✓		AUG 10 50	1	12.25
✓		SEP 10 50	1	13.40
✓	\$ 9.00	OCT 10 50	2	14.50
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PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE

NO. LAST AND ONLY THIS
PLEASE YOUR BALANCE

EC. ERROR CONNECTION
 RT. RETURN
 EX. EXCH.
 CC. COLLECTION
 DR. DEBIT HAND

CR. CREDIT HAND
 CC. CREDITED CHECK
 EX. EXCHANGE
 EX. EXCHANGE

COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, KNOXVILLE, TENN.

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

CHECK	DEPOSITS	DATE	NO. OF CHECKS	BALANCE
	SALARY DEDUCTION FIGHTERS F	MAR 21 50	*	99.40
	✓ 2.00	MAR 10 53	*	97.40
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PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE

THE LAST AMOUNT IN THIS COLUMN IS YOUR BALANCE

BT - BROOK CREDITORS
BT - RETURN
CA - CASH
CL - COLLECTION
DM - DEBIT CARD

CM - CREDIT CARD
CC - CREDIT CARD
CC - CREDIT CARD
EX - EXCHANGE

COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, KNOXVILLE, TENN.					
FIDELITY FOR FREEDOM					
CHECK	DEPOSITS	DATE	NO. OF COPIES	BALANCE	
	DEPOSIT	DEC 21 49	*	217.00	1
		JAN 11 50	*	314.25	2
		JAN 11 50	*	314.25	3
		JAN 26 50	*	197.37	4
		JAN 26 50	2	556.37	5
		JAN 31 50	2	573.37	6
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PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE

FOR LAST AMOUNT ONLY
RETURN IN YOUR BALANCE

DC - KNOX CONNECTION
 ST - RETURN
 LS - LIST
 CL - COLLECTION
 DR - DEBIT MEMO
 CA - CREDIT MEMO
 CC - CERTIFIED CHECK
 SC - SERVICE CHARGE
 ER - EXCHANGE

CENTRAL NATIONAL BANK, KNOXVILLE, TENN.

PASSBOOK FOR DEPOSITORS

DATE	DEPOSIT	DATE	NO OF MONTHS	BALANCE
	BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD	SEP 20-49	*	75.00
	* 155.00	DEC 7-49	*	202.00
	* 10.00	DEC 12-49	*	212.00
	* 15.00	DEC 14-49	*	227.00
		DEC 15-49	1 *	128.00
	* 50.00			5
	* 15.00	DEC 20-49	1 *	193.00
	* 27.00	DEC 29-49	1 *	217.00
				6
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PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE

THE LAST AMOUNT IN THIS COLUMN IS YOUR BALANCE

10- DEPOSIT
 11- RETURN
 12- LIFT
 13- COLLECTION
 14- DEBIT

15- CREDIT
 16- CREDIT CHANGE
 17- SERVICE CHARGE
 18- EXCHANGE

COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, KNOXVILLE, TENN.

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

CHECKS	DEPOSITS	DAYS	NO OF CHECKS	BALANCE
	BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD	121	21.00	1.00
* 50.00		122	21.00	2.00
* 20.00		123	21.00	3.00
* 121.00		124	21.00	4.00
* 250.00		125	21.00	5.00
		126	21.00	6.00
		127	21.00	7.00
		128	21.00	8.00
		129	21.00	9.00
		130	21.00	10.00
		131	21.00	11.00
		132	21.00	12.00
		133	21.00	13.00
		134	21.00	14.00
		135	21.00	15.00
		136	21.00	16.00
		137	21.00	17.00
		138	21.00	18.00
		139	21.00	19.00
		140	21.00	20.00
		141	21.00	21.00
		142	21.00	22.00
		143	21.00	23.00
		144	21.00	24.00
		145	21.00	25.00
		146	21.00	26.00
		147	21.00	27.00
		148	21.00	28.00
		149	21.00	29.00
		150	21.00	30.00

PLEASE EXAMINE AT ONCE

FOR LAST AMOUNT IN THIS COLUMN IS YOUR BALANCE

EC - ERROR CORRECTION
 RT - RETURN
 LS - LIST
 CL - COLLECTION
 DR - DEBIT MEMO
 CR - CREDIT MEMO
 DC - DEPOSIT CHECK
 SC - SERVICE CHARGE
 DR - DISCOUNT

COMMERCE UNION BANK

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Committee for Constitutional Rev.
204 E 42nd St.
N.Y. 17, N.Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1997

NEW BALANCE	NEW BALANCE	NEW BALANCE	NEW BALANCE	NEW BALANCE
300.00	300.00	300.00	300.00	300.00
264.00	264.00	264.00	264.00	264.00
228.00	228.00	228.00	228.00	228.00
192.00	192.00	192.00	192.00	192.00
156.00	156.00	156.00	156.00	156.00
120.00	120.00	120.00	120.00	120.00
84.00	84.00	84.00	84.00	84.00
48.00	48.00	48.00	48.00	48.00
12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you brought each of the returned checks drawn on the committee "deposit account C"?

Mr. RUMELY. We put in four men to work on it, and it took 43½ hours.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you brought them?

Mr. RUMELY. For 1 month. I have got a statement here that will explain the situation, and that you ask an impossible thing.

Mr. FITZGERALD. By "return check," Doctor—

Mr. BROWN. Have you made an honest endeavor to comply?

Mr. RUMELY. We worked for two and a half days; we worked the people overtime until 8 or 9 o'clock at night.

Mr. BROWN. Just answer my question: Have you made an honest effort to comply?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. By "return check" I mean, Doctor, a check that was drawn on the account delivered to another person, and then returned to your bank and charged to your account after having been deposited by the payee or some endorser; you understand that?

Mr. RUMELY. I have 1 month here, and you are asking for 37 months, and it took us 43½ hours and four people.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you have 1 month here?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. But you have neglected to bring the rest?

Mr. RUMELY. I have not neglected.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You have neglected to bring the other months?

Mr. RUMELY. You ask an impossible thing.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The answer is that you have not brought them because it is an impossibility?

Mr. RUMELY. You ask an impossibility.

The CHAIRMAN. Aren't these the same things we asked for at the previous hearing in June, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. No; they are not the same things.

The CHAIRMAN. In general, are they not the same? In general, are they not the same?

Mr. RUMELY. No; these checks were never asked for before.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we asked for your complete financial record, which would include these checks, and you did not submit them to the committee at that time, June 27, 28, or 29?

Mr. RUMELY. There was no indication that you wanted the canceled checks.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a complete list of what we asked for.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Dr. Rumely, does the committee maintain any other accounts in any other cities besides the National City Bank accounts East Midtown Branch, New York, N. Y., "C, I, and A" which I have mentioned, and the four Tennessee accounts?

Miss HIMSWORTH. There is one in the folder—Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Columbus, Ohio?

Miss HIMSWORTH. A copy of which is here.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do not bother commenting further on it. I want to know if it is here. That is your account in Columbus, Ohio?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What is the name of the bank?

Mr. RUMELY. It is right there, The Ohio National Bank of Columbus, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is going to be very difficult, Mr. Chairman, in an hour to conclude this. I have seldom been confronted by a problem like this, to put in an hour and examine all these financial statements in six banks.

Mr. RUMELY. The Ohio National Bank of Columbus.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Thank you; and you have submitted that to me. (See p. 209.)

Now, Dr. Rumely, please tell us how the committee prepares its deposit slips for delivery to the bank.

Mr. RUMELY. We—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that done under your supervision?

Mr. RUMELY. I have general charge of the office, but the accounting department does it. We list them on a tape, on an adding machine tape, and wrap the tape around the checks and put a deposit slip on the outside and send it over to the bank.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do you put each amount of the checks on an adding machine tape?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Then you add the total of these checks and enter it on the deposit slip?

Mr. RUMELY. We add the total and put it on the deposit slip.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And it is under the heading of "Checks"?

Mr. RUMELY. Checks; yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Then you also indicate cash on the deposit slips; do you not?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; we do.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And the total of the checks and cash is then set forth on the deposit slip?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; that is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When you deposit money in your "A, C, and I accounts," you make no effort to differentiate between money received in amounts under \$500, called contributions, and amounts over \$500, called receipts from the sale of books; do you?

Mr. RUMELY. We do not in that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, what records does the committee keep on the contributions of any specific person? For example, supposing you wanted to find out for yourself how much Irénée du Pont had given your committee as donations and how much he had remitted to you for pamphlets or other literature to be distributed by you or to be sent by you to him for distribution. What records do you have that will show how much that one individual gave to your committee?

Mr. RUMELY. We list every day on sheets about as big as a newspaper page the names and amounts and the purpose—the sheet has columns "Literature," "Books," "Contributions," or whatever there is there, and we list each day the name, the amount, and the purpose on that sheet, and we have about, in the period that you cover, we have between 4 and 5 thousand sheets with a hundred thousand entries.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Thank you.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, can I interrupt to ask just one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Do you ever have any checks from anyone else besides Mr. du Pont?

Mr. RUMELY. Do we ever have? We certainly do.

Mr. BROWN. Well, I just wondered, because while I would not know Mr. du Pont from Adam's off ox; I never saw the man, to my knowledge. I just cannot help but be impressed with the fact that his name continues to be given as an example.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there are several Mr. du Ponts.

Mr. BROWN. There are several, but Mr. Irénée——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Lammot and Irénée. I can furnish you with all the names, Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. I wonder if, in fairness, we could not find some other name besides the du Pont name to stress in the questioning with respect to the reports, and then the other——

Mr. DOYLE. I wonder if the distinguished gentleman from Ohio would suggest a name?

Mr. BROWN. I could name several from California if the gentleman would like them, but I do not represent either California or——

Mr. DOYLE. Or Ohio? [Laughter.]

Mr. BROWN. Or Delaware.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will proceed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Brown, the reason I did introduce the name of Irénée du Pont——

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go on with the questions, Mr. Counsel, without answering Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. I do not care for an answer. I think I understand.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you bring with you this morning the records which indicate as to how much Irénée du Pont has given your organization?

Mr. RUMELY. The items that you requested, I brought exact information, and I am delighted to have a chance to give you the complete answer on the 25 items that you are about to inquire on.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Mr. Irénée du Pont sent you a check for \$2,500.

Mr. RUMELY. Will you take that in the order we have it so that we can go after——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Just wait a minute, I am doing the questioning, if you please. I have not finished my question.

Mr. RUMELY. All right. Give me the date.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Irénée du Pont sent you a check for \$2,500——

Mr. RUMELY. When?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Which was deposited to the credit of the account of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., on November 15, 1948.

Mr. RUMELY. November 17, 1948.

Mr. FITZGERALD. November 15, 1948, if you please, sir. Where are the records of the committee which indicate that fact and the other contributions which Irénée du Pont has made to your organization?

Mr. RUMELY. I will give you an answer to that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it November 15 or November 17?

Mr. FITZGERALD. November 15, 1948, Mr. Chairman. What is your answer, Mr. Rumely? Go ahead. Did you want to correct that remark?

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: November 15, 1948
 Drawer: Irénée du Pont
 Payee: CCG

Irénée du Pont		No. 9029
Wilmington, Del.		November 15, 1948.
Pay to the order of COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE		\$ 2,500.00
EXACTLY 2500 & 00/100		Dollars
TO WILMINGTON TRUST COMPANY WILMINGTON, DEL.		<i>James H. L.</i>

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Buchanan, the dates you have probably are the dates on the check. Our date is the date of our deposit.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel is referring to the date on the check, of course, which is November 15, 1948, check number 9029.

Mr. RUMELY. We deposited that check on November 17, 1948. This check represented a loan as per Mr. du Pont's letter. He says:

Yes, I will loan \$2,500 to the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Pardon me, I did not ask you that. I said did you bring with you this morning the records which indicate as to how much Irénée du Pont has given to your organization. I did not ask you to read any letters.

Mr. RUMELY. No; I brought the information I was requested.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, did you bring that?

Mr. RUMELY. I brought this information on this check, and if you will let me just complete the answer—

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not ask you to read the information, pertaining to that check, Mr. Rumely. We have to get out of here in a half hour, and I want to be brief with this. Did you bring that information?

Mr. RUMELY. You want to know what this is.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you bring the information, yes or no.

Mr. RUMELY. I brought the information regarding that check complete for you.

Mr. FITZGERALD. All right, thank you, that is what I want to know.

Now I am going to pass on to another question.

Mr. RUMELY. I want to give the information.

The CHAIRMAN. We have numerous additional questions for you to answer.

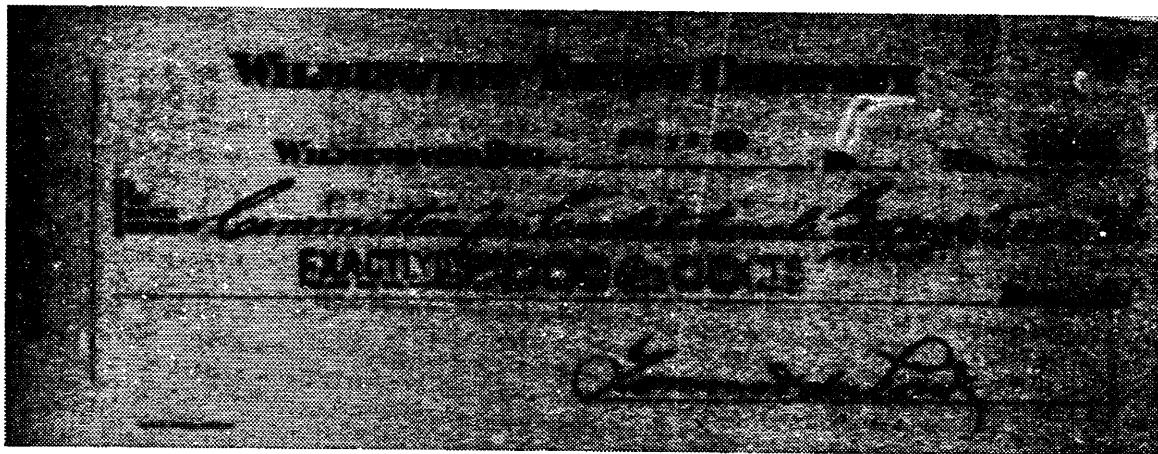
Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Lamont du Pont sent you a check, dated April 26, 1950, for \$5,000 to your organization which you deposited to the credit of the account of the Committee for Constitutional Government on April 26, 1950, among others, and here they are:

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: April 26, 1950.

Drawer: Lamont du Pont.

Payee: CCG.



(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: January 27, 1947.

Drawer: Benjamin Clayton.

Payee: CCG, Sumner Gerard.

BENJAMIN CLAYTON		No.	873
HOUSTON, TEXAS January 27th. 1947			
Pay to the order of Sumner Gerard, Treasurer, Committee for Constitutional Government		\$2,500.00	
4250 DOLLARS		DOLLARS	
BENJAMIN CLAYTON			
THE SECOND NATIONAL BANK			
HOUSTON, TEXAS		A. D. Donald	

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: September 10, 1947.

Drawer: Clark Equipment Co.

Payee: Sumner Gerard, CCG.

CLARK EQUIPMENT COMPANY		NUMBER 44370
EUCHANAN MICH		
DATE	PAY TO THE ORDER OF	
SEPT. 12 47	SUMNER GERARD, TRUSTEE	\$ 2,500.00
FOR THE SUM OF		
CLARK \$2500 and 00 Cts		
CLARK EQUIPMENT		
1000 THAT THE SAYING MAN		
2-28 CHARGE, LL 2-28		

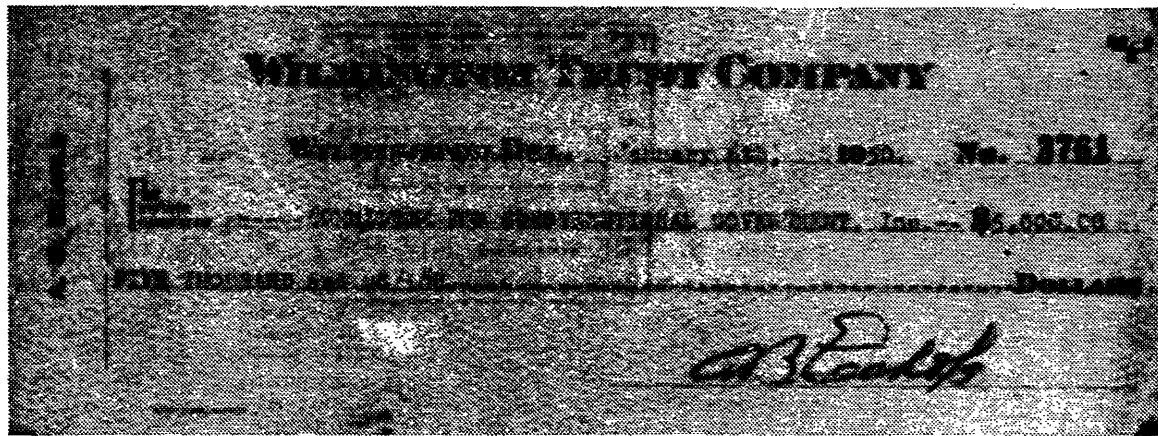
K. L. Murphy

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: January 6, 1950.

Drawer: A. B. Echols.

Payee: CCG.



(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: May 8, 1950.

Drawer: Grace E. Smith.

Payee: CCG.

THE GRACE K. SMITH COMPANY		No. 60700	
MADISON AVE. AT EIGHT STREET		TOLDO, OHIO MAY 1 1914	
Pay to the order of Committee for Constitutional Government		Five hundred and no/100cts	
THE TOLDO TRUST COMPANY		THE GRACE K. SMITH COMPANY	
TOLDO, OHIO		[Signature]	

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you brought with you this morning the records of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., which indicate that fact, and also lists the other contributions which Mr. du Pont, Lamont du Pont, has made to your organization?

Mr. RUMELY. You did not ask me the other contributions. I brought the information on that check.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Thank you very much. May I have it? Will you pass it over?

Mr. RUMELY. I want to give it to you.

Mr. O'HARA. May the witness answer?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Hara, I suggest that we allow counsel to conclude with his questioning.

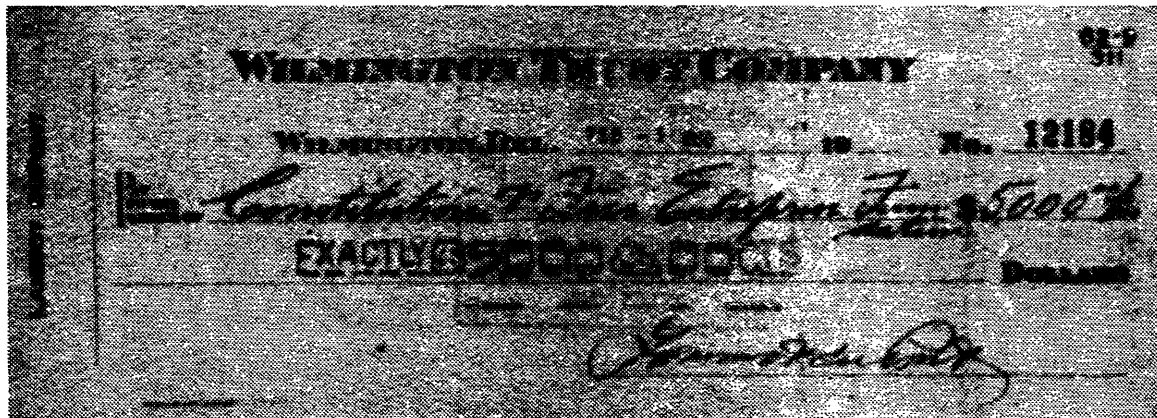
Mr. FITZGERALD. At this point I would like to put in evidence a check from Lamont du Pont to the Constitution & Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., dated February 1, 1950, in the amount of \$5,000, and one from the Freuhauf Foundation dated May 19, 1948, to the same organization.

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: February 1, 1950.

Drawer: Lamot du Pont.

Payee: Constitution and Free Enterprise.



(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: May 19, 1948.

Drawer: Fruehauf Foundation.

Payee: Constitution and Free Enterprise.

THE FRUEHAUF FOUNDATION		NO. 443
Detroit, Mich.		May 19, 1948
Pay TO THE ORDER OF	Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation	\$1,000.00
The sum of \$1000 and 00/100		DOLLARS
NATIONAL BANK OF DETROIT		THE FRUEHAUF FOUNDATION
DETROIT, MICHIGAN		<i>[Signature]</i> TREASURER

(Recordak copy of checks furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: December 21, 1949.

Drawer: P. S. du Pont No. 2, per George T. Thompson and Alice S. Pierson, attorneys.

Payee: John J. Raskob.

WILMINGTON TRUST COMPANY

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

No. 35198

Pay to the order of *John J. Raskob*

Five Thousand

George T. Thompson
Alice S. Pierson

ATTORNEYS

FOR DEPOSIT ONLY



Mr. RUMELY. You won't let me tell you about those checks.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want statements; we merely want your answers. We will put your statement in the record. We desire to have counsel conclude and we would like to get out of here at 11 o'clock, as I said in my opening statement.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Thank you, Mr. Rumely.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are going to make a speech, taking 2 or 3 minutes on each check—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., made any payments to the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., since January 1, 1947?

Mr. RUMELY. There may have been a temporary advance, but I do not know.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you produced those records here this morning?

Mr. RUMELY. In this hearing I have given you information regarding the checks paid by the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., to the Committee for the purchase of some 50,000 copies of the Norton book, and I would like to give you the evidence of where these books went to colleges.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to point out that the subpoena calls for the name and address of each person, and I wonder if you have produced the record; I am not asking you the reason for that scheme or the reason for that payment; I am just asking if you have got information pertaining to that. Have you brought it this morning?

Mr. RUMELY. I think this contains the complete information.

Mr. FITZGERALD. All right. May I have it?

Mr. RUMELY. I have given you a copy. If you take it in conjunction with my statement to the committee you will probably have the whole picture.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We will go into that at a later time.

I want to know what you brought with you; I do not want a speech on each item. I just want to have a determination of whether the material is here. Do you understand that?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; but you should have an explanation on each item. I am giving you—

The CHAIRMAN. You have it all written out in your release, and we will put it in the record.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; believing—

The CHAIRMAN. Covering the question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have such payments as you have just been describing been made by check?

Mr. RUMELY. They have.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I refer now to payments to the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., from the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

Mr. RUMELY. I don't know whether there are any payments, I do not recall, but there may have been.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You do not recall that?

Mr. RUMELY. I don't recall.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, here are two checks, Mr. Rumely, and I want to identify these two checks here, pasted on a placard, and these are checks from Irénée du Pont, and one is in the amount of \$3,000 under date of January 7, 1949, and this is payable to the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., and the second check is dated April 17, 1950, payable to America's Future, Inc., by Irénée du Pont

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: January 7, 1949.

Drawer: Irénée du Pont.

Payee: Constitution and Free Enterprise.

Irénée du Pont		No. 9149
Wilmington, Del.		JANUARY 7, 1949
CONSTITUTION AND FREE ENTERPRISE FOUNDATION		\$5,000.00
EXACTLY \$5,000.00		
BY WILMINGTON TRUST COMPANY WILMINGTON, DEL.		<i>[Signature]</i>

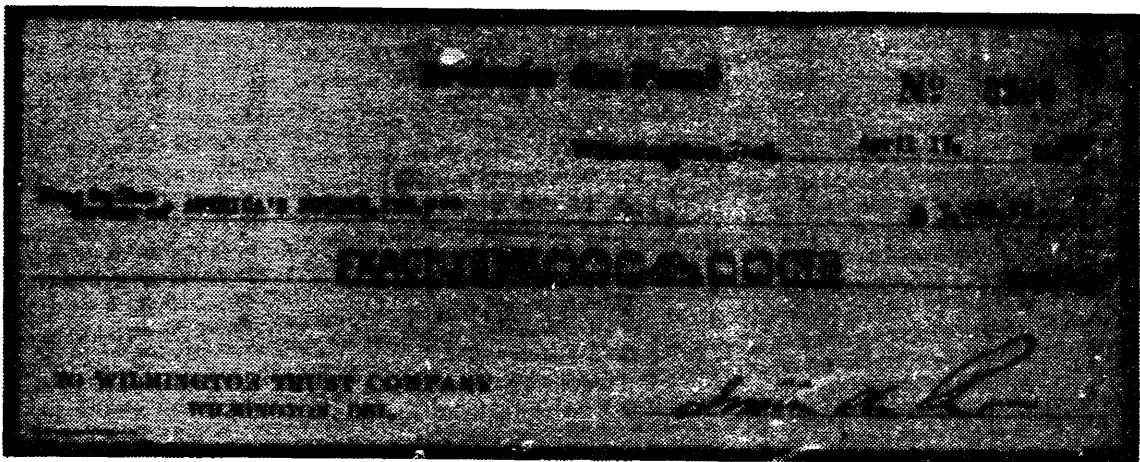
LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 15, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: April 17, 1950.

Drawer: Irénée du Pont.

Payee: America's Future.



Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir; as a gift from him to the foundation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to show you for identification three photostatic checks from the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., to the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc. Are those checks from your office? They were signed by Hazel Himsworth.

Mr. RUMELY. They are, and they are in payment of 53,000 copies of the Norton book *The Constitution*, which were distributed to colleges.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not ask you that. I merely asked you to identify those checks.

Mr. RUMELY. Well, we have protested against being obliged to tell about the sale of our books, and here is the best book in the country that we have sold, and I am down here in order not to have the statement go out that we are getting secret contributions. I am now obliged to give information on the sale of books.

The CHAIRMAN. The three checks will be received, totaling \$12,500, and dated September 1, 1948, January 14, 1949, and April 28, 1949.

Mr. RUMELY. I would like to put into the record. (See pp. 250-252.)

The CHAIRMAN. Those previous checks are from the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., to the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We will give you an opportunity, sir; we want to find out what you brought with you. We do not desire a speech on everything because we would be here for 3 years.

Now, has the Committee for Constitutional Government received any money from Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., since January 1, 1947?

Mr. RUMELY. Oh, yes. I have testified for the sale, in payment—

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to these three payments?

Mr. RUMELY (continuing). Of books.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to these three payments issued by these checks?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir, I think so; I do not know.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has the Committee for Constitutional Government any record of such payments? Have you these this morning?

Mr. RUMELY. We brought all you asked.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you brought all the records or just these three?

Mr. RUMELY. We brought all you asked for.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The subpoena calls for the names and addresses of all persons sending \$500 or more.

Mr. RUMELY. If you will take my statement, you will get my answer.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You did not bring them all?

Mr. RUMELY. It was an impossibility, just as you asked the bank to bring the copies of the checks, and the bank said it would take 10 men a year to do that. If you ask a thing that cannot be done in 4 months to be done in 2½ days, you are asking the impossible.

The CHAIRMAN. We might say, Mr. Rumely, that we sent one accountant up to the bank, and he did the job in 3 or 4 days, and worked about 4 hours a day.

Mr. RUMELY. You did not get the checks.

The CHAIRMAN. We have all the checks.

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 16, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: September 1, 1948.

Drawer: Constitution and Free Enterprise.

Payee: CCG.

No. 283	New York, September 1	1948	28
THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK			
<small>BANK BUILDING BRANCH AND EAST FIRST STREET NEW YORK, N.Y.</small>			
PAY TO THE ORDER OF COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL		\$ 4,500.00	
ENTERTAINMENT INC.			
FOUR thousand five hundred and no/100		DOLLARS	
CONSTITUTION AND FREE ENTERPRISE FOUNDATION, INC.			
<i>Walter H. Page</i> Assistant Secretary		<i>Hazel H. Hensworth</i> Assistant Treasurer	

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 16, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: January 14, 1949.

Drawer: Constitution and Free Enterprise.

Payee: CCG.

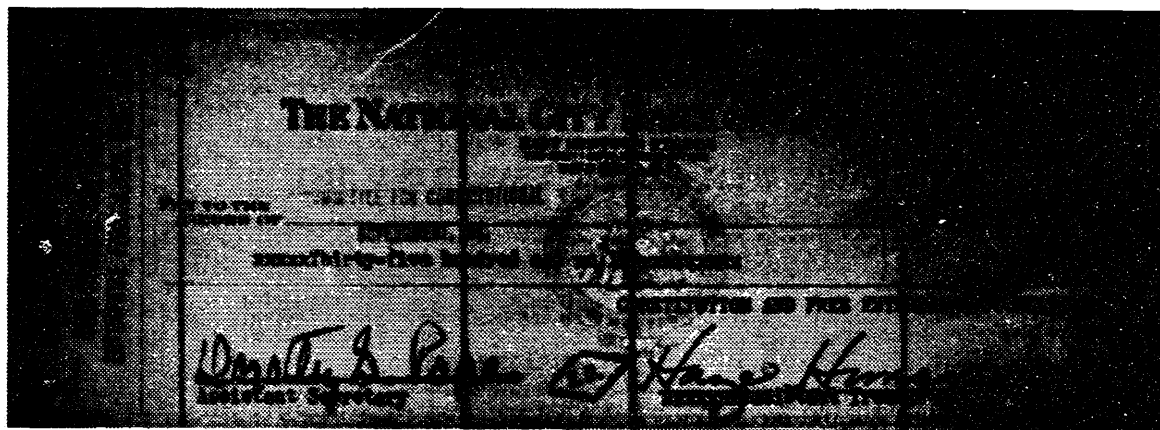
No.	325	New York.	JAN 14 1949	28
THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK				
EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.				
PAY TO THE ORDER OF		COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.	\$4,500.00	
FOUR THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND NO/100 DOLLARS				
CONSTITUTION AND FREE ENTERPRISE FOUNDATION, INC.				
<i>Worrell B. Pope</i> President		<i>Hazel Hammon</i> Asst. Treasurer		

(Recordak copy of check furnished by the National City Bank of New York on August 16, 1950, at the request of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities:)

Date: April 28, 1949.

Drawer: Constitution and Free Enterprise.

Payee: CCG.



Mr. RUMELY. I know you did not get what was asked for, a list of all the checks deposited, and the bank said that would take 10 men a year to do it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How do you know?

Mr. RUMELY. The bank told us.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The bank told you what we were doing?

Mr. RUMELY. No; but we asked them on the list of the checks.

Mr. FITZGERALD. During the period from January 1, 1947, to June 30, 1950 the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., gave to the Committee for Constitutional Government the sum of at least \$12,500; is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. It gave nothing; it bought Norton's book to be shipped to colleges, and if you will let me testify I will give you the names of the colleges that got the books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now I have here a list of the dates and amounts of some of the payments that you probably are referring to, and I also have photostatic copies of three of the checks. I have offered the list and checks as exhibits and these exhibits show payments of \$4,500, another one of \$3,500, and another one of \$4,500, and these were deposited in the account of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., and bear your signature or the signature of your agent.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. On behalf of the——

Mr. RUMELY. They do not bear my signature.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not bear his signature. The signature is Hazel Hinworth.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Dr. Rumely, these payments are all over \$500. Did the Committee for Constitutional Government report these receipts as contributions under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. RUMELY. They are not contributions, and we have told you that we will not report the sale of books and you are out of bounds when you try to invade our publishing field and make us tell who buys our books.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not what they say in their letters though when they offer you the check, in substance, is it? When they send you those checks in the mail through a letter, they make a very different statement in the letter to your organization.

Mr. RUMELY. These checks?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RUMELY. That come to the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. RUMELY. They are just a contribution to the Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are not for the purpose of purchasing any books, and they are not specifically itemized.

Mr. RUMELY. The foundation is a nonprofit organization that does no lobbying, that confines itself to the distribution of books upholding the Constitution and free enterprise.

Now just look at the picture.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, didn't you, as a matter of fact, set the foundation up as a tax dodge?

Mr. RUMELY. That is totally false. I testified——

Mr. FITZGERALD. You remember when you testified on the morning of June 27, 1950, and we put into evidence that Willford King memorandum?

Mr. RUMELY. That never went into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the very thing I have referred to all along, Mr. Rumely, as a phony dodge on your book sales.

Mr. RUMELY. I testified that we were doing—

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, have we not gone all over this in the original hearing? Are we going over this again?

The CHAIRMAN. We never had the proof, as we have now.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When did you commence the Foundation? When was that activated, Mr. Rumely, the approximate date?

Mr. RUMELY. About—

Mr. FITZGERALD. About what time?

Mr. RUMELY. Just one moment.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You mean you do not know what the approximate date is?

Mr. RUMELY. I will give it to you exactly if you will wait half a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will recall, Mr. Rumely, when you were appearing before the committee at first, those were the items you said you would not give us, and, of course, we had to take other steps and other means by which to get that information. We have that information now.

Mr. RUMELY. All right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What was the date? Are you now prepared to answer that?

Mr. RUMELY. Incorporation certificate of the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation is December 1, 1941.

Mr. FITZGERALD. 1941?

Mr. RUMELY. 1941.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they in the book-publishing business? They were in the book-publishing business?

Mr. RUMELY. They were in the book-publishing business.

The CHAIRMAN. They are in the book-publishing business?

Mr. RUMELY. They are not lobbying in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. What books do they publish?

Mr. RUMELY. Dr. King's Keys to Prosperity. That should be an inspiration to you.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Road Ahead?

Mr. RUMELY. No.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about Labor Monopolies or Freedom?

Mr. RUMELY. That is not published by them. This is purely a nonprofit organization, and I testified that we had to collect money to distribute hundreds of thousands of copies of the best book on the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. They enjoy tax deductibility.

Mr. RUMELY. They enjoy it.

The CHAIRMAN. And the contributions paid by them are on the same basis?

Mr. RUMELY. Are tax-deductible, and the funds are used for nonprofit and educational work. Look at the picture, Mr. Chairman. Here is the best book on the Constitution endorsed by Herbert Hoover and Cox, and the—

The CHAIRMAN. Which book is that?

Mr. RUMELY. And we distributed 600,000 copies.

The CHAIRMAN. Which book are you talking about now?

Mr. RUMELY. I am talking about the Norton book on the Constitution now, and these checks are in payment of this book, 53,000 copies of which went to colleges to be given at the request of the college to graduating students.

We are doing a highly meritorious work, and the checks that paid for it are projected over the press wires as secret unreported contributions. They are not. There is not one word of truth in that. They are the sale of books, and you are invading our right as a publisher, but the only way in which I can protect myself is to do what I should not be asked to do, to tell you about these sales of books; that is all that is involved in this thing.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You are registered as a lobbyist, of course, Mr. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. The Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation is, but our business—

Mr. FITZGERALD. How about the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. The committee's business is two-thirds—more than two-thirds—publishing and distributing books. I have outlined—

The CHAIRMAN. You said the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation is registered as a lobbying organization.

Mr. RUMELY. It is not, and has no business. It was—

The CHAIRMAN. You had better correct your statement.

Mr. RUMELY. I said the committee is registered.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., so you had better correct that.

Mr. RUMELY. The Committee for Constitutional Government is registered as a lobbyist.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you are too?

Mr. RUMELY. I am, too.

Mr. FITZGERALD. So, you are not a publisher, are you?

Mr. RUMELY. I do not need to be. A small part of our activity is trying to supply Congress with information. The major portion, more than two-thirds, is publishing and distributing books. We put 5,000,000 books out. We are one of the biggest book publishers in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will proceed to the next line of questioning on America's Future.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask one question?

Dr. Rumely, you testified that you get 4 percent of gross receipts; you get 4 percent—

Mr. RUMELY. After certain deductions.

Mr. DOYLE. Of the receipts from books?

Mr. RUMELY. From the sales of books; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You get 4 percent of the gross?

Mr. RUMELY. After a minimum has been reached.

Mr. DOYLE. After what minimum?

Mr. RUMELY. Sixteen thousand a month.

Mr. DOYLE. Sixteen thousand a month?

Mr. RUMELY. Fifteen or sixteen thousand a month.

Mr. DOYLE. Sixteen thousand dollars?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is that computed monthly, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. It is.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What did you make last month?

The CHAIRMAN. That is none of the committee's business. Let us get this evidence on America's Future, Inc. It is a quarter to 11 now.

Mr. ALBERT. And not have any more speeches.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, Dr. Rumely, these payments are all over \$500 that we put in before, and you say that these receipts are not reported under the Lobbying Act; that is—

Mr. RUMELY. Sale of books—never. All the receipts that we get, that the committee gets, are reported to Washington. You have got a complete record down here, and things you are asking for in the checks are all in our lobby reports under oath.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has the committee for Constitutional Government made any payments to America's Future since January 1947?

Mr. RUMELY. It may have. The committee carries a book stock for America's Future, and sometimes America's Future advances a little, and sometimes the committee advances, but you have a list of payments here that I will explain to you.

Mr. FITZGERALD. These payments have been made by check, have they, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. They have been made by checks.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have you those checks here this morning?

Mr. RUMELY. Do you have these checks or did he ask for these?

Miss HIMSWORTH. We have not.

Mr. RUMELY. We have not the checks, but we have a list of them, and I will tell you what they are for.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the America's Future is a radio—

Mr. RUMELY. It is not a radio—it does one job, and that is to put on the air outstanding Americans upholding our Constitution and the free-enterprise system, and it prints those talks. You have scores of them in the record here, the most prominent men in the country—the Secretary of Commerce among them—and distributes them in printed form, and puts them out over the air in a hundred or more cities.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I think we have got testimony of what America's Future does, in the record. I want to insert at this time copies of 12 checks made out by America's Future, Inc., with your signature, Mr. Rumely, on there, and the disbursing account, payable to the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc. These checks start in the amount of \$4,000, and another one—

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't there one for \$4,013.02?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That one is April 30, 1948. That is the date of that check.

Mr. FITZGERALD. April 30, 1948; January 25, 1950, for \$4,000; and April 13, 1950, for \$3,000. These are payments that America's Future, Inc., by you are made to the Committee for Constitutional Government; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. That is perfectly correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they signed by Edward A. Rumely?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who else is on that? Hazel Himsworth?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, they will be included in the record at this point.

Payee: CCG.

[illegible]

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

Date: October 30, 1947.
Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).
Payee: COG.

[illegible]

Date: April 30, 1948.
 Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).
 Payee: CCG.

<p><i>Colman at 5/10/48</i></p>	<p>AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc. 210 EAST 62ND STREET New York, New York</p> <p>APR 30 1948</p> <p>Pay to the order of <u>AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc.</u></p> <p>THE SUM OF \$4013.02</p> <p>THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK 60 WALL STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.</p>	<p>2046</p> <p>\$4,013⁰²</p> <p>DISBURSING ACCOUNT</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i></p>	<p>28</p> <p>1-8 210</p>
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LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

Date: July 1, 1948.

Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).

Payee: OCG.

<p>AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc. 200 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N.Y.</p>										<p>No. 2243</p>
<p>AMOUNT \$2500.00</p>										<p>IN 118</p>
<p>THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK</p>										<p>DOLLARS</p>
<p><i>[Handwritten signature: E. A. Rumely]</i></p>										<p><i>[Handwritten signature: J. C. F. ...]</i></p>

Date: October 1, 1948.
 Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).
 Payee: COG.

<p>AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc. 20 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N.Y.</p>											
<p>PAID TO ORDER OF \$2000.00</p>											
<p>TO THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK</p>											
<p>DATE: OCTOBER 1, 1948</p>											
<p>AMOUNT IN WORDS: TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS</p>											
<p>Signed: <i>[Signature]</i> E. A. Rumely</p>											

Payee: CCG.

[illegible]

Date: November 18, 1948.
 Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).
 Payee: CCG.

AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc. 200 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. PAY TO THE ORDER OF THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK 100 WALL STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.		No. 2621 \$2,000.00 TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS E. A. Rumely J. R. ...
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LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

Date: May 16, 1949.

Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).

Payee: CCG.

AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc.
200 N. 10th St. N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DATE: MAY 16 1949

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: CCG, INC.

AMOUNT: \$3,000.00

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

Handwritten signature: E. A. Rumely

Handwritten signature: J. M. Connelly

20

3198

1-8

210

\$3,000.00

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

265

Date: January 25, 1950.
 Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).
 Payee: CCG.

No. 0474	
JAN 25 1950	
Pay to the order of \$ 4,000.00	
FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS	
E. A. Rumely	
Hazel Rumely	
THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK	
MAIN BRANCH	
NEW YORK, N. Y.	

Date: February 28, 1950.
 Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).
 Payee: CCG.

AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc.
 220 EAST 42ND STREET
 New York, N. Y. Feb. 28

CONTRIBUTION FOR CONSTITUTION

Pay to the order of

Five thousand five hundred and no/100 DOLLARS

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF New York
 60 WALL STREET
 NEW YORK, N. Y.

E. A. Rumely
Wage Sumner Rich

Date: April 13, 1950.

Drawer: America's Future (E. A. Rumely).

Payee: COG.

AMERICA'S FUTURE, Inc.		200 STATE STREET	
New York, N. Y.		April 13, 1950	
Pay to the order of		COG.	
\$1,000.00			
One Thousand and no/100-00/100		DOLLARS	
By <i>Charles E. Rumely</i>			
Hazel E. Rumely, Secy.			
First National City Bank, New York			
100 WALL STREET, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.			

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has your committee any such records on these checks?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir; I have brought them, and told them, all about them, and if you will give me a minute, I will clear it up.

The CHAIRMAN. We will give you a minute.

Mr. RUMELY. The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., lends part time use of its staff to America's Future, Inc.

The auditor's report just in on America's Future says:

The services charged on a pro rata basis by the Committee for Constitutional Government are salaries and wages, listing department, \$3,000; shipping, \$5,000—

I will give you the exact figures if you want me to—

Listing department, \$3,716; shipping department, \$5,977; secretarial, \$3,958; production, \$2,764; other department, \$1,134; filing department, \$917; stencil, \$3,086; telephone operator, \$911; and accounting department, \$1,917. Total for the year, \$24,885.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You are going to give us that?

Mr. RUMELY. I cannot give you the auditor's report, but I am giving you the extract from it.

Now, these payments are payments by America's Future for the salaries that the committee has paid, and in which they share 10 or 15 percent, and they represent nothing else but the payroll that America's Future would have to meet, but it could not afford to hire men and women of such competence, because it cannot use them full time and, therefore, they say, "We will pay you 15 or 20 percent for the part time of those employees," and all those checks are not unreported contributions, as somebody here assumed, but they are simply salary payments for people that worked.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, during the period from January 1, 1947, to June 30, 1950, America's Future gave to the Committee for Constitutional Government the sum of at least \$35,000, is that not so?

Mr. RUMELY. Probably more than that, because we did more work than that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have here the list and the dates and amounts of some of the payments, and I also have photostatic copies of 12 of the checks. I wish to point out that the list and the checks as exhibits have been inserted in the record.

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. These payments of \$4,000, \$2,000, and so forth, are all accurate?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right. All I want is don't for goodness sake, project them to the country as unreported contributions.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Dr. Rumely, these payments are all over \$500.

Mr. RUMELY. They are, and there is no obligation whatever to report.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. RUMELY. No, there is no obligation whatever to report.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, they have been included in the record heretofore. What they disclose is that they are actual contributions from America's Future, Inc., to the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc. (See pp. 257-268.)

Mr. RUMELY. They are not contributions, they are simply payment for services.

The CHAIRMAN. What are they?

Mr. RUMELY. Payments for services.

The CHAIRMAN. All 12 of these items that we have, they are listed as totaling \$35,000?

Mr. RUMELY. I so stated.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Didn't you tell us before that the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., had no connection with America's Future, Inc.?

Mr. RUMELY. I explained to you, and I showed to you gentlemen the facilities, the shipping room, that is used by all three organizations.

Mr. FITZGERALD. So all three have a mutual interest.

Mr. RUMELY. They have not a mutual interest, but where they can save money by printing a book in large volume by joining in the purchase, or where they can save money by using part time—

The CHAIRMAN. In your testimony on June 28, you stated specifically that there was no connection between America's Future, Inc., and the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. RUMELY. Each one is an independent organization keeping its accounts separate.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And you sign the checks for all of them?

Mr. RUMELY. I have the right to countersign for the Foundation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I mean America's Future, Inc.

Mr. RUMELY. I have the right to countersign, among others.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And your name is on all the checks submitted?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Rumely, when you complied with a portion of the committee's subpoena back in June, you reported receiving the following contributions from John Bross Lloyd of Greenwich, Conn.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD (continuing). \$150 on July 19, and several payments of \$300 in other periods of time during 1947, is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is \$1,350 in one quarter, but you did not report his name in your filings under the Lobby Act.

Did you produce this morning all correspondence relating to these receipts by your committee?

Mr. RUMELY. I did not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Why didn't you?

Mr. RUMELY. I didn't understand that you wanted them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you produce them?

Mr. RUMELY. We had produced them before, I mean we had given you the data before.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In the fourth quarter of 1947 you received \$600 from the same Mr. Lloyd.

Mr. RUMELY. Well, he left lists with us to be serviced with books and literature, and there was some doubt, so we reported this, payments to be allocated in part for supplying literature, books, and folders entrusted to the committee by Mr. Lloyd.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did he not specify the manner in which that should be accomplished?

Mr. RUMELY. He testified—he had a large list of friends of his, to whom he wanted material sent, and that was sent out from time to time.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That was not reported under the Lobbying Act either?

Mr. RUMELY. Because it was the sale of literature.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Did you bring with you this morning all correspondence relating to these transactions?

Mr. RUMELY. I did not; I did not know you wanted them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will you furnish us with that?

Mr. RUMELY. I will try to get it if it is available in the files.

(The information above referred to had not been received at the time of printing.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, who was authorized to make withdrawals from your America's Future, Inc., disbursing account? Who had to sign the checks? Do you know who had to sign the checks, Doctor?

Mr. RUMELY. Just a moment until I get the card. The America's Future disbursing account signatures are Earl Harding, the treasurer, or Edward Rumely, or Glen Hancock, on one side, Dorothy Pope, Hazel Himsworth or Jeannette Comoroda, on the other, countersigning.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is Earl Harding the same gentleman who is a trustee for the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc?

Mr. RUMELY. He is not a trustee. He was in past years, but is not now.

Mr. FITZGERALD. When did he resign?

Mr. RUMELY. I think about a year ago.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time of the issuance of these checks he was a member of the board of trustees of the Committee for Constitutional Government. The checks are dated in 1947, 1948, and 1949.

Mr. RUMELY. There was an overlapping time there.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who had the authority to countersign the checks of America's Future, Inc?

Mr. RUMELY. I just gave you this, Earl Harding, Edward Rumely, Glen Hancock, primary signers, countersigned by Dorothy Pope, Hazel Himsworth or Jeannette Comoroda.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is with reference to the disbursing account?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right, with reference to the disbursing account.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, with reference to the America's Future, Inc., deposit account—

Mr. RUMELY. The general account, Mr. Lund, the president, Earl Harding, the treasurer, on one side, Dorothy Pope, Hazel Himsworth or Jeannette Comoroda countersigning.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, in your previous testimony you made mention of the following individuals who had made large contributions to the Committee for Constitutional Government. You said J. Howard Pew of Pennsylvania had made some large contributions. How much did he make, or how much did he—

Mr. RUMELY. I don't recall that testimony.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You say or you said that a woman from Toledo gave you \$2,000. Do you remember that in your previous testimony?

Mr. RUMELY. For the distribution of The Road Ahead.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who was that woman?

Mr. RUMELY. We are not giving you the names of the people who bought our books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, you refuse to give that information?

Mr. RUMELY. I refuse to give the names of people who bought our books. You are invading our constitutional right as publishers.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Even though you are registered as a lobbyist, and you realize—

Mr. RUMELY. I am registered not for that activity, but because I send to Congress releases and other material, and, as we have a publishing enterprise, two-thirds of our activities, or more, is the sale of books and literature, and we are not going to—

Mr. FITZGERALD. You refuse, even in the light of the fact that we have subpoenaed you here this morning, and we have a quorum present at the present time, and we might find you in contempt should you fail to comply with the questions that are proper and are pertinent to this occasion?

Mr. RUMELY. They are not proper and pertinent; when a subordinate law of Congress conflicts with the organic law in the Constitution the subordinate law has to give way, and the organic law prevails, and you are trying to bust up the Bill of Rights and you are going to set the precedents of doing it.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I move that the witness be instructed to cease stating legal conclusions and making statements not responsive to the questions. I make that motion, and ask for a vote on it at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection—

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, now let us have a little—I think the witness has been badgered a good deal, and has not had the full opportunity to answer some of these things.

The CHAIRMAN. He certainly has had enough time.

Mr. ALBERT. I have not badgered the witness. I want to get the information.

Mr. O'HARA. This is going back to the questions asked at the original hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Upon which we now have more specific data than we did have.

Mr. O'HARA. It is the same question.

The CHAIRMAN. If the witness had submitted that information, then we would not have had to have him back today, we would have had it all, and it would have been over with.

We had to use circuitous routes to obtain this information, which he could have furnished to this committee when he appeared in the latter part of June.

The witness will be so instructed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now, with respect to the names of the State medical associations which have purchased books from you, or furnished you with contributions, you refuse to give us that information also; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. We have not been furnished contributions; they have bought books, and—

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many medical associations have bought books?

Mr. RUMELY. Probably a dozen.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What are the names of those?

Mr. RUMELY. I will not give the names of purchasers of books, I have told you that repeatedly.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Rumely, are those books which you now are referring to as having been purchased, are those the books that I am receiving through the mail from your organization—

Mr. RUMELY. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Gratis, like The Road Ahead, and other books?

Mr. RUMELY. No; we have a lot of small contributions, and we use those funds to send the books where we think they will do good, but you probably are receiving a lot of books from people out in your territory who bought them and wish you to read them.

Mr. DOYLE. No; they come from the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Mr. RUMELY. All right; they come from the committee; they are paid for by the small contributions, and the general income. The people who buy books, the medical associations, wanted them distributed in the State to names that they gave, or we shipped them in bulk.

Mr. DOYLE. But, Mr. Rumely, it is the same book, I mean?

Mr. RUMELY. Is the same book; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. For which you get 4 percent from the sales of; is that true?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. That is the same book; is it not?

Mr. RUMELY. That is the same book.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Dr. Rumely, I want to be perfectly fair with you, to give you this opportunity to answer these questions. Remember that this committee has contempt powers and they might be exercised should you fail.

In view of that, would you change your mind and give us this information?

Mr. RUMELY. I cannot where a constitutional question is involved. If we set the precedent of yielding against our conviction and against the advice of our lawyers that the first and fourth amendments cover our book operations, why then, we, instead of upholding constitutional government are setting a precedent to break it down, and we are not going to do it. It is a hot spot; I do not want to be in the spot.

The CHAIRMAN. It is indicated to counsel that the answer of the witness is in negation of the question, and counsel will continue.

Mr. RUMELY. I stated again—

The CHAIRMAN. We do not need to go any further.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, this is the same attitude that Mr. William L. Patterson took.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a question of attitude. I think we should proceed with the other material that you have.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That concludes my investigation at this point. I have nothing else unless we can obtain the information refused. This material, which is an analysis, I would like to put in the record. It makes an analysis of accounts showing the number of items of \$500 or over deposited each year, but I think it is too lengthy to read, and I would like to have it inserted.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the report submitted by the staff? Without objection it will be made a part of the record.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is a staff analysis of the checks and financial data covering the organizations heretofore described.

The CHAIRMAN. This is Analysis of Accounts of Committee for Constitutional Government and Allied Organizations, Showing Number of Items of \$500 or Over Deposited Each Year:

Committee for Constitutional Government in the years 1947, '48, '49, '50, total in "Account A" of 85; total in "Account C," 394; total in "Account I," 76; making a total of 555.

So far as America's Future is concerned for the years, the same years, there is a total of 425.

Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., for the same years, the total of 71, for a total number of items of 1,051.

The following pages contain a summary of the value of the deposits of items of \$500 or over each year, as well as the value of all deposits for each year from January 1, 1947, through June 30, 1950—

and it is broken down, of course, by organization and without question they will be included as part of the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

Analysis of accounts of CCG and allied organizations, showing number of items of \$500 or over deposited each year

	1947	1948	1949	1950	Total
Committee for Constitutional Government:					
Account A.....				85	85
Account C.....	120	103	149	16	394
Account I.....	58	33			76
Total.....					555
America's Future.....	96	138	130	61	425
Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc.....	1	22	26	22	71
Total number of items.....					1,051

The following pages contain a summary of the value of the deposits of items of \$500 or over each year, as well as the value of all deposits for each year from January 1, 1947 through June 30, 1950:

AMERICA'S FUTURE

Amount of checks of \$500 or more:	Deposits:
1947----- \$138,730.00	1947----- \$222,035.86
1948----- 221,380.21	1948----- 355,975.87
1949----- 130,237.10	1949----- 302,676.01
1950----- 66,535.28	1950----- 174,034.41
Grand total----- 556,883.40	Grand total----- 1,054,721.65

CONSTITUTION AND FREE ENTERPRISE FOUNDATION, INC.

Amount of checks of \$500 or more:	Deposits:
1947----- \$500.00	1947----- \$1,284.11
1948----- 44,105.00	1948----- 44,841.48
1949----- 16,000.00	1949----- 56,032.72
1950----- 24,400.00	1950----- 37,580.86
Grand total----- 85,005.00	Grand total----- 189,239.17

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT (DEPOSIT ACCOUNT I)

Amount of checks of \$500 or more:		Deposits:	
1947.....	\$40,800.70	1948.....	\$202,045.65
1948.....	30,043.17	1949.....	10,288.38
Grand total.....	97,443.93	Grand total.....	413,723.04

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT (GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT A)

Amount of checks of \$500 or more:		Deposits:	
1947.....		1947.....	
1948.....		1948.....	
1949.....		1949.....	
1950.....	\$112,222.02	1950.....	\$402,805.89
Grand total.....	112,222.02	Grand total.....	402,805.89

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT (DEPOSIT ACCOUNT C)

Amount of checks of \$500 or more:		Deposits:	
1947.....	\$108,538.84	1947.....	\$281,024.41
1948.....	125,045.05	1948.....	274,610.98
1949.....	203,400.15	1949.....	603,008.81
1950.....	70,750.00	1950.....	124,081.02
Grand total.....	508,343.04	Grand total.....	1,285,125.82

TOTAL DEPOSITS, ALL ACCOUNTS, COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

Account C.....	\$1,285,125.82
Account A.....	402,805.89
Account I.....	413,723.04

Grand total (Jan. 1, 1947-June 30, 1950)..... 2,101,654.75

Mr. O'HARA. There should be some statement of analysis by the staff.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a statement submitted by our staff on the analysis made of the bank accounts and the contributions to the Committee for Constitutional Government and allied organizations.

As I stated, without question it will be included as part of the record at this point.

Do you have any further questions?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No further questions at this point, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rumely, you may include your entire statement as part of the record without formality.

Mr. RUMELY. Without reading it? May I read it or not?

Mr. ALBERT. If we are through getting the evidence in, I suggest that he do.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, as soon as the bell rings—I think Mr. Rumely should insert it unless he feels that he wants to read it.

Mr. RUMELY. If you suggest that it is all right, I will just put it in, providing it goes into the record.

Mr. ALBERT. I ask that it be inserted in the record as submitted by Mr. Rumely.

Mr. RUMELY. I think it is important, this final appendix, because that was worked up very carefully with a view to delimiting between the necessary and important powers of Congress to investigate lobbying, and the first and fourth amendments, and we have got the best brains that we could command to work with us on this statement, and I think it will be helpful to you gentlemen.

Mr. DOYLE. I would say to you, Mr. Chairman, in view of Mr. Rumely's statement, it is very important that it go in our record, and that Congress know it, and that all the people in America have a chance to read it, whatever it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection the entire statement will be put in the record at this point.

(The document referred to follows:)

A STATEMENT RELEASED TO THE PRESS AFTER DR. RUMELY'S APPEARANCE ON THE STAND BEFORE THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES, AUGUST 25, 1950.

Chairman Buchanan and members of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, on Tuesday, August 22, I was subpoenaed to appear here today to explain certain items about which you wished information, but on August 23, both the AP and UP carried a statement by Chairman Buchanan to the effect that I had been called to explain "failure to report 'large' contributions as required by law." The dispatch further stated that investigation of the groups' bank accounts in New York revealed that "numerous large contributions" were not reported by Rumely as required under the Federal act regulating lobbying.

There was the further statement that Chairman Buchanan had said "he would seek a contempt-of-Congress citation against Rumely for his refusal to answer committee questions."

Thus, without waiting for the information for which you asked, Mr. Buchanan, you prejudged the case and protected a totally false statement over the press wires across the Nation. When my testimony is heard, you will realize how completely unfounded were the statements given the press. Except as already reported, we have accepted no contribution of \$500 or more since August 2, 1949.

You have discovered no unreported contributions. It is an abuse of the power of Congress to trifle with the reputation of a citizen in this way. It is entirely possible that the chairman, in making these statements, relied on the reports of subordinates who lack familiarity with accounting practices and bank records. This lack of grasp of accounting problems is evidenced by the demands of the subpoena. We were asked, within 2½ days, to produce copies of all checks issued during 37 months. Although we immediately put a chief accountant and four assistants on the job, it required 43½ working hours to make the photostats including 1 month's checks. Covering 37 months would require continuous work, including overtime, for 5 or 6 weeks, and involve heavy expenditure.

We were told that a similar subpoena by you upon one of our banks for copies of all checks received would require the time of 10 clerks for 1 year.

Your subpoena asks for the name of each person from whom a total of \$500 or more has been received for any purpose during the period of January 1, 1947, to August 1, 1950, and full information as to the purpose of such payment, and all correspondence relating thereto. The original records covering receipts are scattered through 5,000 or more sheets, each the size of a newspaper page and bearing 18 or 20 names and addresses. Since many individuals bought or gave annually, some more than once a year, to go back to original records and checks for the information you ask for would necessitate covering approximately 100,000 items.

If we put on, and trained, four or five skilled workers—as many as we could accommodate in our crowded office, it would require a period of 15 weeks, and a cost of approximately \$3,500, a cost which would have to be provided.

The overwhelming majority of our income arises from the sale of books and literature and such services as Paul Revere messages, sold at \$10 per year. In my testimony, on June 6 (p. 43), I said:

"I am willing to produce the records of all contributions of \$1,000 or more within the period designated; I am willing to produce the records of all loans within the period designated, except a few that related to the promotion of The Road Ahead and advertising Fighters for Freedom, which has nothing to do with lobbying. I am not going to produce the names of people who bought books because, under the Bill of Rights, that is beyond the power of your committee to investigate."

And, in the Rumely statement to the Buchanan committee, which was accepted and made part of your record on the same day, in concluding, I stated:

"It is for the reasons set forth in the Gerard statement, and these reasons, that we are declining to give you the names of the quantity purchasers of our books and literature. Also, the names of a few who made loans for the purpose of enabling us to advertise and promote the Fighters for Freedom movement, which has no relation to lobbying activities before Congress; also to pay for the printing and promotion of early editions of *The Road Ahead*.

"I am taking this stand after consultation and on the advice of my counsel, Neil Burkinshaw, and after consultation with the trustees of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc."

~~We have stated that in these publishing operations we are under the protection of the first and fourth amendments, and our attorneys advise us that it is beyond the power of your committee to inquire about the names of the purchasers of such books and literature—since Congress itself cannot legislate in violation of the first and fourth amendments, such inquiry must be fruitless—because no legislation can result—and, therefore, outside the power of your committee to investigate.~~

Items (a) and (b) in the subpoena are physically impossible to comply with in a period of 2½ days, or even 2½ months. In a telephone talk, Chairman Buchanan stated that he hardly expected compliance with these items of the subpoena because we had already taken the stand that we would not reveal the names of the purchasers of our books and/or literature. However, he dictated a statement as to the items turned up in the bank accounts in which the committee was particularly interested in this hearing, and about which it wished complete information.

There were 25 items in all. It is with real satisfaction that I bring you complete information on each single item. And, when you have before you the facts, you will realize how completely unfounded was the statement that any information due to be reported was withheld.

Some of the information was already specifically before you in my previous testimony of June 6. All the information that you asked for in the checks of the committee is covered in detail in the quarterly lobbying reports, on file here in Washington and certainly accessible to your committee.

We realize that the agents of the Buchanan committee, dealing in a field in which they are not experienced, may have been confused. However, we trust that with the facts now clarified, proving as unfounded the implication in the two press dispatches, our committee may not again be presented in a false light to the entire country.

We pride ourselves on the accuracy of our records, regularly audited by certified public accountants, and found accurate. Our reports to the Government are prepared by our accounting department, and are based on these certified records.

Since my last appearance before this committee, I, in conference with associates, have endeavored to sum up our committee's position in a way that would recognize fully the powers of a congressional committee to investigate lobbying, to draw the line between that area as against the area where, under the constitutional guaranty of a free press, the process of informing public opinion begins, and within which—under the protection of the Bill of Rights—no agency of Government may operate.

Much advice by men with a profound knowledge of the Constitution and experience in the functioning of Congress has gone into this statement, entitled: "The Assault on Free Speech and a Free Press." I respectfully request that this memorandum, together with the statement, *The Assault* * * *, be included in the records of your committee.

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Executive Secretary, Committee for
Constitutional Government, Inc.*

(The memorandum on items I, II, and III, and an index of the photostats of bank ledgers furnished and inserted previously are as follows:)

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

ITEM I

1. \$2,500 received from Clark Equipment Co., Buchanan, Mich., deposited to committee's account September 15, 1947. This remittance was sent to us to

cover the servicing of list of 6,474 names with our literature. List of names was supplied by Clark Equipment Co. Entry was made on our daily cash sheet No. 8149 as purchase of literature.

2. \$2,500 received from Benjamin Clayton, Houston, Tex., deposited to committee's account January 31, 1947. This represented a loan, as per Mr. Clayton's letter, "Your wire of yesterday was received, and I am going to comply with your suggestion that I make a loan of \$2,500 to be repaid March 31, 1947. I enclose my check for that amount and hope it will help to see the committee over the hump." Mr. Clayton's letter was written on his Pasadena, Calif., stationery. The loan was repaid to Mr. Clayton by three committee checks—\$1,000, \$1,000, and \$500.

This item was included in list of loans given to the Buchanan Lobby Committee on June 6, 1950.

3. \$2,500 received from Irénée du Pont deposited to committee's account on November 17, 1948. This represented a loan, as per Mr. du Pont's letter, "Yes; I will loan \$2,500 to the Committee for Constitutional Government with the understanding that it will be repaid within 90 days and am enclosing the check as asked for, which you can forward to Mr. Himsworth, assistant treasurer." A note was issued to Mr. du Pont payable February 15, 1949. Note was extended April 21, 1949, when it was paid in full by committee check for \$2,500.

This item was included in list of loans given to the Buchanan Lobby Committee on June 6, 1950.

4. \$3,000 received from Irénée du Pont by America's Future, Inc., deposited to America's Future, Inc.'s, account on April 18, 1950. This represented a contribution and was listed on America's Future, Inc.'s, daily cash sheet No. 729.

5. \$3,000 received from Irénée du Pont by Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., deposited to the foundation's account on January 11, 1949. This represented a contribution and was listed on the foundation's daily cash sheet No. 119.

6. \$5,000 received from Lamont du Pont by Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., deposited to the foundation's account on February 8, 1950. This represented a contribution and was listed on the foundation's daily cash sheet No. 179.

7. \$5,000 received from Lamont du Pont by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., deposited to the committee's account on April 27, 1950. This remittance was sent to us with instructions that we send the Road Ahead to farm bureaus, cooperatives, and granges. Entry was made on our daily cash sheet No. 3852 as purchase of printed material.

8. \$5,000 received from A. B. Echols deposited to committee's account January 9, 1950. This represented a loan, as per Mr. Echols' letter, "Received yours of January 6 suggesting that I advance \$5,000 and that you would send note covering the advance. Check for that amount is enclosed herewith. Will you kindly send me promptly 50 copies of the paper-bound edition of the Road Ahead? Check for \$30 to cover same is enclosed. If not sufficient, let me know." A note was issued to Mr. Echols due June 30, 1950.

9. \$1,000 received from the Fruehauf Foundation by Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., deposited to the foundation's account on May 21, 1948. This represented a contribution and was listed on the foundation's daily cash sheet No. 60.

10. \$500 received from the Grace E. Smith Co., Toledo, Ohio, deposited to committee's account May 12, 1950. This remittance was sent to us with instructions that we send the condensation of the Road Ahead and Dr. Courtenay's sermon to all members of Collingwood Avenue Presbyterian Church in Toledo. List of members was supplied by the Grace E. Smith Co. Entry was made on our daily cash sheet No. 3863 as purchase of literature.

ITEM II

The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., billed the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., on invoice No. 4400, the following:

Fifty-one thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven copies of the fiber-bound edition of the Constitution of the United States, by Thomas James Norton, at \$0.45, \$23,385.15.

Payments from the foundation to the committee were made by payments on account during 1948 and 1949. The deposits in the committee's National City

Bank account, from the foundation, as listed below, were part payment of the above billing:

1. \$4,500, September 1, 1948.
2. \$3,500, April 28, 1949.
3. \$4,500, January 14, 1949.

ITEM III

The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., bills America's Future, Inc., each month for part-time use of the committee employees' time, for a small share of the committee's rent, and for the use of the committee's machines. These monthly charges average \$2,800 per month.

The deposits of checks to the committee's National City Bank account, as listed below, covered America's Future, Inc.'s, payments on account of the above billings:

1. \$4,013.02, April 30, 1948, pays balance due committee at March 31, 1948.
2. \$2,000, November 10, 1948, on account.
3. \$2,500, April 21, 1949, on account.
4. \$2,500, July 1, 1948, on account.
5. \$3,381.38, October 30, 1947, pays balance due committee at September 30, 1947.
6. \$3,000, May 16, 1949, on account.
7. \$3,000, October 1, 1948, on account.
8. \$2,000, November 18, 1948, on account.
9. \$3,000, April 13, 1950, on account.
10. \$4,000, January 25, 1950, on account.
11. \$2,500, February 28, 1950, on account.
12. \$4,000, September 30, 1947, on account.

Photostats

	Number
Commercial National Bank, Knoxville, Tenn.: Bank statements covering period October 1949 (when account was opened) to June 30, 1950-----	10
Hamilton National Bank, Chattanooga, Tenn.: Bank statements covering period October 1949 (when account was opened) to June 30, 1950-----	10
The Ohio National Bank of Columbus, Columbus, Ohio: Bank statement covering period September 1949 (when account was opened) to November 1949 (when account was closed)-----	1
Commerce Union Bank, Nashville, Tenn.: Bank statement covering month June 1950 (when account was opened)-----	1
National City Bank of New York: Account C—later changed to general fund account A. Bank statements for period July 1, 1949, through June 30, 1950-----	23
National City Bank of New York: General fund account A. Canceled checks for month June 1950 (24 checks)-----	0
National City Bank of New York: Disbursing account C—later changed to disbursement fund account B; bank statements for period July 1, 1949, through June 30, 1950-----	25
National City Bank of New York, disbursement fund account B. Canceled checks for month June 1950 (378 checks)-----	120
National City Bank of New York. I account and disbursing account I. Bank statements for month February 1950. Canceled checks closing accounts (2 checks)-----	2
Total -----	207

(The statement "The Assault on Free Speech and a Free Press," will be found on p. 482.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee stands in adjournment, and the committee will meet in executive session. The room will be cleared, please.

(Whereupon, at 11:10 a. m., the committee adjourned, to retire into executive session.)

APPENDIX

(The following documents arranged in chronological order all pertain to the Committee for Constitutional Government.)

JANUARY 24, 1947.

Hon. CLARENCE J. BROWN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BROWN: You very likely know Edward A. Rumely, the efficient and likeable assistant secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Rumely, like a number of other people, was greatly impressed by the recent Human Events Analysis entitled "The End of the Beginning," of which I enclose a copy in case it missed your attention.

I had not thought of the suggestion made by Mr. Rumely, in the letter received from him this morning which I enclose. But it occurs to me that conceivably you might like to do something in the premises. If not, I know that the waste-basket of a busy Congressman, especially one with experience as a newspaper publisher, is capacious.

I regarded it as a great honor to share the platform with you at the bankers' meeting the other evening and shall, in the not distant future, follow up your suggestion of dropping in on one of my too infrequent visits to the Hill.

Sincerely,

FELIX MOWLEY.

P. S. Human Events has had quite a number of showings in the Congressional Record. Indeed, there was a time when Clare Luce was putting us in almost each week. F. M.

MARCH 17, 1947.

Mr. LEONARD E. READ,
The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. READ: Thanks for sending me a copy of the interesting letter by W. C. Mullendore. I agree with a large part of what Mr. Mullendore has to say. I feel, however, that his inference that the effects of the war were so serious as to keep Europe prostrate for a generation is completely erroneous. Were they to install free enterprise, the physical effects of the war soon disappear. What Europe is really suffering from is collectivism.

His notion that an economy cannot operate as effectively at a high price level as a low price level will not, I believe, stand the test of either economic analysis or experience. Inflation is terribly destructive to the thrifty, but once a readjustment is made to a new price level and if inflation is then stopped, the economy can move ahead.

The problem of the national debt is not its size, but is a question of the distribution of the taxes needed to carry it. Progressive taxation is what makes it a drag on our economy.

I notice that both Mr. Mullendore and Jules Packman continue to use incorrectly the phrase "standard of living" when they are really talking about the scale of living. This misuse of the term tends to introduce serious errors into economic reasoning. Therefore, I hope that your organization will insist on correcting this error in future publications for you want to help people think straight. I am enclosing a copy of one of my articles in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle which deals with this problem. You may have seen the article before.

Thanks for keeping me posted on the work which you are doing. It is a real service to the Nation.

Cordially yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 28, 1947.

EDWARD RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: This is to advise that 33,000 copies of my April 14 testimony, sealed in envelopes, were shipped today.

Shipment consists of 33 mail sacks.

Congressman George Schwabe, of Oklahoma, who extended the courtesy of the use of his frank on the envelopes, has been given 2,000 of these speeches for use in his district. You probably recall I stated over the telephone the amount of your check would permit printing 36,000 copies. Nine hundred copies were also sent to Curtis & Burgis, 614 Marquette Building, 243 West Congress Street, Detroit 26, Mich., as per your April 25 telegram, by air express—costing \$4.11—and 100 copies went collect by air express to the Fruehauf Trailer Co., Detroit, on April 24 as advised in our letter to you of that date.

As soon as I receive the quotations for the 40,000 copies of the House Labor Committee prints, I will advise you.

With kind regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK C. SMITH.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET,
New York 17, N. Y., April 8, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I believe I suggested Lawrence Sullivan as a possible guest at your committee dinner next week. Another might be Earl Venable. Arthur De Greve represented the United Press in the Capitol Press Galleries for several years. He now is a public-relations man for the National Association of Manufacturers. Ben Hall Lamb, of the Chamber of Commerce, would be an excellent person and also Major Richardson. I have said nothing to any of these about the matter.

What a curious thing it is that Henry Ford who, doubtless, was brought into the world by the light of candles and kerosene lamps should depart under the same illumination, and how intensely his friend Thomas A. Edison would be interested in that full circle.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

APRIL 18, 1947.

Mr. R. A. HOILES,
*Billmore Hotel, Madison Avenue at Forty-third Street,
New York City.*

MY DEAR MR. HOILES: We are having a meeting with Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn at the Union League Club at 12:30 Monday. He was a major factor in framing the House bill. You would find it most interesting to hear the discussion. Can you not join us?

Union League Club, Thirty-seventh Street and Park Avenue.

If you are in town Monday, please give me a call.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., April 19, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: There was a great deal of valuable and informative evidence in the hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor. But hardly a person will wade through the mass of pages to get at the meat of the testimony.

We have done a briefing job, copy enclosed, as a service to you and others. You are privileged to duplicate it if you wish.

Sincerely,

LEONARD E. READ.

Dr. King's part in this is especially good.

[From Frankfort (Ind.) Times, May 22, 1947]

SMALL LOBBYISTS HAVE LEARNED TO DODGE ACT

(By Peter Edson, NIA Washington correspondent)

WASHINGTON, May 21.—Possible need for revision of the regulation of the Lobbying Act is seen in a study of the 545 lobbyists' reports to Congress on their operations for the first 3 months of 1947. Though the law is less than a year old, smart lobbyists have already learned how to dodge most of the objectionable requirements that they make public their activities and financial operations.

Lobbyists are required to register as individuals. The quarterly reports on income and expenses as made public in the Congressional Record are not summarized or cross-examined or classified to show who really runs the big pressure campaign in Washington. There are about 125 such groups in operation.

There were too many blank spaces in the published report summaries. In case after case registrants attach detailed statements to their reports. They then fill in the blank spaces on the forms with notations like, "See attached statement" or "See previous report." This is a technical compliance, but it requires the investigator to dig into original registrations on file with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate.

Congress gave itself no money and no staff to follow up on these quarterly reports, analyze them, check up on who did not file complete financial statements.

By registering only Washington representatives, top men in an organization escape responsibility and the bad publicity label of "lobbyists," which is a nasty word. For instance, National Home and Property Owners Foundation, Inc., which has been lobbying all over the place to defeat rent control, kill off the vets' housing program, and the Taft long-range housing program, registers only two lobbyists. They are James Edward Mack, who reported no expense, and John Lloyd Richardson, now resigned, who reported \$12.80 expense.

Actually, this organization spent \$44,000 in the first quarter, though it doesn't show on the published returns.

In spite of all these dodges, by dint of a lot of reading of fine type, checking, and tabulating, it is possible to make a fairly accurate summary of who runs the most powerful lobbies.

Among the traditional lobby groups, the biggest are the tax-reduction outfits with 27 registered lobbyists, the railroads with 20, the so-called water lobby of irrigation, reclamation, and flood-control interests with 19, real estate and building association with 20, oil and gas interests with 18, shipping interests with 12, sugar 11.

National Association of Manufacturers registers only five lobbyists. Their pay and expenses for the first quarter totals nearly \$18,000. Top man is \$25,000-a-year Walter Chamberlain, whose lobbying expenses were reported at over \$300 a month.

United States Chamber of Commerce registers two lobbyists, topped by \$15,000-a-year Clarence Miles, whose reported lobbying expenses for the first quarter were \$21.80. Southern States Industrial Council, California, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Dallas chambers of commerce also registered lobbyists.

Wholesale grocers, retail federation, dry goods, and retail creditmen's associations registered lobbyists. Three small-business organizations registered. F. A. Virkus, of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, reported receipts of \$36,000 and expense of \$26,000 for the first quarter of 1947.

Trade associations maintaining lobbyists include the rubber industry, Alaska salmon, optometrists, hotel, laundry, ice, heating and cooking, margarine, fur coat, meat packing, movie, wine and liquor business. Each had one or two lobbyists at work during the quarter.

Four lobbyists reported working for passage of the St. Lawrence seaway law. One lobbyist registered as working against it. Eleven lobbyists reported individual interest in passage of one or more particular pieces of legislation of varying purpose.

Big money men of all the lobbyists appear to be \$65,000-a-year Purcell L. Smith, and \$52,000-a-year Stephen M. Walter, of the National Association of Electric Companies—the so-called power lobby.

J. Carter Fort of American Association of Railroads reported income at the rate of \$40,000. In the sugar lobby, Ernest W. Greene of the Hawaiian planters reported income of \$45,000 a year, and Robert H. Shields of the United States Beet Association reported \$40,000. William Ingles, representing Inland Steel, J. I. Case, Allis Chalmers, Freuhauf, and others reported income for the quarter of \$14,200.

These, however, appear to be the exceptions. Only a dozen of the 795 registered lobbyists report income of more than \$20,000 a year. Only 50 reported income of more than \$10,000 a year. Most of the lobbyists report no pay at all and little expense. Nevertheless, when all these "pittances" are added up, they reveal lobbying to be a multi-million-dollar business.

The most fascinating aspects of the lobbying lists are the names of the well-known lobbyists who have not registered. They are absent because they claim lobbying is not their principal business, and that their work with Congress is purely in the public interest as private citizens.

WHAT HENRY FORD TAUGHT AMERICA

(Text of radio talk over ABC network Sunday, April 20, 1947, by Hon. Samuel B. Pettengill, former Congressman from Indiana (Democrat, 1930-38))

The death of Henry Ford, 83 years young, calls attention to some big facts. America's 80,000,000 motor vehicles, in close formation, would go twice around the world. If necessary, every man, woman, and child in America could get into these cars and all ride on rubber at the same instant of time.

A nation on wheels—traveling on vehicles undreamed of when Henry Ford and everybody else in this country 60 years old, or over, was a child. I was a boy in college when I first saw an automobile—a foreign contraption—costing \$8,000, which no one would have as a gift today.

Well, here are some more big facts that tie in with the argument as to whether communism, socialism, or the individual enterprise system is best for America—and the world.

RUSSIA FAR BEHIND

Thirty-four States of the Union each has more automobiles than all of Russia. Seven States each has more than Great Britain or France or Italy or Germany. California has more than Great Britain, France, and Italy combined.

Of trucks, the United States has five times as many as Russia, and 50 percent more than the rest of the world combined.

I believe that every system of government and business is going to survive that does most for most. What system in any century, in any country, has done more for more people than the American system?

Henry Ford was born while Lincoln still lived. Abraham Lincoln and Ford mean America throughout the world—log cabin to White House—machine shop to industrial empire. Henry Ford and the other automobile manufacturers who, like him, have developed and applied mass-production methods represent the American system at its best. They show what competitive individual enterprise can do—and I stress the word "competitive."

For many years, Ford was the pacemaker. He forced those who would stay in the race to adopt his principles. He benefited his competitors. But the day came when his competitors benefited him. Even Ford held on to Model T too long, and would have done so still longer, if new competition had not forced him to change his designs.

AVOIDING, FEDERAL CONTROL.

And so it has gone in an endless struggle—General Motors, Chrysler, Nash, Willys Overland, Studebaker, Hupp, Hudson, Crosley, Packard—all working to build a better car and sell it for less in order to compete for the favor and patronage of the American consumer—better cars, tires, gasoline, lubrication, and looks.

It is worth noting that the industry that has provided the most jobs at the best pay—5,000,000 jobs, in fact—is the one that was freest of Government control. Compare the automobile industry with the railroad industry that can scarcely turn around without Government consent.

Orville Wright, one of the two brothers who first flew a heavier-than-air plane in 1903, says that Henry Ford did more for mankind than any man of his generation.

Ford had the revolutionary idea of tapping the mass market at the base of the economic pyramid. He saw clearly that the big money was in the pockets of the little people. He said: "The market is like a pyramid, pointed at the top, with a very broad base. If a car cost \$1,000,000, there might be a few men foolish enough to buy it. If it could be sold for \$10, scores of millions of people would buy and use cars instead of wearing out shoes. The further we can lower the price, the more millions can enjoy the car." He taught America that truth. He wanted to design a car that would go anywhere, whether in the frozen wastes of the Yukon or the scorching heat of Death Valley.

He wanted to make a car that even the latest immigrant could build, could drive, and could own. Also, a car that would get you there and bring you back. He built that car, and it went into every country in the world. The name "Ford" became better known and understood by more of the earth's people, probably, than even the name of Lincoln or Washington.

ONCE SOLD CAR FOR \$310

At one time, he sold that car at the factory for as little as \$310. But, of course, at that time a profligate Government had not added huge taxes to the sales price of every car. Cheap cars led to our great system of paved highways. Neither county commissioners nor Congress, itself, would have built ribbons of concrete from coast to coast for Flats or Rolls Royces. America has 1,400,000 miles of improved roads, enough to circle the globe 56 times. These roads, brought down the cost of moving produce from farm to city. They made rural life more attractive. They moved families away from the congested slums of the big cities into the suburbs and countryside. They have added enormously to our capacity for national defense.

Cheap cars, plus highways, furnished markets for our great petroleum industry, now a world giant. They planted rubber trees in Java and Borneo and Brazil. They made new markets for cotton, glass, steel, and hundreds of other industries.

WE BEGAN TO GO PLACES

Millions of Americans who had never been 50 miles from their birthplace turned their "sivers" toward Niagara Falls, Pike's Peak, Plymouth Rock, Valley Forge, The Alamo. "Old Liz" taught history and geography and patriotism. She helped to erase the scars of the Civil War. She helped to make Americans friends and neighbors.

The Ford Co. alone has built over 30,000,000 motor vehicles. In all the rest of the world, there are only 6,000,000 of all makes combined. Some achievement! As was said of our pioneer forefathers, Ford built his empire "with no capital except courage and no resource except resourcefulness." Only \$28,000 was invested by others in what became the vast Ford empire, with factories and branch offices in 33 foreign countries. The rest was "plowed back" from earnings. Taxes had not then fallen like a blight upon the expansion of business.

Has big Government, and the cost and waste of big Government, made it impossible for America to ever have another Henry Ford? Although rated as the world's first billionaire, his fortune was chiefly in buildings and machines, worthless unless at work.

PRODUCTION FOR USE

"Production for use," as the Socialists urge, was actually the principle to which he devoted his life.

Apart from his plant and equipment, it is doubtful if his personal fortune ever exceeded 1 or 2 percent of the wealth he created. Now, by his will, the bulk of his fortune has gone into a charitable foundation for public welfare.

The father of mass production, with his single purpose machine tools turning out parts that would fit one another to a hundred-thousandth of an inch, was the first to pay \$5 a day to the men who made the cars. He said: "No wage is too high for the man who earns it."

Contrary to the teachings of Communist professors that "one man's gain is the other man's loss," he demonstrated on a world scale that it is possible to make more money, pay higher wages, and reduce costs all at one and the same time—investor, workers, and consumers all gaining and no one losing by the process.

The secret of this miracle of economics is high production per man-hour, which brings costs down. And, high production, per man-hour is possible only because of better tools, more mechanical horsepower helping human backs to do the work, better management and last, but not least, higher skill and know-how in the fingers and brains of the men on the job.

The best manager of a machine is the man who runs it, if he takes pride in his job. This is the miracle of America.

It is hard to see any limit to this progress—any ceiling on American achievement in the years and generations to come—if. We have the world by the tail with a downhill pull—if.

If we don't lose the magic formula in a struggle between class and class—if investor, and manager and worker all play fair with each other, each recognizing the part that the others play in better tools, more efficient work and a better coordination of all the parts in the great machine.

In the 90 years following 1848, when Karl Marx wrote his Communist Manifesto, investment in tools for each factory worker here in America increased nine times, and working hours were cut almost in half. Because Ford supplied much more capital and much better machine tools for each worker, he was able to lead the whole world in raising the workman's pay.

But even the magic formula cannot work except under a government friendly to achievement, a government that protects a man in the fruit of his toil. Great as he was, I firmly believe Henry Ford would be a name scarcely known beyond the county limits of his home, if he had not lived under the protection of the Constitution of the United States.

Socialism, fascism, and communism would not have a Chinaman's chance to outlive this generation if they were not financed and subsidized at home and abroad from the earnings, ideas and inventions of individual competitive enterprise. Socialism and communism put on a show only because they are able to hide their failures from their own people behind the iron curtain of government.

When the American and Russian armies met at Berlin, it is reported that a Russian general in great surprise said: "Why, you Americans have jeeps, too." He didn't know that his jeeps came from Detroit and Toledo.

If we could get a Sears Roebuck or Montgomery Ward catalog, in the Russian language, into every Russian home, Stalin wouldn't have as much chance as a snowflake on a frying pan.

One of the ironies of history was to see engineers, sent here by a foreign government, studying the automobile factories at Detroit while their government has worked constantly to destroy the very system which made these American factories possible.

MUST WORK TO SURVIVE

But the vast assembly line, which is America's other name, will slow down if we "feather-bed" it, doing less but demanding more; if we make savings unattractive by taxing the earnings of capital too highly; if we make good work unattractive by taxing too highly the workers' pay envelopes; if we permit the vampire of big Government to suck the lifeblood out of business, and continue to subsidize socialism and communism—here and abroad.

Mr. Bernard Baruch, our statesman-without-portfolio, said the other day, "We are at the brink of an engulfing inflation. There is only one way out. That is by work * * * We should adopt, wholeheartedly a 44 hour week without strikes or layoffs." This same thought was urged before a Congressional Committee over a year ago by President Wilson of General Motors.

It is tragic to witness the present stampede for more pieces of paper called dollars because every workingman's wife pays the bill at the market place for every wage increase that does not represent more production per man.

Henry Ford proved that higher pay comes from increased production, and that only increased production can bring costs down and make higher pay mean anything.

Samuel B. Pettengill, speaking under the sponsorship of America's Future, Inc., has been free to concentrate on the most important of all "selling jobs" for Americans, stockholders, business leaders, workers—not the products of industry but the very foundation on which all job-making private enterprise must rest.

No other voice in America speaks, with Pettengill's background, for our constitutional system of private enterprise; few can do so with comparable effectiveness. Pettengill brings to the job an invaluable experience of 8 years "Inside Your Congress" (a Member—Indiana Democrat 1930-38). He has earned recognition as a constitutional lawyer and has been a lifelong student and upholder of constitutional principles and traditions. Now the Constitution alone cannot save us. The real problem that confronts us all is whether or not we can save our Constitution. Can we preserve this island of freedom from the world-wide sweep toward collectivistic statism?

All who support Pettengill's work can help influence the eventual decision.

Every American should thrill with pride over the life's work of Henry Ford. It is quite possible that in our lifetime he and his friend, Thomas Edison, exerted the most far-reaching and beneficial influence of any two men in the world.

The capital that he accumulated and invested in better tools, the manufacturing methods that he introduced, lifted wages and raised everybody's scale of living.

He, and the other automobile manufacturers, enriched people's lives everywhere by the low cost, personal transportation they brought within the reach of every family.

Ford's career was possible only in an America with constitutional government and competitive free enterprise unhampered by confiscatory taxation of able men—as it was when he was born.

Every industrial worker, every high school and college student, every clergyman, editor and professional man—in short, every American—should share the inspiration of this story. Will you help distribute it in your own circles, to fellow workers and friends? Ask for five free copies postpaid anywhere: \$1 for 20; \$4 for 100; 200 to 700, \$3 per 100; 1,000, \$2.75 per 100; 5,000 or more, \$2.50 per 100. To all whom you distribute copies, we stand the cost of supplying five free copies upon their request. Ask for "Pettengill's Broadcast on Henry Ford." Copyright 1947 by America's Future, Inc., nonpartisan—nonprofit—educational, 210 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y.

APRIL 21, 1947.

Mr. LEONARD E. READ,

*The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. READ: That's an excellent job of digesting you did on the House committee hearings.

Have you sent a copy to the Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn, 541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.?

Please also send copy to Mr. Guy Woodward, 220 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. He is assistant to Senator E. H. Moore.

And a copy to Mr. Earl Harding, 31 West Twelfth Street, New York City, 11.

If I can have another copy, I can use it to great advantage. Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., April 22, 1947.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Thank you for your letter. Yes, I had sent a copy of our digest to Congressman Gwinn.

Enclosed is an additional copy, and we are sending one today to Mr. Guy Woodward and Mr. Earl Harding.

With every good wish,
Cordially,

LEONARD B. READ.

Rumely to Dr. Read of Foundation for Economic Education in re dinner.
BAR, personal copy to Miss Spindle for ----- file.

April 25, 1947.

Mr. LEONARD B. READ,
*President, the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. READ: I shall be delighted to be present at the Wednesday, May 7, dinner to hear Dr. Ludwig von Mises' report.

Sincerely,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

April 28, 1947.

JULIE: Please place on the Pettengill Column and Pettengill Broadcasts lists:

Hon. W. Kingsland Macy
Islip
Suffolk County
Long Island, N. Y.

CATHERINE F. HICKEY.

April 25, 1947.

Hon. W. KINGSLAND MACY,
Islip, Suffolk County, Long Island, N. Y.

DEAR KING: Just a line of congratulation on your recent victory (and please do not bother to answer this). In a small way I feel responsible for kicking you into politics, and I have followed your career with interest. Unfortunate it is for the country that so few men situated like you and who don't have to enter the dusty arena sidestep their patriotic duties and leave it to those less competent to carry on.

Yours sincerely,

SUMNER GERARD.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 28, 1947.

EDWARD RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: This is to advise that 33,000 copies of my April 14 testimony, sealed in envelopes, were shipped today. Shipment consists of 33 mail sacks.

Congressman George Schwabe, of Oklahoma, who extended the courtesy of the use of his frank on the envelopes, has been given 2,000 of these speeches for use in his district. You probably recall I stated over the telephone the amount of your check would permit printing 36,000 copies. Nine hundred copies were also sent to Curtis & Burgis, 614 Marquette Building, 243 West Congress Street, Detroit, Mich., as per your April 25 telegram, by air express—costing \$4.11—and 100 copies went collect by air express to the Fruehauf Trailer Co., Detroit, on April 24 as advised in our letter to you of that date.

As soon as I receive the quotations for the 40,000 copies of the House Labor Committee prints, I will advise you.

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK C. SMITH.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

Washington, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y., May 12, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
 New York City.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have talked to a number of usually well-informed persons about the tax legislation, and the consensus is that the law as finally enacted will be closer to the Senate than to the House bill. One of the principal issues is the effective date; that is, shall the act be retroactive to January 1, 1947, as provided by the House or become effective July 1 as provided by the Senate measure. It now is argued that the greater number of people affected work under a tax-withholding arrangement and that their tax money has already been checked off. For the law to fail to make the new rates retroactive to the first of year will not affect these people, as they have already paid. Therefore, politically there is nothing to use by keeping 6 months' extra income as compared with what the House bill provided. Presumably, this argument would not hold as to many of the higher incomes, but those with such incomes are not sufficiently numerous to exert an important political effect.

It is the history of most tax legislation that when such a measure goes to conference the Senate conferees prevail with more Senate than House provisions retained in the final law. Chairman Knutson has called a special political conference for tonight in an effort to bring pressure in favor of the House bill, but the opinion I have been able to gather during the day is that he cannot be more than partially successful.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

Senator George D. Aiken on Monday evening, May 12, made an attack upon the United States Chamber of Commerce, NAM, and the Committee for Constitutional Government, mainly upon the latter. He cited a letter by Mr. Fruehling to his stockholders and then centered his fire upon John Seville's books from which he quoted copiously, and quoted from our field letters. Evidently these have had the effect of putting him into an uncomfortable position.

In connection with his attack he made charges that we had been cited by the House Committee for Un-American Activities either late last fall or early this year and had refused to answer. He evidently confused us with the National Council for American Soviet Friendship in connection with which Corliss Lamont is active. His statement is, in reality, a tribute to the effectiveness of our work. We telegraphed him as follows:

MAY 13, 1947.

Hon. GEORGE D. AIKEN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

You made the statement on the Senate floor last evening that this committee had been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities last fall or early this winter, and had been in contempt by refusal to answer questions.

This is totally untrue.

We have never, within the last 8 months or during the many years of this committee's existence, had any call for information or any contact with the House Committee on Un-American Activities or its predecessor committees. In fact, members of this organization have given strong support to that committee. Congressman Mundt and others will confirm this.

When you discuss the Committee for Constitutional Government and attribute to it facts that the House committee brought out in connection with a totally different organization, established to promote Soviet friendship, you make a false presentation to the Members of the Senate and do our organization a grave injustice.

Why did you not check the facts with the House committee before making this totally false and unfounded charge.

Our fight has been to restore constitutional principles of equality before the law and to protect all workers, organized and unorganized, in their constitutional

rights. Please read Chairman King's statement before the House Labor Committee.

All we plead for is that the special exemptions and privileges which have made an organized minority a super-government shall be repealed. Monopolies in any field—whether business or labor—are dangerous and violate every citizen's right to equality before the law. We seek to establish a bill of rights for American workmen themselves.

We demand, as a matter of simple justice, that when the Senate opens this morning you retract the false charges you made last evening.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

WASHINGTON 5, D. C., May 14, 1947.

Hon. GEORGE D. AIKEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR AIKEN: As a member of the advisory board of the Committee for Constitutional Government, my attention has been called to a telegram dated May 13, 1947, from that committee to you demanding that you retract your charges of May 12, 1947, on the floor of the Senate to the effect that said committee had been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities last autumn or last winter.

By way of introduction, you make remember that some years ago, when I delivered the annual address to the Vermont State Bar and you were then Governor of the State, I sat next to you at the annual dinner addressed by the late Frank J. Hogan, then president of the American Bar Association. If you do not remember, you may look me up in the current edition of Who's Who in America.

There are some of us as utterly and resolutely opposed to the despotic rule of self-selected, for the most part, minority leaders, seeking benefits from the public Treasury or from the pockets of the great unorganized public as were Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys, opposed to the despotic rule of an English king.

The Committee for Constitutional Government constitutes a focal center for some of us who hold to the view of the founders of this Nation—equal rights for all and special privileges for none. We believe in the same rule for the prince and the pauper. Simply because a man is a workman or a millionaire entitles him to no special privileges at the expense of the public. What is important from the standpoint of civilization is that the path to advancement and improvement of the individual be kept open in America and available to every man of industry and talent.

Unless I am mistaken in the facts concerning your career, you, too, believe in these things. At least these things which make America have made it possible for you to have been Governor of your State and now a Senator of the United States—an office of great honor and responsibility.

I cannot believe otherwise than that someone misled you as to the facts which led to your attack on the Committee for Constitutional Government.

I trust that after you have verified the facts, you will make the correction which has been requested of you by the committee itself.

Very truly yours,

O. R. McGuire.

MAY 10, 1947.

Right Honorable GEORGE D. AIKEN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

AUGUST SENATOR: Yesterday I was scared out of a year's growth. I had just read what you said in the Senate about the Committee for Constitutional Government, and how you were going to put the FBI on its trail, when there came an FBI man to my door. He pretended, merely, to be trying to find out about a girl that was in my class a few years ago, but the way he looked around the house, I think he was looking for some of that poison. Fortunately, he did not find any. We tried to get some red squill at the drug store the other day but they were out. Lucky for me. I guess, however, that I should not have mentioned trying to buy it. That would look bad at the trial, wouldn't it?

Apparently you "have the goods on us." Hence I see nothing to do but to plead guilty and implore your clemency.

The only excuse I can think of--and maybe this won't appeal to you--is that I sort of inherited this tendency toward subversive activity. Do you think a man is responsible for his inheritance?

You see, one of my great-grandfathers got mixed up with a fellow named George Washington in some kind of a plot against the British Government, and one of my great-grandfather's cousins was a still worse scoundrel. He had some money which he lent to George Washington. Having money was bad enough, but lending it for revolutionary purposes was still worse. The only good thing that I can say about Robert Morris is that he did not belong to the NAM. That may help out a bit.

But this is not all. My mother was born up at St. Albans on Lake Champlain. One of the first books she gave me to read was the Green Mountain Boys. It told about a rascal called Ethan Allen, who was also mixed up in some kind of a plot against the Government. He had something to do with the Continental Congress which was a subversive organization. Perhaps you have heard of it. I also remember he had a seringue at a place called Ticonderoga. Maybe you have heard of it too. I don't believe that you can prove it, but I have always had a suspicion that my mother's folks way back were somehow mixed up with this fellow.

Then my grandfather, who lived up in a State called Vermont, got tangled up with an illicit transportation system known as the "underground railroad." You see, under these circumstances, how it sort of comes natural for me to engage in such lines. Maybe this will be an extenuating circumstance.

I am worried, not only about myself, but about the other fellows on the committee too. As you say, you don't know about this man Sumner Gerard. Well, he owns some apartment buildings and as the author of *Roofs or Ceilings* queries, "Are landlords people"?

Sumner's family also are open to suspicion. Woodrow Wilson had to get his brother out of the United States, so sent him over to Berlin where he had some kind of a row with some Germans. I hope that you won't investigate this matter too deeply.

I hope that our file clerks have succeeded in burning all incriminating evidence, but I am still trembling in my shoes for fear that your investigators may find some letters from members of subversive organizations like the Sons of the Revolution or the Daughters of the Revolution. I am afraid some of those people have actually been helping our committee. Another organization has been doing even worse. That is the American Legion. It has been helping to distribute one of our books telling about the Constitution. That is an anti-New Deal document, which I know you will feel ought to be suppressed. I trust, however, that you will not be too hard on these people because, you see, they probably did not know what they were doing.

In order to make a clean breast of the matter, I shall have to confess that our committee has also blatantly advocated "the right to work" and this in face of the fact that all of your New Deal friends have made it clear for years that any kind of work is a crime, except working the Government or working the public. The right to strike and the up production is the only sacred right.

Some of the older members of our committee even supported a chap named Calvin Coolidge who came from somewhere up in New England. He was so narrow minded that he objected to the police in Boston striking, and actually sent militia who shot down people merely because they were rioting on the Boston "commons." The people of Massachusetts were so indignant that they exiled him from the State, sending him down to Washington.

In the hope that it will soften your wrath against us, I am prepared to make amendments for the wrong which we have done in not recognizing that the Senate labor bill is fully as thoroughgoing as the House labor bill. If you will be kind enough to send me a list of the measures putting teeth in the Senate bill, which you supported, I will be glad to make, on behalf of the committee, a separate apology for each tooth so inserted.

It is fine to know that you are exposing the wickedness in John Scoville's book *Labor Monopolies or Freedom*. In order to enlighten your constituents concerning its evil nature, I feel that you ought to send a copy to every family in your State. We will let you have the book at the special 50-cent rate in order to make amends for our crime in charging people \$1 who buy only a single copy. I am sure that the Vermont farmers would be horrified to think that Mr. Scoville is so debased as to condemn collective bludgeoning and robbery by labor monopolies.

I hope that you will see your way clear to give us not more than 10 years for our crimes.

I await, with great trepidation, your decision.

Your suppliant servant,

WILLFORD J. KING, *Chairman.*

P. S.—I am glad to learn that Alcatraz is not so uncomfortable as it once was.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 19, 1947.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I wonder if I am doing the right thing by sending letters direct to Representative Knutson. Would you rather have me send them to you in New York? Some are very good and all of them are from intelligent people. I thought you might need them to check your mailing lists.

Mr. Jones will not be here for some time. You may address him at Princeton, N. J.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

MAY 21, 1947.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: The following might give you good testimony against Federal aid for education:

Foremost, George Benson, president of Harding College, Searcy, Ark., whose testimony, in another matter of Federal aid to education, was sensationally important and swept across the country in a flood of editorials.

George Robnett of the National Laymen's Council of the Church of America, 53 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Marvin Hart, president, National Economic Council, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

Possibly, Dr. Willford I. King. Dr. King has lifelong experience as an educator, has sound ideas and, if given 1 or 2 days to prepare, he might produce something worthwhile.

Pettengill brought out, in a little folder, the excellent position of the States compared with the disastrous debt load of the Federal Government.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

P. S.: Since dictating the foregoing, I have spoken to Dr. King, who says that he has decided views on the principles involved, and that he favors State action instead of Federal action. Also, that he has access to the figures showing how little burdened the States are and how heavily burdened the Federal Government is, and that he could arrange to come down.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 26, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Thank you very much for your suggestions regarding possible witnesses opposing Federal aid to education before the House Education and Labor Committee.

We are not going to be permitted to call more witnesses as the hearings are being closed, but fortunately we have had better testimony in opposition to Federal aid than we have had before. Confidentally, I think we can defeat the bills in the subcommittee.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

JUNE 2, 1947.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HOMER: Forest A. Harness' committee is investigating Federal propaganda for socialized medicine. If you get any more on this, please let us have it.
Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JUNE 2, 1947.

Mr. HUGHES: Home and Washington residences of Senators and Representatives begin on page 831.

If we can give you any further help, please phone me and I will try to locate whatever information you need.

Also, try to get the Congressional Directory back to us as soon as possible.

CATHERINE F. HICKEY.

P. S.—I am also enclosing our printed directory of the names of the Members of the Eightieth Congress. You may keep this for your files.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET,
New York, 17, N. Y., May 29, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The Reed railroad bill is before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The members are Wallace W. White, Jr., of Maine; Charles W. Tobey, of New Hampshire; Clyde M. Reed, of Kansas; Owen Brewster, of Maine; Albert W. Hawkes, of New Jersey; E. H. Moore, of Oklahoma; and Homer E. Capehart, of Indiana, Republicans and Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado; Tom Stewart, of Tennessee; Ernest W. McFarland, of Arizona; Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington; Francis J. Myers, of Pennsylvania; and Brien McMahon, of Connecticut, Democrats.

The companion bill in the House introduced by Representative Reed, of Illinois, is before the Judiciary Committee. The members are Earl C. Michener, of Michigan; John M. Robison, of Kentucky; Chauncey W. Reed, of Illinois; John W. Gwynne, of Iowa; Louis E. Graham, of Pennsylvania; Raymond S. Springer, of Indiana; Frank Fellows, of Maine; Earl R. Lewis, of Ohio; John Jennings, Jr., of Tennessee; Angler L. Goodwin, of Massachusetts; Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey; E. Wallace Chadwick, of Pennsylvania; Albert L. Reeves, Jr., of Missouri; Kenneth B. Keating, of New York; and Edward J. Devitt, of Minnesota, Republicans, and Emmanuel Celler, of New York; Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania; Sam Hobbs of Alabama; William T. Byrne, of New York; Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee; Joseph R. Bryson, of South Carolina; Fudjo Cravens, of Arkansas; Thomas J. Lane, of Massachusetts; Martin Gorski, of Illinois; Michael A. Feighan, of Ohio; Frank L. Chelf, of Kentucky; and Ed Gossett, of Texas, Democrats.

The Senate bill is S. 240 and the House bill H. R. 3237.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET,
New York 17, N. Y., June 4, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Ten copies of the Tvdlnge amendment on taxation together with 10 copies of the report on the measure have been mailed to you.

Chairman Knutson is out of town until Friday. Mr. Gerard's letter enclosing Dr. Benson's column is on his desk for his attention when he returns.

The Committee on Ways and Means next will take up the question of community property. It has not yet scheduled any witnesses on the general income tax question.

Representative Harness' committee has spent 1 day on his investigation to determine if Federal employees are lobbying for socialized medicine. It is expected further hearings will be held next week but the matter has not yet been decided. There may be more definite information available tomorrow.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington Headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y., June 12, 1947.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Mr. Gerard's letter to the Secretary of War concerning distribution of the Norton book to Army posts, libraries, etc., has not yet reached Special Services, the branch to which, in the usual course, it eventually will be referred. I have talked with Major Peters, Major Auchenbach, and Captain Gold, the officers in immediate charge of such matters, and feel certain that the proposal will receive careful attention. As you doubtless know, such matters move slowly through the maze of War Department red tape; but, at least, the officers who will consider the case are on the alert.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington Headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y., June 12, 1947.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I am mailing you first class five copies of Philip Murray's memorandum on the Taft-Hartley labor bill; one copy of which I had sent earlier. Also, I have sent you a number of other statements concerning the bill.

The New York Times editorial is entirely sound in its statement that the highly articulate people who are being goaded into sending messages to the White House are in the minority. The President is due back in Washington tomorrow and most people here still think he will veto both the labor and tax bills. I am not so sure of this, although I am much in the minority among those I have talked to. I notice that Senator George says the tax bill should be signed and doubtless many other Democratic Senators have urged the President to sign it. The labor people have done a smart thing in getting the Hollywood crowd to oppose the labor bill. I would be much surprised to find out that a single Hollywood actor or singer or comedian has read the measure.

There is much apprehension here over the Hungarian situation. It might well mean the practical end of the United Nations through withdrawal of Russia. It is said that Great Britain is trying to get the United States to back down on its stand, but it is difficult to see how this could be done without admitting that Russia controls the United Nations.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

JUNE 18, 1947.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Here is photostat of an article by John Scoville. If printed in the Congressional Record, this would be highly valuable. However,

the transfer of the first two paragraphs should, I think, be made to the point indicated "A" on the photostat. He arouses too much opposition by his abrupt approach.

How does the piece strike you? If you think favorable of it and would be willing to get it into the Record, we would arrange distribution. It is the kind of thing that would be persuasive to thoughtful people.

Attached hereto copy of an editorial from today's Wall Street Journal. The viewpoint, that monopolies if tolerated are unmanageable, is beginning to come to the surface and, if and when the new labor bill is followed not by a cessation of strikes but more strikes, it is going to be important to give leadership to fundamental principles.

You and a few other legislators, Harvey Fruehauf, and John Scoville have upheld that viewpoint upon principle. Taft made an important contribution when he defented President Truman's demand for Hitlerite power to put down the railroad strike. Pettengill has registered the viewpoint that not bigger government but building down union power should be the solution.

I shall be interested in knowing your reaction to the Scoville article.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JUNE 18, 1947.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HOMER: Herewith the original of a letter written by Sumner Gerard to Harold Knutson. Will you take this to him? He knows the type of testimony put in by Dresser and Dr. King before the House Ways and Means Committee.

We plan a very broad and intensive campaign as indicated. For your personal information, I enclose a copy of the memo to fieldmen, which gives an idea of the breadth of the campaign we intend to undertake. It would be tremendously helpful to our effort in presenting the need for this to our key supporters if Mr. Knutson could write a letter commenting briefly on the value of the help given by Dresser and Dr. King and the committee, and expressing his viewpoint as to the importance of such an educational effort.

Of course, CIO and all those who hold the leveling-down philosophy that the President expressed in his message will continuously pressure against higher-bracket incomes, which represent few votes, unless among clergymen, lawyers, professional people, thought leaders of the country, there is a clear and definite recognition of the function of capital. Businessmen will have to be stimulated to explain much more constantly what capital investment means to their own workers. National magazines and commentators must speak up.

We plan for millions of circulation of the Ford piece, What Henry Ford Taught America, in which this viewpoint is made clear. If Congressman Knutson could write a letter that we could reproduce, it would be the most valuable adjunct to this campaign. Let me know as promptly as possible the result of your effort.

Milton H. West, Congressman from Texas, was the only Democratic member of the House Ways and Means Committee who voted to override the President's veto. He is not known, but if we could get a Democrat to write a similar letter, no matter how brief, it would be extremely valuable. Who in the Senate might act?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Assistant Secretary.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington Headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., June 19, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I delivered Mr. Gerard's letter to Chairman Knutson and am hoping for a favorable reply in the morning. He, of course, wants time to go over the committee's resolution. I emphasized that the committee, through

Dr. King, Mr. Dresser, and others, have stood for a sound tax-revision program consistently and have supported his general position on tax reduction. Many people say that Mr. Knutson, coming from an agricultural region rather than an industrial, lacks the fullest appreciation of liquid investment capital, the farmer counting his land as his capital rather than funds which can be shifted at need to the best advantage. There is much in this view, but still, I think he has some appreciation of such presentations as those which have been made through the committee.

I want to learn something further about Mr. West of Texas. The Congressional Directory contains no biographical material, but he is serving his eighth term and must be a substantial citizen. He might develop into a supporter of the committee. But I would like to suggest that Mr. Gerard write Senator George a letter similar to that to Chairman Knutson, not failing to recall what the committee did at the time of the Court-packing fight. I should think he could be convinced that he and the committee have much in common in the matter of tax views, and a letter from him would be valuable.

Kenneth Crawford, who wrote the Newsweek piece on A. F. of L. lobbying expenditures, and Philip Pearl of the Federation say that the estimate is comprehensive and accurate. I will try to get some comparable figure for the CIO, but they are suspicious and reticent.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE,

JUNE 20, 1947.

MR. ARTHUR A. BALLANTINE,
51 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. BALLANTINE: Mr. Lewis L. Clarke has suggested that we send you the enclosed copy of Dr. Willford I. King's testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee.

Please note the resolution, on the reverse side of the circular Tax Eating Civilian Jobholders, on which we will start a Nation-wide campaign as soon as seed-money financing has been secured.

As an example of how our committee operates, I enclose copy of the statement *Is Success Criminal*, from the Congressional Record. We can reach 1,000,000 rural and small-town mail boxes with this piece at a cost of three-tenths cent per family; in other words, only \$3,000 to reach a million homes. In giving successful leadership against court packing, we placed 15,000,000 copies of such franked material, from the Congressional Record, in rural mail boxes.

I hope that during the next days you may have an opportunity to study the resolution and some of this material. Early next week I shall take the liberty of showing you how your assistance might have decisive importance if the objectives of this program seem important to you.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, *Treasurer*.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington Headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y., July 2, 1947.

DR. E. A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Here's hoping that everything has gone propitiously with Scott's wedding.

The Ways and Means Committee treated me unusually well, and Mr. Knutson appeared to be pleased with my presentation.

Mr. Pettengill's dinner in the evening was, to me, very interesting, as I enjoyed getting acquainted with a number of influential Members of the House and Senate. Those present all impressed me very favorably. Senator Wherry is extremely forceful and appears to be a straight thinker. Gwinn is hard to beat. Senator Hawkes is very forthright and reasons well. Mr. Knutson and I found that we had much in common. Senator Wiley impressed me as being very keen-

mindful. I also liked Mr. Mason. Mr. Rich was there for a while, but had little to say.

Mr. Pettengill gave the guests a good picture of what the committee is trying to accomplish. They all appear to be very sympathetic with our point of view.

I have read, with interest, Frank Tannenbaum's article on the social function of trade-unionism. He reflects some of the Marxian philosophy of the inevitable march of events, a philosophy which, to me, does not seem to be realistic. An interesting feature of his article is that he recognizes the implications of the great power which has been gained by the labor monopolies. For a man of his background, this is a bit surprising. Strangely enough, I find myself in general accord with his tentative conclusion: namely, that the way out is to have the owners and the employees in the plant cooperate to make it a success. To me, such a policy seems to necessitate Government control only if the plants in an industry are consolidated, and thus become monopolistic. The article is worth reading.

I have forwarded to you a revision of one article and the draft of another. Doubtless you will find them awaiting your return.

Cordially yours,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman.*

JULY 12, 1947.

Memorandum to: Trustees.

From: Dr. E. A. Rumely.

Congressman Brehm has written a confidential memorandum, which he believes would bring about dissension within the party and, therefore, he does not wish to release it. He was on the House Labor Committee, and in this memorandum he analyses the law and has come to the conclusion that it is not going to mean much. We will have a copy of his memorandum within a few days.

Homer Dodge writes as follows:

"Congressman Brehm said: 'I am not a lawyer but just an old dentist' and proceeded to explain that he did not think the labor law will do the thing it was designed to do. He believes that it does not protect the employer but will prove a trap and an invitation for lawsuits."

JULY 19, 1947.

HON. FREDERICK C. SMITH,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Herewith the Housewife's Dilemma. This will go out in a second form with the fourth page modified to show the destructive effects of labor monopoly policies on other groups as, for example, on physicians, by the labor monopolists' propaganda for socialized medicine.

We shall be glad to supply you, without charge, any reasonable quantity of this piece if you have an opportunity to put copies into circulation.

In the past, occasionally some Member of Congress used his card or letterhead to distribute such a piece to fellow members. Our experience is that this method of bringing a piece of literature to the attention of the Congress is highly effective.

If this Scoville statement expresses your viewpoint cogently and you wish to bring it to the attention of other Members of Congress, we shall, of course, be glad to furnish as many copies as you can use to advantage. Our first 100,000 distribution is beginning this week.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

AUGUST 27, 1947.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,

Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Enclosed herewith check for \$8.40, for which please send 12 copies of *Why Kill the Goose?* to Miss Catherine F. Hickey, Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1947.

MR. LEONARD REED,
*Foundation for Economic Education,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. REED: I found the Hazlitt statement of extraordinary interest. I wish that Sir William Darling might have a copy. If you consistently can, will you equip him with one before he returns to England?

Confidentially Felix Morley is going on the air for the Sun Oil Co. 5 days a week to discuss foreign policy news. It would be tremendously important to have him in possession of the facts on how the lack of free enterprise abroad and the expansion of government control is handicapping production and increasing dependence upon the United States. Could you let him have a copy? You probably read his Human Events. If not, you would find it, I believe, highly interesting for yourself and some of your associates. His address is Felix Morley, Human Events, 1323 M Street, Washington 5, D. C.

One of our trustees, Robert B. Dresser (15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, R. I.) has wide contacts, and a copy of the Hazlitt book in his hands would be effectively placed.

I suggest also Frank E. Gannett, publisher of the Gannett Newspapers, Times-Union Building, Rochester 4, New York. Mr. Gannett has been much interested in foreign policy news and has traveled repeatedly over Europe and discusses effectively what he saw abroad.

I have loaned my copy of the book to Pettengill.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington Headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y., September 9, 1947.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
Pawling, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. GWINN: It is most encouraging to get your note.

We are sending you five copies of Labor-Boss Candidates With a Rope Around Their Necks; and, so that you may know the appeal we are making this week, we enclose copy of the current mailing.

If you are in New York City and have 10 or 15 minutes for discussion, or a luncheon hour free, I should like very much to exchange thought with you and can probably bring in Pettengill and one or two others who would profit by the contact.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

PAWLING, September 10, 1947.

MY DEAR RUMELY: Thank you very much. I'll be in New York City September 18 (Thursday) and will be glad to see you at lunchtime. Please have lunch at 12:30 with me at the Century Association, 7 West Forty-third Street. You may leave word at my office (MU 2-0281) with Miss Moynan.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., September 8, 1947.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: We sent a copy of the Hazlitt piece to Felix Morley. I am well acquainted with him.

At your suggestion, I am sending copies to Robert B. Dresser and Frank Gannett.

Cordially,

(Signed) Leonard.
(Typed) LEONARD E. READ.

Exhibit A

RE AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC.

A PROPOSAL AND STATEMENT OF ITS PURPOSE BY E. L. WIEGAND, PRESIDENT

It is desirable, in my opinion, to broaden and make more effective the functions of America's Future without changing its purpose. Rather to effectuate its purpose more completely, and avoiding duplication of expense.

1. We have a radio voice and a contract in operation. It is expensive.
2. There are other organizations who have splendid ideas and abundant source materials and talent but have no radio personality and voice comparable to Samuel B. Pettengill.
3. The purposes of America's Future and certain other organizations is highly compatible and complementary in purpose and objects but competitive in the effort to obtain financial support.

I would like the trustees of America's Future to authorize and direct the officers of America's Future to develop and organize collaborative effort between America's Future and such organizations upon a basis as will provide a radio outlet for the ideas of all, upon an expense-sharing basis which will reduce if not remove competition in appeals for radio-program funds.

In this manner, America's Future can be the radio spearhead for furnishing the American people with coherent, sound, and solvent ideas and data on economic and other affairs of national importance.

Many people can be enthused and their support gained by discussion of and advocacy of abstract ideas of freedom or liberty through constitutional government. However, the great mass of people do not understand or appreciate the finest abstract ideas but require these things elaborated and demonstrated upon a plane which will stir them through appeal to their more immediate and tangible self-interests.

Now, I know that there is nothing on earth to which there is not some objection, but these as well as the advantages and disadvantages should be carefully considered and weighed in order that it may be soundly decided whether or not to proceed thus.

I refer particularly to organizations. For example, the American Economic Foundation, the Foundation for Economic Education, and any others whose purposes are compatible and who will share their efforts to provide radio funds, and share in the projection of approved material via radio.

Each organization can continue its research mail and publishing work by means other than radio or they can also be brought into collaborative effect.

Under this plan, all organizations could continue to receive their support, but a certain percentage minimum, or any maximum specified by contributor, would be allocated for "cooperative" radio program via America's Future.

The sponsor would remain America's Future, Inc., upon a nonpartisan, noncommercial basis, but would refer to cooperating sources and source materials.

Inasmuch as all of us within the American way of life seek to ascertain, develop, and project the truth in economic educational effort, we must all arrive at much the same facts and the need for presentation if the American people are to be intelligently confirmed in their determination to retain the way of life which made them great and looked to for help by the rest of the world.

Assuming that you are familiar with the organizations referred to and their leaders, may I have your opinions whether this proposal ought to be considered and acted upon at a trustees' meeting. It is not deemed desirable to propose such a thing to others unless our trustees agree beforehand to its development.

Respectfully yours,

E. L. WIEGAND,
President, America's Future, Inc.

Mr. LEONARD E. READ,
Foundation for Economic Education,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

OCTOBER 8, 1947.

MY DEAR MR. READ: I was discussing with Fred Sexauer the reaction of farm leaders to the plan and ideas outlined by Hazlitt.

The farm leaders of the country will exert a major influence because if we are going to take on the feeding abroad with taxpayers' money, it will be represented to farm leaders that they have an assured prolonged market.

We have at great expense compiled a list of 33,000 farm leaders reaching down to county levels on State and national levels. If you are making a further distribution of the book, if you could get an individual known to the farm leaders to write an accompanying letter, that would insure its being read. This might be a most effective area for its distribution.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D. C.,

1222 NINTH STREET SOUTH, FARGO, N. DAK., October 25, 1947.

MR. SUMNER GERARD,

Trustee, Committee for Constitutional Government,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GERARD: Received your letter with enclosure and suggestions of changing Federal tax laws. I believe that the time is here to revise our entire tax system, and to abolish all Federal taxes except one—a net income tax or possibly a gross income tax.

If you know of a real tax expert who knows how to write tax laws, and knows all about taxes, I would be glad to cooperate with him, and to write a tax law that would not require red tape, and after passage would not require spending of a hundred or two hundred million in getting tax reports prepared—a simple tax law that would protect the Government and the taxpayer without red tape or a horde of collectors.

I believe that the underprivileged should be amply protected to begin with by exemptions that would permit them to live on the ordinary standard of living.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM LEMKE.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,

November 3, 1947.

HON. SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. PETTENGILL: I wonder if you might make available to us, on a regular basis, copies of your very informative releases "Inside Your Congress." Senator Wiley receives copies of these releases at his home in the Westchester here in Washington but it would be most helpful to him if he could have another copy sent care of his office here for our reference and files.

I know that he enjoys the releases very much and finds in them a stimulating source of information and ideas.

I recall our meeting some time back with Dr. Rumely and yourself and I hope that I will have the pleasure of seeing you again soon.

In Senator Wiley's recently published humor book, *Laughing With Congress*, he used the joke which you kindly sent to him.

With all good wishes and thanking you for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

JULIUS N. CAHN,

Executive Secretary to Senator Wiley.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,

Irrington-on-Hudson, N. Y., November 7, 1947.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Thirty thousand copies of the promotion card for *Will Dollars Save the World?* will be delivered to you next Thursday, November 13. We are pleased to know that you will include these in the Pettengill letter distribution.

You asked about the cost of these cards: the printing of 80,000 copies would cost about \$0.0095 each. This cost would, of course, decrease substantially on a larger run.

Sincerely,

H. C. CORNUELLE,
Assistant to the President.

NOVEMBER 5, 1947.

Mr. H. C. CORNUELLE,
Assistant to President, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR MR. CORNUELLE: We can use for the Pettengill letter distribution about 30,000 copies of the little card Will Dollars Save the World?

As of personal interest to me, I should like to know the cost of this card.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., November 4, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMLEY: Because of the interest you manifested in achieving a large-scale distribution of Henry Hazlitt's Will Dollars Save the World? It occurs to me that you might be able to find ways to distribute the attached direct mail promotion card among individuals likely to purchase copies of the book.

If you would like to include such a card in any of your mailings we would be pleased to supply whatever quantity you desire.

I am sorry that our resources do not permit a large-scale free distribution of the book itself, but I do believe that a distribution of the card will aid materially in gaining a wide audience for this book.

Sincerely yours,

H. C. CORNUELLE,
Assistant to the President.

NOVEMBER 8, 1947.

SHIPPING DEPARTMENT:

Please send to Mrs. M. L. Hart, librarian, the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., 5 copies of the franked piece, Confusion and Insecurity Peril United States," out of envelopes.

Label attached.

CATHERINE F. HICKKEY.

NOVEMBER 7, 1947.

Mrs. M. L. HART,
Librarian, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. HART: We are sending you under separate cover 5 copies of Confusion and Insecurity Peril United States.

We have distributed 25,000 copies of this and have an order for an additional 25,000 on order. These cost about one-third cent each and could be delivered without envelope provided you care to use them as an enclosure.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, *Treasurer.*

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
November 5 1947.

Mrs. M. L. HART,
Librarian, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. HART: In accordance with your letter of the 4th, I am sending you herewith five additional copies of the Kennedy article, Confusion and Insecurity

Peril United States, which is all I have to spare. Should you desire a quantity, you might address your request to the Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York City, as I know they formerly had copies on hand.

Thanking you for your interest, I am
Sincerely yours,

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., November 4, 1947.

HON. ROBERT F. RICH,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RICH: I shall be most grateful if you can send me, or advise me where to obtain, copies of *Confusion and Insecurity Peril United States*, and extension of your remarks containing an article of the above title by Joseph P. Kennedy, which appeared in the May 27, 1947, issue of *Congressional Record*.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. L. HART, *Librarian*.

NOVEMBER 18, 1947.

HON. RALPH GWINN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: You are doing splendid work in your investigation of the construction industry in New York City. The abuses which you are uncovering are certainly much in need of exposure. Here's hoping that measures can be adopted which will break the powers of the monopolies dominating this field.

You have been kind enough to send me some of your studies dealing with the undesirable features of public housing. If you have extra copies of those studies, I suggest that you send one of each to Mr. Victor D. Werner, 10 Rector Street, New York 6. He is the Republican district representative in this area and seems to be entirely unfamiliar with the objections to having the public furnish houses for favored classes of the population. I believe he would respect your views. Since he is influential, he needs educating.

Cordially yours,

WILLFORD I. KING.

NOVEMBER 18, 1947.

Dr. W. M. CURTISS,
The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR DR. CURTISS: It will be a pleasure to have dinner at the Town Hall Club with Mr. Spencer Heath on Wednesday evening, December 3, at 5:30 p. m. I hope that we shall have an interesting discussion.

Since you and Dr. Harper are, at present, interested in the question of high prices, it is possible that you may care to look over my testimony on the subject before the congressional subcommittee which met at Baltimore on October 22. I am, therefore, enclosing a copy of my remarks on that occasion.

If you still have on hand a supply of *Roofs or Ceilings?*, I wish you would send a copy to Mr. Victor D. Werner, 10 Rector Street, New York 6, N. Y. He is the Republican district representative in this area and is in dire need of education concerning rent control. Please bill me for the pamphlet.

Cordially yours,

WILLFORD I. KING.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC., A DELAWARE CORPORATION, HELD AT THE CORPORATION OFFICE, ROOM 405, 210 EAST FORTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 19, 1947, AT 5 P. M.

Due to the delay of several of the trustees in arriving, the executive committee and board of trustees meeting were called to order, simultaneously, at 5 p. m. Mr. E. L. Weigand, the president, presided and called the roll:

Present: Ambrose W. Benkert,¹ Willard I. Emerson,¹ Sumner Gerard,¹ Dorothy G. Pope, Henry L. Stoddard,¹ E. L. Weigand.¹

¹ Trustees who are members of the executive committee.

Absent: Frank H. Gannett, H. O. King, Charles R. Hook, Lamar Fleming, Jr., Marss McLean, Ruth Pinchot, R. R. Wason, R. E. Wood.

A quorum being present, the trustees proceeded with the business of the meeting. Proof of due notice of the executive committee and board of trustees meetings was presented. It was moved, seconded and unanimously voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting of the board of trustees, copies of which had been sent all the trustees, and that said minutes be accepted and approved by the trustees.

Mr. Wiegand next took up in order various matters included in the agenda which he had prepared for the meeting.

After discussion as to the desirability of including all pledges, written and oral, in the balance sheet, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that all pledges be included on the balance sheet as contingent assets; that they be subdivided into two categories: (1) Written pledges, and (2) oral pledges, with a notation as to the period within which payment is anticipated.

Mr. Wiegand presented a written proposal and statement of America's future purposes with regard to broadening radio program. The statement was read and followed by much favorable discussion. It was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that the officers of America's future be authorized and directed, in their discretion, to develop the possibilities of collaborative effort with organizations and foundations having the same general objectives as America's future, to secure funds and source materials which will be useful in carrying on the purposes of our organization, providing, of course, that the liberty of action of Mr. Pettengill and of America's future is in no way infringed and that also America's future enter into no contractual relation with any other organization without the full approval of the majority of the executive committee, as broadly set forth in the memorandum presented by Mr. Wiegand and attached to the minutes of this meeting as exhibit A.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that items 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 of the detailed agenda submitted by Mr. Wiegand be tabled for future consideration by the executive committee or the trustee.

Mr. Wiegand then offered to the trustees his resignation as president of America's Future, because he felt that he could not operate effectively when he is unable to be in New York (he is leaving immediately for the South) and because he responsible head executive of any organization should be a real, working executive in complete and constant touch with all details of a business. This resignation to become effective as of the evening of November 19, 1947.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted to accept, with regret, Mr. Wiegand's resignation as president of America's Future. The trustees expressed their deep appreciation for the conscientious and careful manner in which Mr. Wiegand has safeguarded the interests of the organization.

At 6:40 p. m. the meeting was voted adjourned.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., November 19, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: In accordance with your letter of November 18, we will keep a tally of the responses to the Pettengill mailing of the promotion card for "Will Dollars Save the World?" and we will send you a report of the results.

Sincerely,

H. O. CORNUELLE,
Assistant to the President.

DECEMBER 4, 1947.

Mr. LEW HAHN,
National Retail Dry Goods Association,
100 West Thirty-first Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HAHN: The head of one of the large stores, a member of your group, writes:

"In reference to the enclosed folder which reads, 'exactly what does the Taft-Hartley law provide?' it seems to me that Mr. Lew Hahn ought to be willing to sponsor a letter to the members of the National Retail Dry Goods Association

asking them to purchase a quantity of these for distribution to members of retail stores around the country.

"I believe he would do it if you would push the matter."

If you would write a letter to the members of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, calling attention to the folder *Exactly What Does the Taft-Hartley Law Provide?* we shall be glad to supply the required number of free copies to be used as an enclosure.

Pettengill has done a great job in this analysis of the Taft-Hartley bill. The problem now is to get it into the hands of hundreds of thousands.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET,
New York 17, N. Y., December 4, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government, New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The House Committee on Education and Labor is working on its report, based on the hearings held. I was told today that it is expected report and hearings will be printed soon after the first of the year.

At that time there should be no difficulty in obtaining permission from Chairman Hartley to excerpt Dr. King's brief for reprinting as we did in the case of his testimony last winter. At that time, the reprints were distributed under Mr. Gwinn's frank.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

DECEMBER 5, 1947.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MARTIN: Heartily congratulations on your action in telling the National Association of Manufacturers the dangers of price controls and rationing. While most of the members of the association, doubtless, realize the dangers of such regulations, some of them may be ignorant in such matters. I feel sure that the great majority of the members will be much gratified to know that we have, as Speaker of the House, a man who understands sound economic principles and is willing to stand for these principles.

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 6, 1947.

Hon. KENNETH B. KEATING,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEATING: Supplementing Mr. Gannett's letter of December 5, herewith copy of the speech with the introduction somewhat revised and headings added.

This activity is a personal effort, not connected with the Committee for Constitutional Government, although I am secretary of that organization.

I discuss this matter on a personal basis for friends who are interested in having available copies of the speech.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

DECEMBER 6, 1947.

To Mr. FRANK GANNETT.

I have copy of your letter to Keating and I have written him as per the attached.

What I am doing is purely personal, because the committee cannot in any way give support to a party speech.

I am sending you copy of the statements Dr. King made on foreign relations (under separate cover) and copy of Pettengill's radio talk, the Marshall plan.

AN OPPORTUNITY—AND A CHALLENGE

(Text of an address by Frank E. Gannett, Rochester publisher, before Ohio Republican audience in Columbus, Ohio, December 2, 1947)

Whether or not you agree with my views, I do hope that our meeting together will stimulate our thinking and deepen our interest in national and international affairs. It is my honest opinion that we are in the most critical period in our history. Decisions to be made in our party conventions next summer and in the elections next fall may determine not only the future of America, but the future of the whole world.

The question that we must settle boils down to this: Are we the people going to control our Government as our forefathers provided in our Constitution, or is government going to control us? Are we going to be masters of government, or become its subjects and slaves?

MUST AWAKEN PUBLIC

We must awaken the public to a realization that our liberty and all our freedoms and our ways of life are in danger. In most of this world today the sacred rights of the individual, which we enjoy and appreciate, have been abolished. In most of the world the state has become all-powerful.

We fought World War II to destroy the totalitarian states of Germany, Austria, Italy, and Japan. After great sacrifice of life and property, a cost of 275 billions of dollars and a million casualties, we overthrew Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo, only to see arise a more potent dictator in Stalin, who has repeatedly declared that the Soviets must dominate the world. That is their goal.

In my trip last June around the world I saw evidence of intense activity by the Communists. You all know their technique. They hope by intrigue and lying propaganda, by clever, undercover work, by promoting discord, strikes, and chaos, to make it possible for a minority to seize the government as they did when only a small, well-organized group overthrew the Czar of Russia.

MILLIONS UNDER STALIN

Since VE-day, with our consent, or at least without our opposition, Stalin has taken control of 12 countries adjacent to prewar Russia and thus brought many more millions of people under his dictatorship.

Today in Italy and France the Communists are in great strength. Indeed, they seriously threaten government in both these countries. Intolerable economic conditions may at any time put the people of these two once great countries in the chains of slavery to the Moscow Politburo.

Stalin can gain control of these nations without going to war. Indeed, even now he can march across Europe to the English Channel any time he decides to start and no one can stop him.

Greece, in spite of the financial help we have given her, is not safe from communism. As a matter of fact, there is great concern about the stability of its present government.

China, with its 400,000,000 wonderful people and great resources, is coveted by Stalin. He controls almost all of Manchuria and communistic forces are so strong in northern China and conditions are so bad in China, that communism may ultimately prevail. General MacArthur told me that that would be a world disaster.

Even in India, the plans of the Communists to promote riots, massacres, and chaos may open to Stalin the door of that great country, with its 400,000,000 population and enormous resources.

BUSY IN SOUTH AMERICA

We don't hear much about it, but in every country in South America the Reds are busy and making steady progress in their plans to get control of that great continent. William Green last week named a Mexican labor leader as Moscow's chief agent in Latin America.

Only America stands in the way of Stalin. We are the one hope of preventing Russian slavery from dominating the whole world.

That being the case, it certainly is of supreme importance that this great country, which is only one-seventeenth of the world's surface and only about one-fourteenth of the world's population, must take every possible step to protect

our future. War between Russia and America is unthinkable because it would mean such terrible destruction. I had hoped that the United Nations might promote lasting peace throughout the world, but so far Russia has blocked every important move in that organization and we have made no progress in plans to eliminate war. I don't expect war with Russia at present or at least for several years. Whether we shall have war with the Communists depends on the dictators in Moscow.

We must, however, realize that Russia is building up a great military machine. It is reported by our own officials that Russia now has more military planes than the United States. She certainly has a great army, many times larger than our own. She is working night and day to perfect her own atomic bomb and there is no question that she will sooner or later have it.

This situation is so tense and critical that we should be doing all that we can to make America powerful in every way. Our scientists and research men are developing new weapons. We must be ready to produce them in quantity quickly. If we should have war, there will be no one to hold off the foe while we prepare for battle.

I am glad to know that our military leaders are alert to the dangers in this situation, but I'll not be satisfied until we are sure that we are ready to defend ourselves against Russia or anybody else. Our liberty and freedom and what we have in America is all too precious not to be protected by the strongest means that can be developed.

REDS WANT DEPRESSION

As important as our military strength is the strength of our economy. The Reds are hoping that we shall have a great depression—collapse. Then, they say, people would turn to communism. So America must be prosperous. Our production must be increased. We must get our house in order in every respect. By improved tools and machinery, by increased production of all the things that we need, we can make America a land of giants, unmatched in all the world.

But I am gravely concerned by the trend of the policies of our Government. Never has there been so much quackery, demagoguery, ignorance, and stupidity as we are seeing today in Washington. What worries me is the fact that even some of our Republicans in Congress have been misled and do not seem to understand what the proposals of the Truman administration really mean.

On October 16, President Truman described price and wage controls and rationing as police-state methods. And yet in his message to the special session of Congress on November 17, this same President Truman submitted a 10-point program which embodies what he had called police-state methods. He has asked Congress to impose police-state methods on the American people in peacetime. He would revive here methods used by Hitler and Mussolini.

FOR A FREE ECONOMY

In wartime we had to submit to control of our economy so that everything could be devoted to winning the war, but in peacetime, there is no excuse for police-state methods in America. I am glad that Senator Robert A. Taft holds this same view.

It has been proved again and again that if you start on the road to a controlled economy, there is no end but full Government control. If you try to control prices of any articles you drive production into other channels, promote black markets and racketeering. England staggers under planned economy, socialism, and government controls. Today everything in that country is controlled and rationed and the people have been getting less and less of everything. The standard of living has been driven down lower and lower.

Women stand in a queue for hours with a ration ticket with which to get one egg or an ounce of bacon once a week. Scarcities are increasing and the ration tickets buy less and less.

The food on the English table, the clothes on the people's backs, the production of industry and its distribution, transportation, and everything else is controlled by the government. Taxes have been increased and bureaucrats by the thousands have been given government jobs in the effort to control the lives of the English people.

Once our people accept controls, they will be extended until we will be in the same plight as the English people. If we accept controls at this time, we may never be able to throw them off.

WHY RISING PRICES

The muddled thinking in Washington is the result of rising prices. The politicians fear that they will be blamed because everything is costing more. In their stupidity they don't understand that prices are the result of inflation. Prices are like a thermometer that reports the temperature of trade. We cannot affect the temperature by decreasing that the thermometer may go just as high and no higher. What we must do is to treat the fever. The fever is inflation. Prices merely tell us how aggravated the inflation is.

Some of the economic quacks may blame high prices on speculation, or profits, or labor unions, or the farmer, or marketing costs, or anything else; but the fact remains that our trouble is due to the decreasing value of our dollar.

Dr. F. A. Harper, a former Cornell economist makes the situation clear by supposing that all of our goods were in a warehouse and that the warehouse had issued receipts for them.

If we increase the number of warehouse receipts, we diminish the value of each receipt. Then no single receipt will obtain the full amount of goods called for on its face. Our dollar today is worth about 62 cents. That is why you have to pay more dollars for anything you buy. That is inflation.

INFLATION IS AT FAULT

Our inflation is due to the fact that the amount of our money, that is our warehouse receipts, has been tremendously increased by our Federal Government. If our Government had kept within its income, our dollar today would be worth its face value but instead of keeping within its income, the Federal Government in the last 15 years since the New Deal took office, has spent $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the total of our national wealth in real property and in improvement—in other words $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the value of all our homes, offices, factories, and farms.

Think of it. Our Federal Government has contracted debts equal to an average of \$6,000 for every family in America.

All this debt becomes in effect, purchasing power, immediate or remote. Two-fifths of this debt already has been turned into spendable money. Many bonds representing our debt have been turned into cash. The other three-fifths of this debt hangs as a threat over our money supply and hence over the buying power of every existing dollar.

Of course, a great debt was created by the war, but our Government before the war had created a great deficit by unbusinesslike management of our Federal affairs.

MORE PAY AND LESS WORK

Much of this inflation is due to policies put in effect by President Truman himself. You will recall, of course, that after the war ended, President Truman made a plea for the full-employment bill. The Republicans in Congress refused to pass this legislative proposal.

Truman had predicted that by 1946 there would be 8,000,000 unemployed. He aided and abetted labor leaders in obtaining higher wages. That was like pouring gasoline on a fire. It was inflationary. It was in effect a more-pay-for-less-work policy. Higher prices were inevitable as a result of this inflationary move.

Had not 10,000,000 unemployed in 1939 been put to work producing more goods, our dollar today would be of still less value than it is.

The only way to correct the present distressing price situation is to increase our production more and more, decrease Government expenditures and in every way possible lessen the money in circulation so that the dollar ultimately may regain its face value in purchasing power.

For instance, today there is no excuse for the Government to carry on public works projects which could be postponed.

It would seem that any schoolboy should understand the cause and effects of inflation. But I doubt if President Truman himself understands these fundamental economic principles. He is more concerned with politics than with economics. He adopted the program drafted by the left wingers, the CIO, the Russian appeasers, and Soviet followers in this country because he thought it would get him votes.

It was only because of a coalition of Republicans and Southern, conservative Democrats that Congress did not adopt in toto in 1945 Truman's program which would have made this country a police state and still further increased inflation.

MONEY WORTHLESS IN CHINA

Unfortunately many have forgotten the inflation that swept Germany after the First World War when finally it required three trillion marks to buy a dozen eggs. Today China is suffering from the same sort of inflation. When I was there in June an American dollar was worth 50,000 Chinese dollars. A friend in Shanghai recently wrote that he paid 110,000 Chinese dollars for a drink of Scotch whiskey. I'll say emphatically that I don't think it was worth it, but that price indicates that money in China is becoming practically worthless.

Why, oh why doesn't our Federal Government understand what is going on? Why doesn't it see what causes inflation and do something to check it?

The Constitution gives to Congress the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. Thus Congress is authorized to increase the value of our dollar. There are many ways in which this can be done without resorting to police-state methods.

Quoting Dr. Harper again: "High prices are not the criminal. They are the tracks of the criminal. If you were trying to protect your children against a bear in the forest, you would not feel that they were safe if you merely covered the bear tracks. That would be worse than doing nothing, for it would deprive the hunter of his only means of trailing the beast. The tracks reveal where the bear is. The children if told that covering the tracks would take care of the matter would be in more danger than before because they would acquire a false sense of security and would be thrown off their guard."

THE TRACKS OF INFLATION

So it is with inflation. High prices are the tracks of inflation, not inflation itself. Prices are the record of voluntary actions of consumers, acting freely in the market place, buying items of their individual choice, at prices agreeable to them, using their own money for that purpose. They are not under compulsion to buy at any price.

Government loans are inflationary. Under the so-called Marshall plan—Marshall himself says it is not a plan but merely a proposal—16 nations of Europe got together and wrote a letter to Santa Claus. They would like to have us give them something like \$20,000,000,000 or \$22,000,000,000. Could anything be more absurd?

As General MacArthur well put it, "You can't buy democracy." Furthermore, there is no guaranty that any amount of money that we might spend in trying to rebuild Europe would check the spread of communism. Surely the vast sum of money we already have spent in Europe has not lessened the threat of communism. And again, if we do rebuild Europe with billions and billions of dollars, there is no guaranty that these rebuilt countries will not become richer prizes for Stalin.

Where are we going to get any such sum of money as they ask? We would either have to issue more bonds and further dilute the value of our dollar so that it would buy still less than it does today, or the Government could get the money by levying additional taxes on the people. Aren't you paying enough taxes already?

MEANS HIGHER TAXES

Do you realize that 31 percent of the average person's income goes to the Government? In other words, you and I and others work 4 months of each year for the Government. If we are going to make loans of \$20,000,000,000 to Europe, or of half a billion dollars to Europe as Congress is now proposing, money must come either from bonds or from taxes.

In any event we the people will have to pay the cost.

Since the war ended we have poured into Europe \$20,000,000,000 and what has that accomplished? We made a loan to Britain—really not a loan, but a gift—of \$3,750,000,000 only a little more than a year ago. This money has been spent and there is no evidence that it has improved conditions in England in any way. Churchill and Lord Beaverbrook charge that the money was wasted. This Santa Claus letter from the 16 nations asking for some \$20,000,000,000 includes, as I understand it, a request from Britain for another \$8,000,000,000 to help finance its socialistic government.

By the way, no one yet has had full information about this Santa Claus proposal. We don't know exactly what the requests are from the various nations or what they propose to do with the money, but we are told that we are not to have

any part in even suggesting how they should use these billions that they ask us to give them!

As I said before, the Governments of Italy and France are in danger of becoming communistic, and yet today Congress is proposing to pour millions of our dollars into those countries.

In France a million workers are on strike. Are we to provide money for these strikers who are not willing to work? Are we to provide money for any people who depend on their government for their maintenance?

NEED FOOD, NOT DOLLARS

I yield to no one in my desire to do all we can to feed the hungry in the war-devastated countries. If we are going to help feed these hungry people, we should send them food, not dollars. We should see that the food reaches the people that need it. I should like to see an organization like our American Red Cross set up in Europe to administer the distribution of food so that it helps hungry people rather than some socialistic government. I would not trust any of these governments with a dollar intended for general relief purposes.

Our people are suffering from inflation. The high prices that we are paying for everything are oppressive. Our taxes should be cut so that we could better bear the burden. Mr. Truman's Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Snyder, and the President himself are opposing cutting taxes. They seem to think it is a good thing for us to pay taxes and that it will help our economy. They say that the money paid for taxes will be withdrawn from buying power. If their theory is true, why don't they advocate higher taxes? They can't answer that question without revealing how stupid and how costly it is for President Truman to veto bills that would reduce taxes. Reducing taxes would give the public more purchasing power without increasing prices. The New Dealers want the Government rather than the people to do the spending. Another proposal by the Government is to have the power to allocate goods and materials. Not knowing that there is a bear in the forest that should be hunted down, they are crying "Emergency, emergency!" We are having a "government of crises"—crisis after crisis. It would empower the Government to give materials to one manufacturer and withhold them from another. The police state could punish an enemy and reward a friend. By its allocation it could close down any factory and throw thousands of innocent workers out of jobs.

There is no reason whatever for this proposal of price control, of rationing or allocation. They are puny efforts to cover up the bear's tracks. They make inflation worse, not less.

CHALLENGE TO REPUBLICANISM

Here is a great opportunity for the Republican Party. It should be unitedly opposed to these outrageous proposals. It should stand foursquare and all together in defense of one of our important freedoms—the freedom of choice in the market places, without interference by the police state.

Anyone who has been abroad has seen the destruction in the moral fiber of the people where black market and other rackets thrive. It fills anyone with fear that it may happen here.

Let me offer a few suggestions:

Instead of resorting to measures to lessen production, the Government should do everything possible to encourage production.

It can and should reduce taxes. It could urge a tax system that would increase incentives to people to work and produce.

It could advocate repeal of laws passed by the early New Deal which aimed at creating inflation.

The Government could sponsor an honest day's work for honest pay. It could urge a longer workweek so that production might be increased.

It could suspend all unnecessary and expensive Federal projects that compete for materials and add to the inflation spiral.

It could reduce Federal spending. It is necessary to keep the budget balanced or overbalanced. An unbalanced budget adds to inflation.

Such a program and many things along the same line would be much better than going back to ration tickets. Secretary Harriman and Secretary Snyder are asking for powers to put price controls on oil and coal and to ration gasoline and fuel oil again. Do you remember the rackets and black markets we had during the war?

They also want authority to limit the holding of grain on the farm. In other words, they would force the farmer to sell his grain as the police state may order. Thus the police state could interfere with the farmer's constitutional rights to his property. Forcing a farmer to sell grain is like the Hitler and Stalin policies.

MORE BUREAUCRATIC BUNGLING

Then, too, they urge that steel be allocated to the most essential programs. Who is to determine what is the most essential program? Why, of course, the officials of our police state. Some bureaucrats in Washington.

Instead of holding out their palms for billions of dollars from us, why don't the people of Europe follow Belgium's example? These fine people knew about inflation, because Hitler had tried to destroy Belgium by the easiest means--inflating their currency.

The first thing the Belgians did after the war was to provide money in which people would have confidence. But that is only half the problem. If money can't be exchanged for things people want, it loses value no matter what governments do. So Belgium backed up its money with goods that Belgians could buy. It took off police control. It welcomed labor from any source. It got the coal mines started and its factories rolling by letting the rewards of competitive work, in goods and money, operate as incentives to work. It stayed out of Fool's Paradise, the false social security promised by socialistic governments and urged the people to produce and gave them a reward for producing.

NO INCENTIVE TO WORK

One of the causes of England's tragic plight is the fact that there are no incentives for work. No matter how much time you put in on a job and how much money you get, your real reward is limited to the number of ration tickets you are allowed.

In Belgium with free enterprise at work, the people are getting clothes, shoes, toys, cigarettes, radios, washing machines, automobiles. Belgium is making great progress and is the brightest spot in all Europe today. If the rest of Europe would follow their example, they would not need to seek loans or gifts from us. For those doubting Thomases and skeptics who don't believe in the American way of life, I should like to recommend a study of what Belgium is doing.

Of course, we are eager to see the nations of Europe back on their feet. We want to help them. The best way to assist them is to give them the know-how, give them encouragement and spiritual uplift. For instance, I would favor sending a thousand of our county farm agents into Germany for a year under competent leadership. They could teach the Germans better methods for producing food and show them how to produce more food. That would be still better than sending food to them from America.

A score of American businessmen by their suggestions and advice to industrial management could do more to rebuild Europe than unlimited billions of dollars in loans or gifts.

In the meantime, I am hoping that the Republicans in Congress will give us leadership in straight thinking on the problems that confront us. Anyone who favors controls, restrictions and a police state as advocated by the Truman administration, should realize that he is endorsing the Hitler-Stalin system and that it means a tragic end to our liberty and freedom.

OUR OWN BLESSINGS

Returning from my trip around the world, I was more impressed than ever that we have so much more than any other people on the globe. In spite of the great mistake made by our Government since new dealism got in power, in spite of the great burden of a crushing debt and a wild spending National Government, we still have full employment and the highest standard of living in the world.

We have obtained this enviable position of being the greatest, richest, and most powerful Nation because our Constitution gives to everyone an opportunity to work in any field of activity that he may choose. It gives to him reward for his effort which cannot be taken away from him without due process of law.

Here we have incentives. The promise of rewards spurred men on to clearing the land of forests, bridging rivers, tunneling mountains, building railroads, de-

veloping our great cities. All this progress was made not by the Government, but by individuals, free and unrestricted.

In 150 years we made more progress than had been made in all the preceding centuries. If we will only cling to the same methods and to our constitutional government, we are sure to make still greater progress in the years to come. The Republican Party must rise to this great opportunity and accept this challenge. Never was there such a need of a united party as there is today. A united Republican Party under wise leadership can save America and protect us against any attack.

DECEMBER 10, 1947.

MR. F. E. GANNETT,
Times Union Building, Rochester 4, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GANNETT: Sumner Gerard told me yesterday that his brother, James W. Gerard, was very close to William Randolph Hearst over a long period of time. Sumner Gerard arranged to have James W. Gerard send the following telegram:

"MR. WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST,
"San Simon, Calif.

"Do give earnest consideration to air-mail letter from my brother Sumner. His Committee for Constitutional Government is doing a grand job. I, myself, have contributed financial support to the school and college distribution of the Norton book.

"JAMES W. GERARD."

There are very great possibilities in getting newspapers behind the distribution of the Norton book across the whole country.

Could not one of your newspapers in Rochester tell the story of how a project started in Rochester has swept across the country and placed already more than one-half million copies of the Norton book? And, then print the Gerard letter, another copy of which is enclosed, and mention that any sums coming from Rochester will be first applied toward the distribution of the book to Rochester schools. If that worked, it would be a test and, if you cared to mention that the Gannett newspapers had contributed to start off the fund, it is quite possible that the \$2,000 would pyramid in Rochester to \$5,000 or \$10,000 if the letter were reproduced effectively with a copy of the article.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, January 8, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The reprints of the statement of Sir William Y. Darling on Conditions in England which Senator Hawkes introduced into the Congressional Record on December 8th, have been received.

As you know, there are 100,000 reprints and they are now being stuffed into the envelopes in the Senate folding room and I am advised that it will take approximately a week to complete the job. I have made arrangement with the folding room to forward the mail bags to you as soon as they are full and it would be my guess that you will receive the first of the lot the beginning of next week.

In accordance with our previous arrangements, the material may be deposited in the New York post office.

If this office can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

With kind regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,

DOUGLASS L. MANN, *Secretary.*

PENNSYLVANIA SAW CORP.

810 BROAD STREET, NEWARK, N. J.

JANUARY 13, 1948.

Mr. R. B. DRESSER,
210 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: The writer has received a copy of your form of resolution as now proposed for adoption by State legislatures covering the question of taxes and a subsequent amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

For your consideration, I wish to advance the suggestion or thought that there should be equality of taxation. Every citizen of our country is supposed to have equal rights. Based on this thought, everyone should pay the same percentage of tax from his income. There is no justification in a difference of taxation between citizens of this country because of the very fact that one earns more than the other. If a 25 percent tax is to be charged, then on the basis of equal rights, each earner of income, regardless of the size of his income, should pay 25 percent.

In addition to the above, we have been and are now giving tax preference to aliens doing business in this country. The writer feels that the income earned by aliens doing business in this country should be subject to the same amount of tax as the actual citizens of this country.

The above thoughts are offered to you for what they may be worth.

Very truly yours,

PENNSYLVANIA SAW CORP.,
F. O. ACOMB, *President.*

JANUARY 14, 1948.

Mr. F. O. ACOMB,
*President, Pennsylvania Saw Corp., 810 Broad Street,
Newark, N. J.*

DEAR MR. ACOMB: On behalf of Mr. Dresser, thanks for your letter of January 13.

You will be interested in Dr. Kling's testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee, copy enclosed herewith. If you have not seen Mr. Dresser's booklet *Suggestions for Changes in the Federal Tax Laws in 1948*, it will also interest you.

We have passed your letter to our advisers so that they may bear in mind the points you make.

We have circulated 100,000 copies of the chart "Number of Days in 1947 that Various Classes of Taxpayers Must Work for the Federal Government To Pay their Income Taxes."

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELT,
Executive Secretary.

S. G. TAYLOR,
JUDGE, FORTY-FIFTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT COURT,
Bexar County, San Antonio 5, Tex., January 16, 1948.

Mr. SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL,
*care of Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have been reading your weekly contributions bearing on current political and economic questions and I must say that I think you are performing a wonderful service to the citizens of America in presenting so clearly and forcibly many important truths that American people should at this time seriously consider.

The purse strings of our Government have been too loosely held and we appear to have too few great statesmen in Congress to aid in steering the ship of state aright. I would be glad to see you as President of the United States.

Yours truly,

S. G. TAYLOR.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 17, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD H. McLEAN,
Care of American Medical Association Convention,
Palmer House, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR DR. McLEAN: Under separate cover I am sending you 500 copies of my speech on public housing, which I am very glad to do.

Is it possible that the American Medical Association appreciates the danger of the authoritarian or socialist state? I think it is very doubtful that they do. We don't go Communist or Socialist because of the fanatical, frustrated people who talk all the time. We go Socialist because the Government, generally speaking, bribes bankers, businessmen, investors, doctors, and then votes them on election day for more of the same thing until at last there is no other source of money or employment except the Government.

This speech on public housing develops how easy the bloodless revolution is. The modern technique is not to shoot but to put everybody on a Socialist dose, which in the beginning looks rather attractive as it does to the investors and partners in political housing. They don't have to refund or worry over losses. They can just sit tight and let the Government take the losses and assume the responsibility.

Let me make one other suggestion, and that is the people vote the way they are organized to vote. The Devil and his forces are always organized and generally on the public payrolls. The forces of freedom are unorganized, scattered, ineffective, out practicing medicine or farming, or making things and thus serving their country as free men feel they should. But if the forces for freedom don't organize into political parties at the grass roots, which is the election district, so as to have our leadership actually leading in politics, there is no possible way of resisting the continued encroachments of Government on freedom. The price of freedom in medicine is active participation in the politics of maintaining that freedom and defending it and on occasion fighting for it.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET,
New York 17, N. Y., June 19, 1948.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Your letter to Edward H. McLean gripped me when I read it. I showed it to Pettengill and read it to Mr. Gerard; both were enthusiastic and said you had packed your message powerfully into few words. If you could modify this letter and send it on your letterhead, on a test run, to 10,000 or 15,000 physicians and dentists, we paying postage, we believe they would pay out. The letter will cost 8 cents per name. We would reserve about 2 cents to offer reprints of your talk on housing free. The moment that we know that the test pays out, we can go to 120,000 physicians and 60,000 dentists, thus putting 180,000 copies of your talk into circulation.

In consequence, we probably would be called upon to supply another 100,000 copies to individuals who wish to distribute further and we would also proceed with the appeal properly modified to go to lawyers and other groups. If we could get enough surplus income from some of the more productive lists we would like very much to move into the clergy lists where we cannot ask for or expect financial returns, except on quantity purchases. The enclosure would be a copy of the Platform for Americans, your talk and the Gerard letter, modified somewhat as enclosed. You probably can rewrite this letter better than we can. Our suggested form is attached hereto.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, Assistant Secretary.

Draft of suggested letter from Congressman Gwinn to Doctors:

MY DEAR DOCTOR: Do you and your fellow physicians and the American Medical Association appreciate the dangers of the authoritarian socialistic state? I think it very doubtful—despite all that is now known of the treatment of the profession by the trades-union Socialist government of Great Britain.

We don't go Communist or Socialist because of fanatical, frustrated people who talk all the time. We go Socialist because the Government, generally speaking, bribes bankers, businessmen, investors, doctors, and then votes them on election day for more of the same thing until at last there is no other source of money or employment except the Government.

The enclosed speech, Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad, is sent you by the courtesy of the Committee for Constitutional Government. It shows how easy the bloodless revolution is. The modern technique is not to shoot but to put everybody on a Socialist dole, which in the beginning looks rather attractive—as it does to the investors and partners in political housing. These individuals don't have to worry over losses. They can just sit tight and let the Government assume the responsibility and the taxpayers take the losses.

Let me make one other observation to you: The people vote the way they are organized to think. The Devil and his forces, driving by day and by night toward bureaucratic big government and collectivism, are always organized. They are generally on the public payrolls. The forces of freedom are unorganized, scattered, ineffective, out practicing medicine, or farming, or making things, thus serving their country as free men feel they should.

But if the forces for freedom don't organize, regardless of party, for educational work at the grass roots level, which is the election precinct, so as to have our true leadership working to preserve free enterprise, there is no possible way of resisting the continued encroachments of big and bigger government on individual freedom. For you, the price of freedom in medicine is active participation in educational work in your own circles for maintaining that freedom and defending it and, on occasion, fighting for it.

Sincerely yours,

P. S.—Please note plank 5 in the enclosed Platform for Americans, and Mr. Gerard's letter which offers several ways in which you can multiply and project your citizen's influence in this paramount issue of our time—collectivism or freedom.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 21, 1948.

MR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Re yours of January 16.

Naturally I would not think of raising any question that might in the least affect our chances for stopping the movement to socialize medicine. What I said in my letter to you was in the strictest of confidence and was merely intended to indicate some of the difficulties that might confront us.

In accordance with your suggestion, I am enclosing a draft of a letter that I should be glad to have you send to each Congressman with Dr. Ochsner's book. Now if this is in any respect not what you want, please do not hesitate to tell me and make any suggestions that you think might be helpful. Likely you know considerable more as to what ought to be said in a letter of this kind than I do.

Awaiting your further advice, I remain,

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK C. SMITH.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Copy of a letter to all Members of Congress

DEAR COLLEAGUE: The movement to socialize the practice of medicine presents to us, as Members of the National Legislature, an extraordinarily important

problem. Much has been written on this subject showing the fallacies and dangers inherent in the scheme. Dr. Edward H. Ochsner, in a work entitled "Social Security," has made the keenest and most penetrating analysis of this subject that has come to my attention.

Dr. Ochsner's background is such as to specially qualify him for this undertaking—many years of experience in healing the sick, connections with numerous hospitals, president of the Illinois State Charities Commission, etc. Most important, Dr. Ochsner studied in Germany where he had an opportunity to see first hand the workings of the *Krankenasse*, or in our term, "socialized medicine." My own experience as a student in the medical departments of the Universities of Frankfurt and Vienna completely substantiates all that Dr. Ochsner says about the *Krankenasse*.

After my 80 years' experience in the general practice of medicine I am convinced that the socialization of medicine in the United States in any degree would cause a deterioration in the art and science of healing. It would destroy, as I witnessed in Germany and Austria, the fine personal relationship that has always existed in this country between physician and patient and which, when all is said and done, is the soul of medical art. In this connection I must mention that my experience with socialized medicine in Germany and Austria, convinced me that the physicians in this country give much more personal attention to charity patients than do the physicians in those countries, which is most significant.

Fortunately, Dr. Ochsner is making this book available to each Member of Congress and I am most happy to have some part in aiding in its distribution. I earnestly hope you will find time to read it.

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK C. SMITH.

P. S. The book *Social Security* is being mailed to you under separate cover.

JANUARY 25, 1948.

Mr. MYLES ANDREWS,
Box 231 Beverly Hills, Calif.

DEAR MR. ANDREWS: It was a pleasure to meet you at the cocktail party at the Waldorf.

I am sending you herewith Dr. King's testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee and the suggestions booklet by Robert B. Dresser, one of our trustees, relating to upper-bracket taxation.

Under separate cover I am sending you Pettengill's three books—*Smoke Screen*, *For Americans Only*, and *Jefferson, the Forgotten Man*; also Norton's book on the Constitution and Scoville's book, *Labor Monopolies or Freedom*.

I have placed you on the list to receive the Pettengill News Letters on a complimentary basis for 12 months. These Pettengill letters are sent to all who contribute \$10 or more to the Committee for Constitutional Government, which sends out bulletins from time to time, copies of which you will receive.

When you get to New York again, and have a little leisure time on your hands, I am sure that Pettengill and others in our group would be delighted to have a chance to exchange viewpoint with you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

JANUARY 25, 1948.

JULE: Here is \$1, which Dr. Rumely wants you to use in placing the following name on the contributors' list: Mr. Myles Andrews, Box 231, Beverly Hills, Calif.

Dr. Rumely wants you to mark on the card that Mr. Andrews is manager of W. J. Sloane & Co.'s store in Beverly Hills.

Important: No receipt. Dr. Rumely also wants Mr. Andrews placed on the list to receive the Pettengill News Letters for a period of 12 months.

CATHERINE F. HICKEY.

JANUARY 25, 1948.

Shipping Department:

Please send to Mr. Myles Andrews, Box 231, Beverly Hills, Calif.:

1 Constitution book (wirebound).

1 Seoville book. "

1 For Americans Only.

1 Jefferson, The Forgotten Man.

1 Smoke Screen.

Labels attached.

CATHERINE F. HICKEY.

[Full-rate wire, charge: Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.]

JANUARY 20, 1948.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,

541 House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Yes; we want franked envelopes with speech on labor monopolies.

RUMELY.

(Handwritten note.)

Frederick C. Othman, in his column, Book of Wisdom, appearing on August 31, 1948, in World Telegram, said it cost \$73 a page to print Congressional Record.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 28, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have your letter enclosing a check for the 50,000 copies of my speech with subtitles.

Will you please let me know if you want franked envelopes sent with the speech on labor monopolies?

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

Mr. GUY WOODWARD,

Care of Hon. E. H. Moore,

220 United States Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

FEBRUARY 4, 1948,

DEAR MR. WOODWARD: Attached hereto three copies of the letter which we are sending to 158,000 members of the American Bar Association, with the folder, of which you have proof, carrying the Jester and Terrill statements. We are planning to immediately send copies of this to 40,000 or 50,000 additional key individuals.

We are stepping off in the hope that those reached will contribute enough to carry the costs. There is an opportunity, with a moderate underwriting, to do such an educational job as the country has not seen for a long time.

Notice how we have printed the tidelands bill on page 4, with the names of the Judiciary Committee.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,

28 Shore Road, Douglaston, N. Y., February 5, 1948.

Hon. FOREST A. HARNES,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HARNES: Hearty congratulations on your excellent article appearing in the December 1947 Reader's Digest, entitled "Our Most Dangerous

Lobby." You are doing a fine public service in exposing the nature of the backing behind the bills for "socialized medicine," for experience in foreign countries shows that when government takes over medical care the service rendered is bad, and the cost high. Doubtless, if we in the United States imitate these countries, our expenditures would, as you suggest, reach enormous totals.

As I see it, it is only fair that people in general, when they are well and occupied, should make provision for the care of themselves and their families when they are incapacitated by accident or sickness, but, in my opinion, the correct solution is not Government care or insurance, but, instead, insurance carried by private companies. Private concerns, if they are to survive, must devise effective measures to keep down malingering and must levy rates high enough to cover expenses. Competition prevents them from overcharging.

It seems to me that, in dealing with the problem of disability, we should use as a model the experience in certain States with automobile insurance. These States have made such insurance either compulsory or virtually so, but the automobile owner is allowed to pick his own insurance company. I have heard of no serious defects in this mode of handling the problem. Why not follow this pattern and compel employers to carry at least a minimum standard liability-insurance policy, the terms of which should be fixed by law? The employee should be compelled to show a paid-up receipt for such insurance or else have the employer deduct from wages due the premiums required. Since employers now have plenty of experience with withholding taxes, the plan ought not be difficult to initiate. Perhaps you will find this mode of attack worthy of consideration.

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING,
Economics Professor Emeritus.

FEBRUARY 11, 1948.

MR. C. WALTER SEIDEL,
222 West Adams Street, Chicago 6, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of February 3 addressed to Senator Hawkes requesting 30 copies of the enclosed has been referred to the committee, because it was under the auspices of this organization that Sir William Darling originally gave his remarkable talk on conditions in England. We have purchased copies of the Congressional Record carrying Sir William's address as introduced into the Record by Senator Hawkes, and we are sending to you, under separate cover, 30 copies without charge. Your original copy came to you from our purchase of 100,000 of the reprints.

Please observe that, while the reprints are in an envelope carrying Senator Hawke's frank, it is not permissible to remail them without affixing the required postage.

By direction of the committee:

G. EDW. HANCOCK,

C. WALTER SEIDEL,
222 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.; February 2, 1948.

HON. ALBERT W. HAWKES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAWKES: I certainly very greatly appreciate your sending me a transcript of the Monday, December 8, remarks made in the United States Senate which have been incorporated in the Congressional Record. I do not know whether or not it is feasible or possible, but, if it is, I certainly would like to get 25 or 30 additional copies of this transcript.

Thanking you very much in anticipation, and with all best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

C. WALTER SEIDEL.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

FEBRUARY 10, 1948.

HON. CHAN GURNEY,
Senate Banking and Currency Committee,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR GURNEY: In most of the world, robbery on a grand scale has been legalized—private property being confiscated by government or taken with merely nominal compensation. In addition, regimentation and restric-

tions of all kinds have paralyzed industry. The result is that practically the whole world is begging the United States for contributions to keep the peoples of the respective nations from starvation.

In the United States we too suffered from regimentation and unwarranted restrictions for more than a decade. Only recently have the American people been regaining their freedom. With the recovery of our liberties production has forged ahead at an amazing rate, and profits and wages are both at the highest levels ever known.

There still remains, however, one blot on this recovery picture, a blot which I hope you will see is promptly removed. That blot is the robbery by Government of an important class of our citizens, namely, those who happen to own real property which they lease to others. I refer, of course, to the laws limiting rents.

Ever since Colonial days, investing one's savings in real estate has been considered highly laudable. Our Nation was built on the foundation of the sanctity of private property. The Constitution specifically forbids the Government to take private property without due compensation. I know of no section of the Constitution which, except by stretching its terms beyond all reason, authorizes the Government to interfere in any way in legitimate contracts between landlords and tenants. Yet, at the present time, we find the Federal Government and many State governments telling landlords that they must not charge tenants more for the use of leased property than they charged in the days preceding World War II.

The papers are filled with complaints concerning the tremendous increase in the price level during the last 8 years. Careful investigation indicates that, on the average, prices have nearly doubled during this period. Yet, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the index of home rentals is now only 11 percent higher than in 1939. Everyone knows that the expense of keeping up housing facilities has increased by leaps and bounds. The result is a startling shrinkage in the net real income from leased real-estate. Clearly, what the law is doing is taking the property of landlords without due compensation, a process which, as I see it, is obviously unconstitutional. Moreover, by keeping rents at unduly low levels, tenants have been induced to occupy far more housing than they would have had rents been allowed to rise in proportion to other prices. Builders have scarcely dared to erect property intended for leasing to tenants. Therefore, a great housing shortage has developed and this has worked tremendous hardship on newly married veterans and others anxious to find homes. They have been compelled to purchase houses at boom prices, thus burdening themselves for years with mortgages far too heavy for their means. Unwarranted interference with freedom—ruthless robbery of law-abiding American investors in real property—has bought the usual reward for sin.

At present, your committee, I believe, is considering the Murray-Wagner rent-control bill, S. 2014. I trust that you will use your strongest endeavors to wipe from the statute books this unfair, unjust, discriminatory legislation and give back to the thrifty investors of America the right to obtain from their property the returns to which they are justly entitled and have so long been denied. I feel sure that, when you consider this matter carefully, you will be strongly in favor of a "square deal" for real-estate owners as well as for other classes of the population.

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman.*

(Same letter to Senator Harry P. Cain and Hon. Jesse P. Wolcott.)

FEBRUARY 13, 1948.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GWINN: We are getting out the Pettengill broadcast in the form attached hereto—a new form. You will note on page 4 we have surplus space. We intend this week to take quotations from your piece on the implications of Federal aid to and control of education.

Pettengill is speaking on this subject on Sunday. You may wish to hear him. Your release is going during the next days to 18,000 editors and about 10,000 of our top committee names.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

FEBRUARY 16, 1948.

Hon. SAMUEL K. McCONNELL, Jr.,
*House Committee on Education and Labor,
 House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. McCONNELL: I note that your committee is now conducting hearings on H. R. 3800, a bill to lift the minimum hourly wage rate from 40 to 60 cents per hour.

It goes without saying that those advocating the passage of this bill do so on the ground that it will benefit the ordinary workman. The truth is, however, that it will, under no circumstances, help him, while it may injure him greatly. As long as wages continue their upward trend, the injurious effects may be mild, but, if perchance the business cycle moves downward, the result might be to throw out of employment and pauperize hundreds of thousands of persons who would otherwise be able to earn honest livings and maintain their self-respect. The bill is, therefore, decidedly inimical to the interests of the working class. The effect of such legislation upon other classes of the population would all be adverse, but would be minor as compared to the effects upon the less efficient members of the laboring group.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of a brief on the subject which I submitted to your committee some time ago. I hope you will find the time to look it over carefully and will decide that the bill ought not to be reported out.

I remain,

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman.*

UNITED STATES SENATE,
 COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
February 16, 1948.

Mr. R. B. DRESSER,
15 Westminister Street, Providence 3, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: In reply to your letter of February 11, I doubt one can justify on principle the imposition of rent control when all other parts of our economy have been decontrolled. The theory of rent control was that in the transition from war to peace the supply of housing could not be increased as rapidly as other articles in short supply and, therefore, it was continued along. At the present time, it is obvious that the supply has not reached or even approximated the demand. However, to be frank the imposition of these controls upon one group can scarcely be justified unless a subsidy from the Public Treasury is paid.

It was attempted in the last rent control law to give to the local board the power to decontrol as rapidly as possible in accord with the conditions in each locality. It was thought that the local citizens would take some responsibility in trying to make the program more flexible and decontrol as rapidly as possible, but this has not worked very well.

I agree with you it is difficult on principle to justify this law just as it was difficult to justify many other things which resulted from the war all the way from the selection of certain men to go into battle to the awarding of contracts to certain businesses, at the same time the closing up of others. Personally, I hope we can be rid of it at the earliest opportunity.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT.

FEBRUARY 25, 1948.

Mr. GUY IRVING BURCH,
*Director Population Reference Bureau
 1507 M Street NW., Washington 5, D. C.*

DEAR MR. BURCH: I have your letter.

There is no need of sending the \$10 additional. The \$70 you have sent are satisfactory.

Can you distribute to advantage copies of our printed form? If so, let us know how many to send you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU,

1507 M Street NW., Washington 5, D. C., February 18, 1948.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. RUMELY: Enclosed you will find our check for \$70 to cover some 10,000 reprints of our population bulletin *Can America Support a Multiplying Europe?* which your organization will distribute to Members of Congress, newspapers, etc. We promised to supply you with the reprints, but as you suggest the work can be done easier if the material is to be mailed from New York.

Would you kindly send me a few sample copies.

Sincerely yours,

GUY IRVING BURCH, *Director.*

FEBRUARY 10, 1948.

Mr. GUY IRVING BURCH,
Population Reference Bureau,
1507 M Street NW., Washington 5, D. C.

DEAR Mr. BURCH: We have just entered final order for 60,000 copies of reprint of the bulletin, copy enclosed.

The cost of these is about \$8 per thousand. If agreeable to you, we shall be glad to have the \$80 in part payment of the costs.

We shall distribute these immediately to about 40,000 including all Members of Congress and to the press.

If you can use a few thousand, we shall be glad to furnish them as an offset toward your contribution.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU,

1507 M Street NW., Washington 5, D. C., January 27, 1948.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. RUMELY: Thank you for your letter of January 23 saying that if we supply you 5,000 reprints of the population bulletin *Can America Support A Multiplying Europe?* your committee will distribute them to editors, publishers and others.

We can have the reprints done here and sent to your office in National Press Building, Washington, D. C. (please give room number). This probably would be most convenient for you if the bulletins are to be sent out from Washington. However, if the bulletins are to be sent out from New York, it would be better to have reprints done in New York. You could get an estimate of the lithograph job (they would not have to be printed again) and send us the bill. This would save sending the 5,000 copies up to New York.

Sincerely,

GUY IRVING BURCH, *Director.*

P. S.—Have just talked with Mr. Dodge here. He thinks would be easier to do job in New York, as bulletin would be sent out from there. If your committee wishes to have Dr. King talk before Vandenberg committee, I am sure Bruce Barton could arrange this. He did for me. Vandenberg asked Barton to suggest names and Barton suggested my name. Surely he would also suggest Dr. King's name.

JANUARY 20, 1948.

Mr. GUY IRVING BURCH,
Director, Population Reference Bureau,
1507 M Street NW., Washington 5, D. C.

DEAR Mr. BURCH: Replying to your letter of January 2—I have heard that you are to appear before a congressional committee.

Would it not be possible to have the article on population, "Can America Support a Multiplying Europe?" inserted in the Record? The Pettengill column, based upon this, is enclosed herewith. If we could get the article inserted it

would go to thousands through the Record. It also might be reprinted at low cost and widely distributed.

Thanks for the suggestion about Mr. Gallaher.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Assistant Secretary.*

LAW OFFICES RICHMOND D. MOOT,
148 Barrett Street, Schenectady, N. Y., February 23, 1948.

Mr. SUMNER GERARD,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GERARD: I am enclosing copy of a letter written to Senator Moore about Senate bill 1088.

Very truly yours,

R. D. MOOT.

FEBRUARY 21, 1948.

Hon. E. H. MOORE,
Senate Judiciary Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MOORE: My attention has been called to Senate bill 1088 which I understand you introduced to restore to the States the lands and natural resources which the Supreme Court tried to take from them in its Tidelands decision. Splendid. In my opinion, the Court's decision is unconscionable, but it puts a cloud on the clear title of the States and is capable of doing serious mischief.

Section 3 of article IV of the Constitution gives to Congress the express power to dispose of territory or other property of the United States, and if any right, title, or interest, or any color of title or authority has been acquired as a result of the Tidelands decision, it is incumbent upon the Congress immediately to clear the title of the States by releasing and relinquishing to them all rights, titles, and interests and all claims of authority which have been or may be asserted by reason of the Tidelands decision.

I congratulate you on having introduced the bill, and hope you and your colleagues will do everything you can to secure the passage of the bill at this session of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

R. D. MOOT.

ELIZABETH ARDEN,
601 Fifth Avenue, New York, February 12, 1948.

Hon. ALBERT W. HAWKES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Miss Arden found very interesting your remarks on conditions in England in the Congressional Record, and would like to have a dozen additional copies.

Would you be good enough to send them to Miss Arden at the above address?

Sincerely yours,

LILLIAN TUSAGA, *Secretary.*

FEBRUARY 24, 1948.

Miss ELIZABETH ARDEN,
601 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MISS ARDEN: We are sending you herewith a dozen copies of Conditions in England. It was this committee which arranged the meeting for Sir William Darling and purchased the copies of the original article sent out in the first distribution.

You may be interested in one of the issues on which the committee is working at the present time—taxation. Please note Octopus on the Potomac, Suggestions, by one of our trustees, Robert Dresser, and Dr. King's testimony of the danger of overtaxation of the upper brackets, the House Ways and Means Committee—all enclosed herewith.

This committee gets out much informative literature. All who contribute at least \$10 receive a Pettengill news letter every 2 weeks and other bulletins.

We are sending you, with the compliments of the committee, three books—Labor Monopolies, Thomas J. Norton's book, the Constitution of the United States, and For American Only. One of our projects is the widest possible distribution of the Norton book through colleges to students at that period in their lives when it can mean most to them. These gifts to the Sumner Gerard, agent account, are deductible.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1948.

MR. ROBERT B. DRESSER,
15 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: I have your letter of February 8 in opposition to rent control. Whenever the opportunity has presented itself, I have opposed this legislation, since the close of the "shooting" war.

Very truly yours,

JAMES I. DOLLIVER.

FEBRUARY 26, 1948.

HENRY B. BASS, Esq.,
Bass Building, Enid, Okla.

DEAR HENRY BASS: Yes, I am the very same Sumner Gerard who fought with you as a fellow soldier boy in the Ninth Training Battery in the great battle of Camp Zachary Taylor.

This answers the inquiry in your recent letter to my colleague Dr. Edward A. Rumely. Evidently you are one of the supporters of the Committee for Constitutional Government. Unlike most of those groups that flourish for a while like the Green Bay Tree and then fade out of sight, our committee has been functioning for over 10 years and we have many scalps in our belt. Twice have we been before congressional investigating committees who sought to learn how it is we manage to survive. We even licked them there and refused to give them the names of our supporters. We thought there was a constitutional question involved.

If ever I get to Oklahoma or if ever you come to New York let us have a reunion and recount old times insofar as we can remember them.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irving-on-Hudson, N. Y., March 1, 1948,

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Prof. F. A. Hayek, of the London School of Economics, author of the Road to Serfdom, and distinguished liberal, will be our guest here in Irvington, Friday, March 26.

This is to invite your presence on what promises to be an interesting and informative occasion.

Our guests will arrive at 6 p. m. Following a buffet supper we shall adjourn to the board room for some off-the-record remarks by our friend from England.

If your answer is, as I hope, affirmative, please add whether you will drive or take the train. It leaves Grand Central at 5:03, arrives in Irvington at 5:40.

Cordially,

LEONARD E. READ, President.

MARCH 2, 1948.

Mr. LEONARD E. READ,

*The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. READ: It will be a great pleasure to attend the meeting at Irvington on March 26. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

P. S.—I am planning to take the train.

E. A. R.

H. J. BROWN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,

11 Chapin Street, Brattleboro, Vt., March 4, 1947.

Hon. _____,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: If you value your supposedly vested right in your own private property and understand the full import of the decision in the Tidelands decision in the case of the United States against California, you will not consider wasted the time necessary to read and digest the text of the enclosed literature.

And if you are able to examine that United States Supreme Court decision in the light of its conceivable application to possible future developments, you will see how appallingly apparent it is that the theory of the Tidelands decision could be made the basis for Federal usurpation of not only State, but private property as well, if only a "paramount need" of the Government is sufficient to justify the Federal Government in pursuing rights avowedly "transcending those of a mere property owner" and confiscating property without compensation to its owner.

I urge you to lend your utmost support to enactment of Senate bill 1988 to preserve the protection guaranteed by article V of our Bill of Rights, that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor have private property taken for public use, without just compensation.

Very truly yours,

B. J. BROWN.

(Form of letter sent to Congressmen and Senators from Vermont, and Wiley, Langer, Cooper, Revercomb, McCarran, Magnuson, Fulbright, Eastland, and McGrath of the Senate Judiciary Committee, with Jester-Terrill statement enclosed.)

This is sent to you in response to your circular letter of February 1948.

PETTENGILL—"THE GENTLEMAN FROM INDIANA"—INSIDE YOUR CONGRESS

SYNDICATED BY AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 17, N. Y.,

March 8, 1948.

Memorandum to Dr. E. A. Rumely, from S. B. Pettengill.

Subject: Gene McDonald's quotation from Baxter's Bulletin.

As I figure it, we are paying close to \$10,000,000,000 for armed defense, and \$6,000,000,000 for Marshall plan; and on the debt \$5,000,000,000. This is a total of \$21,000,000,000.

This amount distributed among the 140,000,000 of our population on a per capita basis is \$150.

The average family is round 4 in round figures.

Four times 150 is \$600. I'd say the figures are not far off, and easily enough substantiated on this basis.

Items:

\$5,000,000,000 debt services, \$10,000,000,000 armed defense, \$6,000,000,000 Marshall plan, total \$21,000,000,000; \$21,000,000,000 divided by 140,000,000 equals \$150; 150 times 4 equals 600, i. e., \$600.

MARCH 12, 1948.

Mr. P. E. GANNETT,
Times Union Building,
Rochester, 4, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GANNETT: Senator Millikin made an interesting talk before the Economic Club of New York, revealing to the extent to which the committee's educational effort, on the danger of overtaxation, has penetrated.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MARCH 12, 1948.

Mr. GUY WOODWARD,
Care of Hon. E. H. Moore,
229 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WOODWARD: This went to all Members of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

LAREDO, TEX.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: The tidelands decision of the Supreme Court has raised such a storm of protest among lawyers of standing as is unparalleled in my memory.

The ruling, of course, is simple expropriation, a euphemism for rape by force majeure, which calls for prompt and decisive action by the Congress to repair this particular wrong. No Member who honors his oath will fail to make passage of Senate bill 1988 a first consideration.

But passage of this bill, vitally necessary as it is, will do no more than treat a symptom. It will not touch the disease. This decision is only the most obvious of a series of judicial encroachments on the domain of the States, not to mention the Bill of Rights. Its nullification alone will have no effect on the flood of rulings that is eroding the bulwarks set up by our Constitution to protect the rights of the sovereign States and of individuals. Adding insult to injury is the "reasoning" by which the Court, with tongue in cheek, rationalizes its holding. One must go back to Swift's Tale of a Tub to find the fellow to such reasoning. Such reasoning makes an honest judge or lawyer gag. Such reasoning can make the commerce clause, the general welfare clause, and now "paramount rights for national defense," and God knows what to come, warrant Federal agencies in doing anything with anything to anyone anywhere within the national boundaries.

Is the Congress so helpless that it can do nothing to get the Court back on the track, stop its legislation by judicial fiat, repeal some of its screw-ball amendments to the Constitution, and generally behave like a body of lawyers, and not like a gathering of Colney Hatch philosophers?

One the price of the Nation's bar, the Supreme Court in its present membership is now our shame.

Of course, the first duty is to restore to the States the property of which this tidelands opinion would rob them, but when accomplished, this will leave the greater, graver danger still to be faced.

Yours sincerely,

GORDON GIBSON.

MEMORANDUM

MARCH 13, 1948.

To: Dr. Edward A. Rumely.
 From: Leonard E. Read.

Because Henry Weaver's Mainspring is a book which should be read by everyone who can read, from student to college dean, from gateman to corporation president, and because little can be accomplished to this end except as a desire to read it is instilled, we have produced the enclosed sampling.

Here are the points at which we have aimed:

1. Brevity in reading time (4 minutes).
2. Typographical attractiveness.
3. Convenience for pocketing.
4. Priced for large purchase and distribution.

5. Idea value in itself.

6. Creative of a desire for a book high in idea values.

How can I tell? Is our attempt to answer a question which perplexes nearly everyone who wishes to invest in efforts on behalf of the voluntary society and the free market.

I wish you would read this and give me the benefit of your thoughts, unless, of course, you are in complete agreement with what is written and the way it is expressed.

MARCH 17, 1948.

Hon. C. K. FLETCHER,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FLETCHER: It is fine to know that we have in Congress men like yourself who not only understand economic principles and appreciate square dealing, but who are also fearless enough to stand up for what they know to be right, regardless of the fact that it may cost them votes among their unthinking and unscrupulous constituents. I refer to your action in the House committee in connection with the bill to continue rent controls.

We hope that you will continue to fight for freedom in America.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLFORD I. KING.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, March 17, 1948.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. NIXON: It is refreshing to note that, as a Member of Congress, you are not afraid to face realities. It certainly is important to bring Russia to time now. Ever since the close of hostilities, she has delayed action by interminable arguments over matters of no consequence, her only purpose being to prevent a crisis before she completes an adequate supply of atomic bombs. Her obvious purpose is, by a surprise attack, to render the United States impotent and force us to submit to her terms.

I hope that you will urge upon your fellow Members in Congress the necessity of compelling Russia to choose at once between the Baruch plan and war. My guess is that she would choose the former, and that world peace might thereby be assured. If she preferred war, our planes and atomic bombs ought to be able to bring her to time, without involving us in heavy losses.

Again congratulating you on your action, I remain

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING,

Economics Professor Emeritus.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
March 18, 1948.

Hon. SUMNER GERARD,

*Treasurer, Committee for Constitutional Government,
National Press Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. GERARD: This is to thank you for your kindness in offering me the usage of your literature for replies to the letters I receive on the Marshall plan. At the present time I have no need for them, but should the occasion arise that I do, I shall certainly take advantage of your kind offer.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

WM. LANGER.

MARCH 18, 1948.

Mr. GUY WOODWARD,

*Care of Hon. F. H. Moore,
229 United States Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. WOODWARD: The attached copy of letter from Don Mahone Harlan may be of particular interest. I would like to have your comment on the point

that Mr. Harlan makes. We could easily induce him to send the letter to all Members of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

GENERAL MILLS, INC.
400 SECOND AVENUE SOUTH,
Minneapolis 1, Minn., March 19, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: This is the first opportunity I have had to acknowledge your letter of March 8, which was in answer to my letter of March 3.

I understand from your letter that you rather believe my statement on the value and importance of grain commodity exchanges which was printed in the Washington Post on January 11 might not have so much news value now. Therefore, we will let the matter drop about the possibility of sending it to the lists of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

In your letter you said it would be highly important if some Member of Congress would introduce it into the Congressional Record and distribution made under frank. Senator Joe Ball of Minnesota did introduce it into the Congressional Record. I believe it was distributed under frank to certain lists of people. Various grain concerns have published it in pamphlet form.

Thank you for your letter.

Sincerely,

HARRY A. BULLIS,

MARCH 8, 1948.

MR. HARRY A. BULLIS,
Chairman of the Board, General Mills, Inc.,
400 Second Avenue South, Minneapolis 1, Minn.

DEAR MR. BULLIS: I have your letter of March 3.

I notice that your statement was printed January 11. At that time public interest was focused on the exchanges. Had it been sent out then with a release line "To all editors for immediate release," it would have educated editors across the country. Such distribution might have included not only the editors and publishers of all daily newspapers, but the editors of periodical publications, religious, labor, agricultural, business, the 10,000 editors of weeklies, and Washington correspondents, columnists and commentators.

We have all these lists on plates and can run them quickly should the occasion come again, at a nominal cost charge.

It is somewhat late for such an undertaking but probably not too late. The fact that you are not a broker but speak as a representative of large grain consuming interests greatly enhances the value of your testimony.

If you care to have him, Dr. King probably could write a few introductory words for this distribution, which need not cost more than 4 cents per name reached.

In view of the long range importance of better understanding of the functioning of grain exchanges, it should be worth while.

If some Member of Congress could be found who would introduce it into the Congressional Record and distribution made under frank, it would be highly important to reach certain lists. For example, we have one comprising all the leaders of the various farm organizations and cooperatives on national, State and local levels—about 40,000. If reprinted from the Record, without envelopes, this would cost probably one-third cent a copy. If made available to commodity brokerage houses, they should be able to distribute to customers in the shape of a small folder.

Do you happen to know a Congressman or Senator likely to be interested in the viewpoint you present? If not, and if you think this should be introduced into the Record, we may be able to find one interested.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

GENERAL MILLS, INC.,
400 SECOND AVENUE SOUTH,
Minneapolis 1, Minn., March 3, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Manager Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have a letter dated February 25 from my good friend and former professor, Dr. Willford I. King, suggesting that my article Grain Trading Cuts Your Bread Bill, which appeared in the January 11 issue of Washington Post, might be distributed to some of the lists of editors and publishers, lawyers, etc., which can be obtained from the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Dr. King suggested that I take this matter up directly with you. If this article regarding the value and importance of grain commodity markets should be sent to one or more of your selected lists, what is the procedure involved and what will the expense be to me?

Sincerely,

HARRY A. BULLIS.

MARCH 23, 1948,
Dictated MARCH 22, 1948.

MR. HARRY A. BULLIS,
Chairman of the Board, General Mills, Inc.,
400 Second Avenue South, Minneapolis 1, Minn.

DEAR MR. BULLIS: I have before me your letter of March 10.

My statement was, "It is somewhat late for such an undertaking but probably not too late."

I attach hereto ad from the Wall Street Journal of today of F. H. Peavey & Co. I am convinced that if your statement is already in the Record it would be highly desirable to distribute it to the 40,000 leaders of farm organizations under Senator Ball's frank, particularly as Senator Ball has recently made statements on agriculture that should win him the confidence of farm leaders.

I should also, without fail, include all editors, including the 10,000 editors of weekly newspapers.

If the reprint costs \$4 per thousand, and addressing and handling \$6 per thousand, the total cost would be 1 cent per copy for about 60,000, including a few secondary lists, or \$600, an expenditure worth while from the standpoint of General Mills, Inc.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

[Copy for Dr. W. I. King]

MARCH 10, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: This is the first opportunity I have had to acknowledge your letter of March 8, which was in answer to my letter of March 3.

I understand from your letter that you rather believe my statement on the value and importance of grain commodity exchanges which was printed in the Washington Post on January 11, might not have so much news value now. Therefore, we will let the matter drop about the possibility of sending it to the lists of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

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Thank you for your letter.

Sincerely,

HARRY A. BULLIS.

MARCH 22, 1948.

Mr. SUMNER GERARD,
54 West Fifty-third Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SUMNER: Daniel A. Reed, New York Congressman, introduced Mr. Gannett's letter on the Marshall plan, and the committee's open letter to Congress, into the Congressional Record, March 11, pages A-1596 and A-1597.

We are now able on a two-sided sheet, at one-third cent a copy, to distribute this widely.

In his introduction, Congressman Reed says:

"Mr. Speaker, under a unanimous-consent request, I am inserting a very important letter in the Record, written by Frank E. Gannett, president of the Gannett newspapers, with reference not only to his views relating to the Marshall plan and other phases of foreign relief, but also the results of a survey made by the Committee for Constitutional Government.

"I have great confidence in the views of Mr. Frank Gannett, because I have known him for the past half century. He has had a world-wide experience as an observer of conditions; therefore, his views on foreign relations are of the greatest importance.

"It is evident as the sunlight of truth is turned into the dark and devious scheme known as the Marshall plan that it will be resisted by every patriotic person in the country."

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

ROY H. BULLACK, LAWYER,
Jones Building, Seattle, Wash., March 25, 1948.

Hon. WARREN C. MAGNUSON,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR WARREN: Predicated upon professional and respected ties of friendship and mutual political relations for more than 20 years last past, and personally conversant with your policy of fairness, I am of the opinion that you will concur that the decision recently made by our Supreme Court in the Tideland decision (*U. S. v. California*) merits criticism, constructive or otherwise, and will prompt you to vote for and support Senate bill 1988, and thereby reinstate constitutional rights that have been recognized by our Government for 171 years, a matter of judicial record.

Broad interruption of opinion in question evidences no limitation of Government's right to all valuable resources, regardless of kind or where situate.

To remove existing jeopardy will require an act by the Congress to nullify said Supreme Court decision, and thereby obtain for the States a restatement of the fundamental law of our land and restrict the power of confiscation without compensation, which is contrary to constitutional protection.

I hold no brief that, in time of war, Government should have the power to obtain property to protect our security, provided the owner is reimbursed; otherwise, local self-government cannot survive.

Congress must determine whether antithesis of capitalism and free enterprise can harmoniously exist one with the other. Satisfied in that respect, let it remove any possible cause for totalitarianism.

Concentration of national powers and resources stiped in Federal bureaucracy can only spell failure, stagnation, and disaster. Abolish the right of private property and you breed communism or its offspring: totalitarianism.

With very sincere regard, I am

Respectfully,

ROY H. BULLACK.

MARCH 30, 1948.

Mr. ROY H. BULLACK,
Attorney at Law,
508 Jones Building, 1331 Third Avenue,
Seattle, Wash.

DEAR MR. BULLACK: Thanks greatly for letting us see a copy of your incisive letter of March 25 to Senator Warren G. Magnuson.

It would be worth your effort to send a copy of this to every Member of the Senate. You might mimeograph the letter on a single page and have your secretary just write a brief note reading:

"Herewith copy of a letter that I have written to the Honorable Warren G. Magnuson, with reference to the tidelands bill 1988. It carries a viewpoint that I, as a lawyer, with no financial interest in the outcome, believes basically important."

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
March 27, 1948.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Let me thank you for making and distributing copies of my talk before the Economic Club. I am a strange fellow in that I do not put any of my own stuff into the Record and do not request any other Senator to do it for me.

You, of course, are at liberty, without mentioning me in the matter, to request any member of the New York delegation to ask that the speech be put into the Appendix of the Record.

The Economic Club meeting was a very enjoyable one and, needless to say, I am glad that you liked my talk.

With very best regards, I am

Sincerely,

EUGENE D. MILLIKIN.

Hon. EUGENE MILLIKIN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MARCH 12, 1948.

DEAR SENATOR MILLIKIN: Your address "Taxes and Government Spending" was so excellent that, at Dr. King's suggestion, we prepared a copy and have reproduced it in the form attached hereto. Should you have use for additional copies, we shall be glad to run them off.

Will this be introduced into the Congressional Record for distribution as a franked release? It should make interesting reading, and our committee would put out 10,000 or more copies to newspaper editors and publishers and to other opinion moulders.

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 20, 1948.

Dr. WILLFORD J. KING,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. KING: Too often are Congressmen targets for abuses of one sort or another, which made it doubly pleasant to receive your very nice letter of March 17.

You may be assured that I shall continue to fight rent control with every weapon I can command, and it is good to know that I have the approval of your fine committee.

Kindest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

CHARLES K. FLETCHER, M. C.

MARCH 31, 1948.

Mr. KEETON ARNETT,
*Oil Industry Information Committee,
 670 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. ARNETT: Supplementing my talk with you, while the Pettengill piece, *Facts About Fuel Oil and Gasoline Shortage*, has had wide distribution to several hundred thousand, it should go, like the piece, *What Henry Ford Taught America*, to two millions of circulation to really cover the country effectively.

On reprintings, we could omit the datemark if desired, although the issue that it deals with is likely to remain acute into the summer.

Of course, the simplest and most effective distribution would be for the manager of a gas-filling station to pass out copies to passenger cars and trucks that drive up for service. It would then be placed in the hands of the consuming public most in need of factual information and education. Particularly valuable would be the placement with purchasers of fuel oil for home heating.

America's Future's experience shows that, when such primary distribution is carried through, many thousands write in for free copies and many hundreds bulk quantities for further distribution, thus greatly widening the impact and enlisting action by those reached, who have enough interest on their own to extend the distribution.

As suggested, I will telephone you on Friday morning for your decision.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES JAY FRADKIN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 Washington, D. C., April 1, 1948.

SUMNER GERARD,
*Treasurer, Committee for Constitutional Government,
 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. GERARD: I received Mr. Rumely's telephone message about the speeches last evening, and sent a letter of authorization, together with the check for \$105, to the Congressional Record clerk immediately.

The clerk called me this morning to say that only 28,000 copies could be furnished in pamphlet form. Knowing you would prefer the larger amount, I took the liberty of ordering the article on Record page form, and then prevailed upon the superintendent of the folding room to agree to fold and insert them in the smaller envelope. It will be a few days before the copies reach the folding room, but you ought to receive them by the middle of next week.

Yours sincerely,

DANIEL A. REED.

APRIL 2, 1948.

HON. DANIEL A. REED,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN REED: Thanks greatly for your effort in connection with the reprint.

We are sorry that the quantity was changed. We discussed 100,000 with Mr. Dodge but had not finally made decision.

With the legislation finally approved, the educational effort no longer has no immediate purpose. However, we feel that those who read the material introduced, with your excellent statement, may watch operations more thoughtfully than would otherwise be the case.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, *Treasurer.*

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
COUNCIL ON MEDICAL EDUCATION AND HOSPITALS
535 NORTH DEARBORN STREET, CHICAGO 10

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
April 2, 1948.

MR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Assistant Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Doctor Fishbein has referred to me your letter of March 22. I am very much interested in the study that Doctor King has made of the effect of our present tax structure upon the financial support of colleges and universities. I would appreciate very much receiving 10 copies each of statement that Dr. King presented last June to the House Ways and Means Committee, the booklet *Income Tax Rates and Revenues*, and the address by Senator Eugene D. Millikin.

Our council has recently appointed a subcommittee to study the problem of the financial support of medical education, and I think it very likely that this committee will be very much interested in your suggestion that they meet with Dr. King to learn more details about the studies which he has made.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD G. ANDERSON, M. D.,
Secretary.

APRIL 6, 1948.

DR. DONALD G. ANDERSON,
*Secretary, Council on Medical Education and Hospitals,
American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street,
Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR DR. ANDERSON: As requested in your letter of April 2, we are sending you, under separate cover, 10 copies of Dr. King's statement before the House Ways and Means Committee, 10 copies of the booklet *Income Tax Rates and Revenues*, 10 copies of *Raising the Workingman's Scale of Living*, in which Dr. King gives mathematical proof that overtaxation of the upper brackets kills the capital flow, and thus cuts off the most important factor in high production. He stated this thesis in a somewhat different way in *What Raises Wages*, and we are including 10 copies of this.

In 1940, Carl Snyder published *Capitalism, the Creator*, of which we made a condensation and distributed more than one-half million copies. We are including 10 copies of this.

When the arbitrary ceiling of \$25,000 was placed upon any man's earnings, by Executive order in 1943, our committee, on assurance that it would be knocked out in Congress if the public spoke up, put on a most effective campaign. In this campaign, we secured the statements of several presidents of smaller colleges and of Mrs. Vanderlip and others interested in the Women's Hospital in New York, all tending to show that most of the financial support that built and sustained these institutions came from upper-bracket sources.

The facts are wholly with those who point out the folly, from the standpoint of public interest, and from the standpoint of the Government, and from the standpoint of lower-income receivers, of overtaxing upper brackets.

But the educational job still needs to be done. It must not be done by any one group but must be carried through as a concerted effort simultaneously on many fronts as to embed the knowledge generally in the consciousness of thoughtful leaders who mold public opinion. There are a million such individuals, including the entire medical profession, who must be reached and given the information so that they can exert their influence.

Dr. King is at present on a speaking tour and will be in Canton, Ohio, on the 16th or 17th of this month. He could, of course, make a trip to Chicago, for discussion with your group, at any mutually convenient date.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

APRIL 6, 1948.

SHIPPING DEPARTMENT: Please send to Dr. Donald G. Anderson, secretary, Council on Medical Education and Hospitals, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; 10, Dr. King's testimony before House Ways and Means Committee; 10, Dr. King's Income—Tax Rates and Revenue; 10, Dr. King's Raising the Workingman's Scale of Living; 10, Dr. King's What Raises Wages; 10, Capitalism, the Creator.

Label attached.

CATHERINE F. HICKEY.

APRIL 9, 1948.

Mr. GUY WOODWARD,
229 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WOODWARD: Herewith copy of letter to Ralph Gwinn.

In case Congressman Gwinn, who has inserted many pieces in the Record recently, feels that someone else should do this job, Homer Dodge will phone you to see whether the Senator would be willing. You need do nothing until you hear from Dodge.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

APRIL 10, 1948.

Mr. EARL HARDING,
Remington Rand Co.,
315 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR EARL: Here is the Pettengill first draft of the broadcast.

He is in South Bend today but is due back tomorrow.

I enclose Needed Now, which has a section on a strong Congress, and a copy of the Paul Revere blank.

I have not read the broadcast as yet. Please give me a call after you have had a chance to look at it.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MAY 7, 1948.

E. A. R.: Here is an indication of what to expect from the master minds of the G. O. P. They imagine that they can win some labor votes by pussyfooting on the Taft-Hartley Act. The following resulted from a few days spent in Washington:

Republican Congressmen are increasingly worried over the political consequences of the Taft-Hartley law. It defeated some of the sitting Republican Congressmen in recent primaries.

Therefore the party leadership wants literature for distribution in industrial districts which will not have the stigma of the employer nor the bias of the Republican Party.

In short, it appears that some of the labor bosses have again convinced the party leaders that they can profitably follow in the footsteps of Dewey in 1944. So the Republican-sponsored Taft-Hartley Act will be repudiated, where expedient. Led by the like of Ives, promises will be made to soften the law to suit the unionneers. And, before the campaign is over, voters will have reason to wonder whether the G. O. P. nominee or Mr. Truman is the greater enemy of Wall Street and the greater friend of labor.

* * * * *

APRIL 18, 1948.

Mr. EARL HARDING,
31 West Twelfth Street,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR EARL: Here is a copy of the ad "Needed, 100,000 Paul Reveres." It pulled fairly well.

I also enclose a copy of the previous ads. It may be that they had a stronger appeal.

Also, we should get into the ad the idea of sending strong men to Congress. What suggestions have you for changing the copy. I wish to reset this ad in order to make it more attractive. Then, we will put in into mat form for use across the country.

The Wall Street Journal ad paid out.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

7141 SOUTH JEFFERY BOULEVARD,
Chicago, Ill., April 21, 1948.

Mr. HARVEY C. FRUEHAUF,
Care of Fruehauf Trailer Co.,
Detroit, Mich.

DEAR MR. FRUEHAUF: I received a copy of your letter evidently sent to the mailing list of the Committee for Constitutional Government, of which you are a trustee. I have contributed to that organization and over the past several years have bought and distributed some of its literature.

Recently, when the Marshall plan, or ERC, was enacted by Congress, I wrote to Mr. Gerard suggesting that an organization like the Committee for Constitutional Government ought to file an injunction suit to stop the appropriation of any funds under the ERC, because it is unconstitutional to appropriate any United States moneys to foreign governments.

Mr. Sumner wrote and told me of the objections against such a move, as put to him by "competent lawyers." The last letter from Mr. Sumner lists the reasons given by "an able legal adviser of the committee, who knows the way around Washington thoroughly" against such a move.

Imagine my surprise therefore, to find a little outfit right here in my back yard in Chicago, which has had the guts to do the very thing I suggested. The enclosed letter from Taxpayers, Inc., explains itself.

Incidentally, I wrote to the National Economic League, and the Foundation for Economic Education along same lines as to the Committee for Constitutional Government and received similar academic letters telling why the action suggested could not be done.

Frankly, I'm fed up with literature, talk, and propaganda, all of which is going to the same mailing lists made up of people with incomes over the average, who send the literature around the same circle and accomplish little or nothing.

As a businessman, I think the situation calls for action and I am inclined to think you feel the same way.

In Taxpayers, Inc., we have an outfit that has demonstrated that it is for action, and personally, I am going to support such organizations hereafter instead of the three already named. If you are interested, any contribution you care to give will be gratefully received and will bring more real results through prosecution of the suit already started.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. LEARY.

TAX PAYERS INC.,
111 West Monroe Street, Chicago 3, Ill., April 10, 1948.

FELLOW TAXPAYER: You now have concrete evidence of your organization's determination to do everything possible to stop the flow of our hard-earned tax money into the seething cauldron of European political graft and corruption.

On April 6, 1948, Tax Payers Inc., through its counsel in Washington, filed an injunction to prohibit the expenditure of any money appropriated under the Marshall plan.

Since Tax Payers Inc. is not a taxpayer, the bill was filed in the name of its managing director.

This is the opening gun in our campaign to stop for once and for all the levying of taxes on American citizens for the support of foreign governments.

From one small advertisement containing the petition to which you attached your name, Tax Payers Inc. received thousands of letters and signatures from all over the United States which encouraged a group of sponsoring small-business men to contribute the substantial sum of money required to launch the organization and finance the opening moves of the impending legal battle.

The initial contributions were freely given. However, all of us will benefit in direct proportion in the results obtained. Therefore, is it any more than fair that each should contribute his small proportion of the cost of this fight.

Not only must the injunction fight be carried to its conclusion, but your organization must be put on a national coast-to-coast basis in order to assemble the power of overwhelming numbers behind our aims.

Tax Payers Inc. is a nonprofit organization. Every cent of every donation will be used for the purposes stated. Your support is urgently needed now. Please consider your contribution an investment in protection from un'earable exploitation and send what you can afford in the enclosed envelope, with your name and address on the enclosed card, today.

Sincerely,

TAX PAYERS INC.,
FRANK C. BUTTERFIELD,
Managing Director.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,
28 Shore Road, Douglaston, N. Y., April 23, 1948.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. NIXON: Please accept my hearty congratulations in connection with Concurrent Resolutions 158 and 170, which you introduced in the House of Representatives on March 11 and March 16, respectively. I hope that both of these resolutions will be adopted at an early date. We certainly need action if we are to safeguard ourselves to any reasonable extent.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLFORD I. KING,
Economics Professor Emeritus.

MAY 4, 1948.

Mr. E. B. GALLAHER,
General Distributor, Clover Manufacturing Co.,
Norwalk, Conn.

DEAR MR. GALLAHER: Thank you for your letter of April 21. Have been out of the city and this is the first chance I've had to acknowledge it.

I am familiar with the monthly letter you write for the American Ordnance Association, which we joined not long ago, and think you do an excellent job.

I am pleased to know of your close association with Drs. King and Rumely and wish you every success with the good work you are doing.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

H. C. FRUEHAUF,
President, Fruehauf Trailer Co.

CLOVER MANUFACTURING CO.,
E. B. GALLAHER, GENERAL DISTRIBUTOR,
Norwalk, Conn., April 21, 1948.

Mr. HARVEY C. FRUEHAUF,
Fruehauf Trailer Co.,
Detroit 32, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. FRUEHAUF: I thank you for your letter of April 14.

I agree with you in all you say and I realize the grave danger that confronts us in 1948.

I do not know whether you are aware of the fact that I write a rather more comprehensive monthly letter for the American Ordnance Association. This letter has a very wide circulation and goes to the top executives representing about 85 percent of our industrial strength.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing my March and April AOA letters and hope that you will find time to read them, as they deal broadly with this subject.

I am also enclosing a copy of a special business letter which I get out each

month for my company. This April letter is quite strong, but has apparently met with general approval, if we can judge by the great number of requests we have received for additional copies, to be mailed out by our readers.

You enclose some circular matter from the Committee for Constitutional Government, and I am sure that you will be interested to know that I am working very closely with Dr. King and Dr. Rumely. As a matter of fact, I had their whole board to lunch with me at the Union League Club in New York a couple of weeks ago.

I agree with you fully that each one of us should do all we possibly can while we still have a chance to change this evident trend to a socialized state here in America.

Sincerely yours,

E. B. GALLAHAN.

MAY 4, 1948.

MR. THOMAS J. LEARY,

7141 South Jeffery Boulevard, Chicago 49, Ill.

DEAR MR. LEARY: Thank you for your letter of April 21.

I am glad you have helped the Committee for Constitutional Government as much as you have because I am convinced it is doing not only good work but very necessary work.

I am sorry, however, that its reaction to your suggestion regarding the Marshall plan has lost it your continued support.

While your suggestion may have had every merit—and while the CCG may have been wrong in not following it—I feel that this committee has been right so much of the time that it is hardly fair to condemn it for one mistake, if a mistake it was.

I call your attention to the fact that the committee has distributed that little pamphlet by John Scoville (the one on the coal strike that you got with my letter) not only to some 15,000 presidents of corporations, but to 4,000 editors, to all Members of Congress, and to its vast radio audience through incorporating it into a recent Pettengill broadcast. Senator Moore is introducing it, or has already, into the Congressional Record. It was included in 120,000 folders that the CCG mailed out last week.

In other word, please don't overlook the fact that the committee is doing some mighty worth while work—and doing it very inexpensively. I think it gets more results out of a dollar than many such organizations. I knew it can do still more with more money—so some day soon I hope you'll get back on its list of contributors.

Sincerely,

H. C. FRUEHAUF,
President, Fruehauf Trailer Co.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY,
May 5, 1948.

MR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

210 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I have your letter of May 4 and thank you for forwarding 100 copies of the Pettengill broadcast on Government by Propaganda, which contains a reprint of a statement which I made in the Senate.

I appreciate very much your taking notice of my statement, and I am sure you will be interested to know that several Senators as well as several Members of the House have called my attention to the copy of the Pettengill broadcast.

I shall communicate with you later regarding a larger number of copies of this broadcast for distribution.

Yours sincerely,

B. B. HICKENLOOPER.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

28 SHORE ROAD,
Douglaston, N. Y., May 11, 1948.

Hon. JOSEPH P. O'HARA,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. O'HARA: I am much pleased to learn from the Congressional Record that you recognize the imperative necessity of having sound money if we are to maintain national prosperity. As you point out, nations that have debauched their currency have paid terrific penalties for this action. It certainly is to be hoped that, in the future, our own Nation will have a record much superior to that furnished by its past history.

As you are, doubtless, well aware, the establishment of a sound currency having stable value is not something which can be actually attained by any haphazard method. I have devoted serious thought to this problem for something like 40 years. In chapters IV, IX, X, XI, XIV, and XVIII, of my new book, *The Keys to Prosperity*, I discuss this question in some detail and describe what I believe to be the simplest possible procedure for attaining the ends which you have in mind.

In the thought that you may be interested in my analysis of the problem and its solution, I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the book just mentioned.

Trusting that it may be of some assistance to you in your program for sound money, I remain

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING,
Economics Professor Emeritus.

Same letter sent to Hon. John Sanborn, House of Representatives.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 13, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I like particularly the letter which Robert Wason proposes to send out to some 50,000 prospective supporters. His analysis of the drift of all the Republican candidates prominently mentioned into a no-opposition, overall state Socialist program is a distressing fact that we will not correct until we are made conscious of the sins that possess us, the Republican Party, at present.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

APRIL 21, 1948.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Attached is copy of letter which Robert Wason, last year's president of National Association of Manufacturers, is sending to at least 15,000 and possibly to 50,000 or more businessmen.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., May 17, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
502 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I greatly appreciate the invitation to join you at the economic club special dinner on Tuesday, May 25. I agree with you that a first-hand impression is important and regret that my traveling schedule makes it impossible for me to be with you. Again, thanks for thinking of me.

Cordially,

LEONARD E. READ.

DETROIT, MICH., May 28, 1948.

Attention: Harvey O. Fruehauf,
Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

FRUEHAUF TRAILER CO.,
Harper Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

GENTLEMEN: You are right, there is no colling on effort and being a working girl, employed as secretary, with average salary, which does not permit spending for other than necessary everyday needs, I would like to offer assistance in the form of time and effort.

I will be very glad to offer my services for an evening or two a week to help in this campaign. I am sorry it is impossible to offer assistance in the form of a contribution. If this is acceptable, kindly contact me and further arrangements can be made.

Very truly yours,

CAROLINE BUCHLER,

236 Puritan Avenue, Highland Park 3, Mich.

FRUEHAUF TRAILER CO.,
Detroit 82, Mich., May 1948.

Miss CAROLINE BUCHLER,
236 Puritan Avenue, Highland Park 3, Mich.

DEAR FELLOW CITIZEN: You may have felt, as I did, that the compromises necessary in 1947 to get any labor-law reform through the Senate and past a veto were ill-advised—that it would have been better to stand on principle and fight for outright repeal of the Wagner Act—that nothing short of a law that would absolutely protect the right to work can save our country from domination and ruin by class-conscious labor monopolists.

But we have the Taft-Hartley law, and we shall get something much worse if we don't meet the labor bosses' challenge of 1948.

If we lie down now and let them purge the men who took their political lives in their hands to vote in the public interest, we shall deserve just what we'll have handed to us. And it won't be any less bitter than the Socialist Labor Government's deal to British middle-classes, doctors, professional men, stockholders, investors, and business leaders, or the trades-union action committees' liquidation in Czechoslovakia.

Do not our responsibilities to stockholders, to employees, to ourselves, permit—yes, require—us to take affirmative action now?

The enclosed call for "100,000 Paul Reveres" is a simple, direct appeal to all thinking Americans. I am including these blanks in company mail. Their purpose is fully explained in the brief printed text. Proof of their effectiveness is coming in every mail to the committee's headquarters.

JUNE 10, 1948.

DEAR RUMELY: Here is the piece referred to in the attached letter.

CATHERINE F. HICKEY.

F. EUGENE ACKERMAN,

1450 Broadway, New York 18, N. Y., June 3, 1948.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: On May 10 we wrote you requesting a copy of the petition to the President and the Congress regarding the Federal budget, dated February 26, 1948, at Providence, R. I.

So far we have not received this information, and we would appreciate very much your looking into the matter.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

F. E. ACKERMAN.

JUNE 10, 1948.

MR. F. EUGENE ACKERMAN,
1450 Broadway, New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR MR. ACKERMAN: "A Petition to the President and the Congress of the United States of America regarding the Federal Budget," dated February 26, 1948, must have gone astray, so we are sending herewith a duplicate copy.

Did you see in the Congressional Record last month Senator Harry Byrd's statement on deficit spending? If not, let us know and we will endeavor to supply you with a copy.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA REGARDING THE FEDERAL BUDGET

We, the undersigned, citizens of the State of Rhode Island, aroused by our Government's disregard of the people's welfare, join in this petition to the President and the Congress.

We are alarmed at the vast increase in Federal expenditures and taxes. The extent of this increase is illustrated by the following figures:

Fiscal year ending June 30—	Receipts	Expenditures
1912.....	\$692,609,000	\$689,881,000
1916.....	782,531,548	734,056,202
1918 (war year).....	3,694,642,405	12,697,839,705
1919 (war year).....	5,152,237,130	18,672,819,705
1920.....	6,694,605,389	6,426,090,191
1925.....	3,780,148,685	3,818,643,446
1929.....	4,633,250,225	3,818,643,100
1935.....	4,177,941,702	3,994,162,487
1936.....	2,005,725,437	4,947,777,000
1937.....	3,809,407,000	7,583,431,000
1938.....	5,164,824,000	8,765,334,000
1939.....	5,387,125,000	9,127,374,000
1940.....	7,007,211,852	12,774,800,324
1945 (war year).....	46,476,554,680	100,404,590,685
1946 (part war year).....	43,037,708,808	65,018,931,991
1947.....	43,258,833,159	42,505,045,529
1948 (estimate).....	45,210,386,347	37,727,775,381
1949 (estimated).....	41,470,862,051	39,668,063,983

In the current fiscal year, which is the third peace year following World War II, the receipts will amount to \$45,210,000,000, and if the President's recommendations are adopted the receipts will, according to his estimate, amount to \$44,470,000,000 in the next fiscal year. The proposed amount for 1949 is 11 times the receipts for 1920, 9 times those for 1940, and within \$2,000,000,000 of the receipts for the war year 1945, in which the receipts were the highest of any year on record.

Despite the fact that we are in the third year of peace following the war, the Federal Government will spend this year \$37,727,000,000, and the President proposes to spend \$2,000,000,000 more than this (\$39,668,000,000) in the next fiscal year. Thus, the proposed expenditures for the next fiscal year (the fourth peace year following the war) will be 54 times the expenditures of 1913, over twice the expenditures of 1919, the most costly year of World War I, and over 4 times the expenditures of 1940, the costliest peacetime year on record prior to 1941 when our defense program was started.

And yet we are told by you, Mr. President, that these proposed expenditures for next year are all necessary and cannot be cut, and that there must be no reduction in taxes.

Your annual message to the Congress was filled with proposals for financial aid to various groups without regard to their cost or their effect on the country's welfare—proposals manifestly designed to secure votes, and this at a time when the country is facing a most serious crisis that calls for the strictest economy in Government and the highest quality of statesmanship.

We submit that both expenditures and taxes can and should be drastically reduced.

Providence, R. I., February 20, 1948.

Robert B. Dresser, Sidney Clifford, Charles H. Smith, Ronald B. Smith, Albro N. Dana, W. Allan Traver, Harold W. Tucker, Norman D. MacLeod, Edward S. Brackett, Jr., C. Gordon MacLeod, Warren Mason, Hovey T. Freeman, DeForest W. Clark, W. V. Lowy, W. C. Water, Ernest Friend, Samuel F. Davis, Otis L. Dickinson, N. B. Crooker, Clark Freeman, Alton C. Chiek, Raymond H. Lord, Herbert B. Boulyn, Clayton W. Littleton, V. C. Hart, Evert W. Freeman, Robert C. Chapin, B. P. Graves, W. B. Brinton, Noel M. Field, Geo. H. Wye, R. Landlar Ramsay, Chas. E. Jagg, Joel V. Austin, Henry L. Wilson, Grayland N. Rice, Albert E. Noelle, George E. Sinkinson, E. John Lowmes.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

JUNE 4, 1948.

HON. HARRY F. BYRD,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BYRD: Thanks for your good letter of May 27. You ask how we should proceed to stop the Russians from making atomic bombs.

Since there is such grave danger that, if they actually do perfect the process of manufacturing the bombs and make any considerable number, they will wipe out our Nation in a single surprise attack, drastic measures seem necessary. Some of the experts who have worked on our atomic bombs fear that the Russians may be able to get a supply available within 2 or 3 years, instead of 5. Whatever the facts, the longer we wait, the more imminent becomes the danger that we shall be destroyed. Therefore, the logical course for the United States to take would seem to me to be as follows:

1. Place long-range bombers with fighter escorts and atomic bombs at air fields surrounding western Russia, and also at the air fields in Japan. See that these air fields are properly guarded by strong military forces.

2. Inform Russia that we feel her refusal to accept the Baruch plan endangers the safety of the world, and that, therefore, we demand full acceptance, and the immediate beginning of inspection at a specified date (2 or 3 weeks after the issuance of the ultimatum).

3. That, in case Russia does not accept atomic control and inspection according to the Baruch plan before the date specified, we shall feel free to take such action as may be necessary, to protect world safety. Add the warning that any military movements by Russia in the period before the due date will be followed by immediate action.

4. If then Russia begins to move against us in Germany or elsewhere, attack at once with all of our forces. Similarly, if no acceptance to our demands is made by the due date, attack. We should, on the first day, wipe out all their strategic transportation centers, make every endeavor to destroy the headquarters of the Politburo, and as many members of that organization as possible, wreck their army strong points near the frontier, destroy their big dams, and their principal factories both in European Russia and Siberia, put their naval ports out of business, and render them unapproachable by naval vessels.

It seems to me that by such a program we could, within 2 or 3 days, force Russia to sue for peace. I do not believe that it would be, in any way, necessary for us to occupy any Russian territory, for with her railway centers and factories out of commission, she would be in no position to make war. Moreover, if we could destroy their central planning headquarters, and a large proportion of the planners, their organization would break down.

After the first bombing attack, we should offer them terms of peace, but with the proviso that if these terms were not quickly accepted, the bombing would continue. If our terms were not oppressive—and there is no reason why they should be, I believe the Russian people would accept terms at once.

Since I do not believe that, at present, Russia is equipped to engage in war with the United States, my guess is that if we sent the ultimatum there would be no war at all. I suspect that Mr. Stalin would explain that he had favored control of armaments all along, and that he was happy to agree to the Baruch plan and permit inspection to begin at once. If he took this position, our end could be accomplished without war.

If he were foolish enough to accept war, it seems to me that the cost to the United States would, today, be merely a fraction of what it would be if we postpone the decision until Russia is ready to attack. That is why I favor action now.

It is possible that you may be interested in comments by Gen. Brice P. Disque concerning the Russian situation. He has had long years of military experience, therefore I consider his views worthy of consideration.

In much appreciation of the fine work that you are doing, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

_____, *Chairman.*

JUNE 4, 1948.

Mr. LEONARD READ,

*Foundation for Economic Education,
Irrington-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. READ: Monsignor Fulton Sheen has one of the largest and most devoted radio audiences in this country. His recent talks indicate lack of appreciation of economic freedom and the fundamentals of private enterprise.

Have you any approach that could bring the writings of the foundation to his attention? We are doing in our way what we can.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Copy sent to: Mr. R. B. Dresser.

JUNE 5, 1948.

Mr. GUY H. WOODWARD,

*Care of Hon. E. H. Moore,
229 United States Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. WOODWARD: Mr. Dresser just called, stating that there seems to be growing interest in the Twenty-second amendment.

One national association, the NAM, is passing a resolution favoring limiting Federal taxing power.

The form of resolution now recommended has been somewhat altered. Mr. Dresser would like to work up this resolution covering the proposed amendment, and a supporting statement as to the reasons for it, and have it introduced into the Congressional Record so that distribution can be made to State legislators, and to others, in the period between now and January 1 when 95 percent of all State legislatures go into session.

Will you let me know whether Senator Moore would be willing to introduce this and permit the use of his frank subsequently for its distribution?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JUNE, 7, 1948.

Mr. R. B. DRESSER,

*Edwards & Angell,
15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, R. I.*

DEAR MR. DRESSER: Thanks for your helpful advice.

We are changing the mailing so as to omit entirely reference to the election and candidates, and making it an appeal for mobilization of public opinion between now and January 1948 in support of the Platform for Americans.

Attached hereto copy of my letter to Mr. Pettengill, and revised copy for the Gerard letter, Pettengill statement, and Platform for Americans. We are under necessity of acting quickly on a mailing.

When you come to New York, we can have a personal discussion of the questions raised by you over the phone today.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JUNE 10, 1948.

Mr. F. E. GANNETT,
Times Union Building, Rochester 4, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GANNETT: Your letter on the function of advertising prompted this reminiscence. In 1917 when upper bracket war taxation was introduced, Theodore Roosevelt was considering the advisability of taking a stand against confiscatory personal income taxation but in favor of higher estate taxation. He asked me whether I could discuss this with two very rich men and bring to him their reactions. I told him that Jim Patton, the wheat king, and Henry Ford were the two wealthiest men I could approach.

Patton said, "Well, I am worth \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 and I intend giving away about \$15,000,000 during the rest of my life. Of the \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000 that I shall have left, my wife will get another \$5,000,000 and my two children \$5,000,000 each. The balance I am going to give to philanthropies and education by my will. But if the Government steps in and takes 50 to 60 percent I can't do for university endowments and other philanthropies what I plan, and I'll be damned if I want Democrats in Washington spending my hard-earned money."

When I saw Mr. Ford, he invited me to a luncheon with three representatives of the new Communist Russian Government who had come to Detroit to buy tractors. Mr. Ford said, "You don't need tractors. You need automobiles."

They said, "No, Mr. Ford. We need tractors to raise wheat. The Russians are so poor that they can't wear a white collar and have never been 10 versts from the village where they were born. We need wheat."

Ford said, "How many members are there in the Communist Party?" They gave a figure, as I recall, of about 1,000,000.

"And how many Russian people?"

"There are 140,000,000."

He said, "What can 1,000,000 people do to make 140,000,000 prosperous? You have got to awaken desire in the 140,000,000 people, make them want new and better things. If you give them a tractor, it works in the back yard and relieves the father. But few people see it. If you have a car, the father and mother use it running to town and the son will take his girl out, and a thousand people will see it on the roadside and wish they could move about as easily. Ever since before people were like worms without legs, trying to get from place to place, easy movement has been one of the things they wanted."

"The car implants the desire and only when the 130,000,000 non-Communist Russian people have strong desires aroused for which they are willing to work and struggle can you lift them to greater effort, more production and better living. Here in America the car was advertised through races, in newspapers and it advertises itself on the road where everyone can see it. Those who have cars want better roads and better transportation from place to place and that will help arouse and lift the Russian people. You need maybe some tractors but a great many cars."

It occurs to me that this little glimpse of Henry Ford's thinking may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

Copy for: King, Gerard, Gannett, Pettengill, Dreser.

Mr. E. F. HUTTON,
E. F. Hutton & Co.,
61 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

JUNE 14, 1948.

DEAR ED: We had very good news today on our effort. Copy of the telegram, that went to members of the House Rules Committee, is enclosed herewith. After its receipt, two Democrats notified Ralph Gwinn that they would vote against reporting the bill out.

Congressman Rich is going to introduce the telegram into the Congressional Record. Homer Dodge, our Washington representative, writes:

"Representative Rich is very much pleased with the King telegram on the housing measure. He will read it on the floor tomorrow, after making some introductory remarks. Then he will also read it before a meeting of the Rules Committee, of which he is a member, on Monday. Better action than this could scarcely be expected."

The committee sent a copy of this telegram by special delivery on a telegraphic blank to every Member of Congress, Senate and House, at his home, to reach him on Saturday afternoon or Sunday. We also mailed a copy to every Member of the Congress to reach him Monday morning in his office.

We mailed out 25,000 copies of the enclosed post card, and 25,000 copies of the attached statement by Ralph Gwinn, all to hit Monday morning, so that Congressmen will get during the next 2 or 3 days hundreds and possibly thousands of letters from constituents back home.

Congressman Smith, who wrote the excellent statement on the Taft-Hartley bill, which we are distributing, has written me, thanking us and saying that he is receiving "a great amount of favorable reaction from the recipients of the statement. Your efforts in presenting this statement are most sincerely appreciated." Congressman Smith started life as a coal miner, became a great surgeon, and has organized a doctor's clinic in his home city, Marion, Ohio, that is one of the outstanding new achievements of the country.

One of the most valuable phases of the committee's work is our backing up and encouraging sound men like Congressmen Ralph Gwinn and Frederick Smith to take a stand.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

I expected this.

K. D.

JUNE 14.

AMERICAN TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., June 7, 1948.

MR. SUMNER GERARD,

*Vice President, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

(Attention Mr. Dresser.)

DEAR MR. GERARD: Your letters of June 2 and 3 received, and I regard exceedingly that your organization is going to resume this activities in connection with putting a ceiling on income, gift, and estate taxes. You are correct in saying that I was one of the pioneers in connecting with this activity. The American Taxpayers Association, of which I am a member, had been very successful in securing enactment of joint resolutions from various State legislatures until your organization barged into this campaign with the result that at least three States who had already adopted joint resolutions rescinded their action, and I doubt that there is any opportunity of this program being successful as long as you make it one of your major items of activity. An organization that copy-rights material put out by other people and claims it as its own, subscribes to a line of effort that I cannot follow.

I do not desire to try to cooperate with your representative in Florida. I had rather anticipated that we could get the Legislature of Florida to adopt the resolution in their 1949 session; but, if your organization is going to be active, I am not at all optimistic of such results.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD BALL.

JUNE 8, 1948.

MR. EDWARD BALL,

Florida National Bank, Jacksonville, Fla.

DEAR MR. BALL: Please note the attached chart showing distribution of income and shrinkage of larger incomes in the United States—just as in England.

A certainly nationally known business lender, with whom you are well-acquainted, has long held that the same laws of human nature that control other venture enterprises apply to taxation.

For example in roulette, if the percentage of the house is increased beyond 7 percent to 10 percent or 12 percent, the volume of business shrinks so that the actual income for the house is less than at 7 percent. In horse racing, because

people feel that they can select the animal on its record, they are willing to bet against a 15-percent load. But, if the "take" of the track exceeds this, the volume of betting shrinks, and the track's actual income decreases or does not increase.

Dr. King found a way to make similar studies of Federal tax rates. These studies demonstrated mathematically that, when rates are increased above a 25-percent over-all effective rate, which means some 40 percent of top rates, the level of maximum yield has been reached. If rates are further increased, the income in these brackets shrink so that no increase in yield results to the Federal Government. The only result is the suppression of the highly important job-making, risk-taking investment capital from upper-bracket incomes. This study made a great impression upon Senator Millikin and others on the tax committees in Congress. We are sending you a copy of it. If you have any friends likely to be interested, we will be glad to supply additional copies.

It may interest you to know the opinion of General Wood of Sears, Roebuck on Dr. King's study *Raising the Workingman's Scale of Living*.

Dr. King's book *The Keys to Prosperity*, as stated carries this message throughout; and, if we can find support now to protect the book, as our program calls for, to 150,000 to 250,000, including State legislators, heads of departments of economics, and other opinion molders, we shall have released a permanent long-range influence.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, *Treasurer*.

JUNE 2, 1948.

Mr. EDWARD BALL,
Florida National Bank, Jacksonville, Fla.

DEAR MR. BALL: We have for a long time known of your pioneering activity in connection with the proposed twenty-second amendment. Robert B. Dresser, one of our trustees; Dr. King, and Frank Gannett have worked intensively in this field in which you did so much pioneering work of high effectiveness.

We believe that next year, when all legislatures meet, and with a probable swing to the right in national public thinking, there may come the best opportunity for intensive education on this issue.

Dr. King's study, *Raising the Workingman's Scale of Living*, of which we have distributed 600,000 copies, did a fundamentally important job.

When Capitalism the Creator was allowed to lapse, we stepped in and secured permission to condense it, and we printed 750,000 copies of the condensation, of which more than 500,000 have been distributed to date. After the death of the author, Mr. Snyder, by prearrangement, the copyright to the book passed to the committee, and Dr. King, who was a friend of Snyder's, revised and brought the text up to date, which we hold in manuscript form and expect to publish toward the year-end.

In the meantime, Dr. King, in his great book, *The Keys to Prosperity*, just off the presses, has embodied many of the basic ideas showing the importance of capital accumulation in the understructure of America's high scale of living. We are sending you a cloth-bound copy of this book, also three fiber-bound copies, with the thought that you may wish to pass them out to associates.

We are now laying foundations for intensive educational effort during the 6 months ahead, and particularly during next January, on this and other issues.

Dr. King's testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee, as you will see from the remarks of the chairman and other members of the committee at the time of his appearance, was regarded as most helpful.

Likewise, the Committee for Constitutional Government exerted a major influence in the formulation of the Taft-Hartley Act. Copy of Dr. King's testimony on this subject, together with Scoville's book, *Labor Monopolies or Freedom*, of which we have distributed 250,000 copies during the period when the Taft-Hartley Act was under discussion, are going forward to you under separate cover. At the present time we are endeavoring to get another 150,000 copies of the Scoville book into the hands of those who mold public opinion.

You will see, from some literature that we are sending you, Dr. King's thought bearing on the problem of labor monopolies, which is the main issue with which this country must grapple, for it is the pressure of labor monopolies that is driving us toward continuance of overtaxation of upper-bracket incomes, socialized medicine, public housing, and other collectivist expedients.

We plan to do more intensive work within the State of Florida and have found a man, Richard Bryce, whom we believe is able to help the committee

on its educational job. We hope that you will accord Mr. Bryce an opportunity for an interview and give him what cooperation you can.

In the meantime, we are sending you, under separate cover, the books and other material referred to in this letter; also samples of some of the many pieces of committee literature.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, *Vice President.*

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS,
Sheffield House, Southport, Conn., June 15, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Since last talking with you on the telephone, I have received your letter and also the telegram from Mr. Gwinn in Washington and the extract from the Congressional Record. I am sorry to say that I think for the present I would rather keep out of this, and I am getting old and tired and try to keep out of as much publicity as I can, because it entails a lot of correspondence often, and I don't want to put my name to anything throughout the country as to the rights of which I am not completely confident. The speech of Mr. Gwinn in the House of Representatives is certainly frightening and extraordinarily persuasive. When I read it, I thought there was only one thing to do about that. On the other hand, I am a little uncertain why the editorials in both the New York Times and the Tribune support the bill. Evidently the question is a rather complicated one, and I do not want to go before the public and take a very definite stand against the bill without knowing more. My doing so would probably result in a moderate flood of letters from people who disagree with me asking why I took the position I did. I would only have taken that position on account of Gwinn's speech, and, after all, he is only one Congressman. I think I will keep out of this particular controversy unless during the summer, as you say, it develops more definitely.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

JUNE 18, 1948.

Mr. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS,
Sheffield House, Southport, Conn.

DEAR MR. ADAMS: Thanks for your letter of June 15. Your position is sound. By the action of the Rules Committee, the bill was killed in its worse form. Rewritten to provide only Government financing, it may pass but without the Federal Government building and selling in its own name.

Thanks again for taking the time to give this matter consideration.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

P. S.—Just a word of advice. Take care of yourself. Eat vitamins, like multicebrin (Eli Lilly Co.) two a day. At your age, high-vitamin feeding is important, and the country needs your influence.

E. F. HUTTON & Co.,
MEMBER NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE,
61 Broadway, New York, N. Y., June 24, 1948.

Dr. E. A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DOCTOR: I return enclosed the prospective cartoon. It is well done, but I do not quite understand how I could use it. At the present moment I have left 32,000 pamphlets out of the 700,000 which I ordered.

As always,

Sincerely your friend,

ED HUTTON.

The performance of the National Education Association in Cleveland in its demands upon Dewey was probably unmatched by any other selfish pressure group.

I have just written Pettengill a memo, sending him copy of the Gwinn statement also.

Candidate Dewey feels he is on the spot. Editorial support for sound thinking would be in order.

The New York Times this week carried the story fully earlier, and on Thursday the headline was: "Dewey is given 24 hours to tell teachers his stand on United States aid."

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 8, 1948.

MR. F. E. GANNETT,

Times-Union Building, Rochester, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GANNETT: The attached letter is typical of hundreds that the committee and Congressman Ralph Gwinn have received commenting on his speech on public housing.

Many of our most influential supporters—not knowing that we were behind its distribution—wrote Mr. Gwinn commending his stand.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington Headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., July 14, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

*Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Mr. Knutson is at Manhattan Beach, Minn. His secretary was careful to tell me that he has no facilities for answering mail. I presume this was in an effort to protect him.

Concerning the Seville statement on rent control, I took this up with Mr. Gwinn's office several days ago. It was to be sent to him at his farm near Pawling. I had hoped to hear something today but doubtless will tomorrow.

Also, concerning the analysis of the FEPC, Senator Russell seemed the logical man to extend that, especially as he has cooperated with the committee before. He is at Winder, Ga. I sent him the copy and a letter explaining what was desired, and should hear from him. He telephones his office nearly every day.

Karl Mundt is the ideal man to extend the Platform for Americans. Your letter on that did not reach me until the last delivery, so I will get after it early tomorrow.

I believe you will be interested in the marked story in the weekly memorandum, under separate cover.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 15, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: An order was placed yesterday for 15,000 reprints of the Implications of Federal Aid to and Control of Education and envelopes. The cost of these reprints is \$109.80.

Thirty-three thousand copies of the public-housing speech (old form) are being shipped to you, and the balance of the order of 50,000 will be shipped as soon

as they are received from the Government Printing Office. The public-housing reprints cost \$324.

Sincerely yours,

BANN C. MILLER, *Secretary.*

P. S.—Enclosed is a copy of the proof of the revised public-housing speech which Mr. Gwinn asked me to send to you as soon as it was received.

JULY 10, 1948.

Miss B. C. MILLER,

*Office of Hon. Ralph W. Gwinn,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MISS MILLER: Herewith is check for \$109.80 in payment for 15,000 reprints of *The Implications of Federal Aid to and Control of Education* and envelopes.

Please enter order for an additional 35,000 copies with franked envelopes and let me know the cost.

This issue will undoubtedly come to the front, and we would like to be in shape to put out material in volume.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 20, 1948.

To Mr. HANCOCK.

Here is a copy of a letter containing the names of the joint congressional-gubernatorial committee.

E. A. R.

HORACE HILDRETH, *Governor.*

STATE OF MAINE,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Augusta, July 12, 1948.

Mr. ROBERT B. DRESSER, Esq.,

15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: In Governor Hildreth's absence, from the office, I am taking the liberty of answering your letter of July 8.

The names of the joint congressional-gubernatorial committee which you requested follow:

Gov. Millard F. Caldwell, Florida
Gov. Frank Carlson, Kansas
Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll, New Jersey
Gov. Ralph F. Gates, Indiana
Gov. Horace Hildreth, Maine
Gov. Lester C. Hunt, Wyoming
Gov. William Preston Lane, Jr., Maryland
Representative Daniel A. Reed, New York
Representative Robert W. Kean, New Jersey
Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Arkansas
Senator Albert W. Hawkes, New Jersey
Senator Edward Martin, Pennsylvania
Senator Harry F. Byrd, Virginia
Senator John W. Bricker, Ohio
Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa
Senator Clyde R. Hoey, North Carolina
Senator Herbert R. O'Connor, Maryland
Senator Edward J. Thye, Minnesota

Sincerely,

JOHN W. MORAN,
Executive Secretary.

JULY 23, 1948.

Mr. BARR C. MILLER,

*Care of the Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MILLER: Herewith is check for \$480.92 in payment for 65 percent of the 100,000 copies of the revised public housing speech, which you say cost \$622.96.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 30, 1948.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: I hand you herewith two real estate organizations' bulletins, which discuss various possibilities for action during this session on the housing bill. If you do not already have them, they may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 30, 1948.

Gen. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR,
Army Headquarters, Tokyo, Japan.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I am gratified to note that, according to the New York Times of July 25, you have taken the position that "public servants do not have the right to strike or engage in 'struggle tactics' intended to impede service."

Back in 1941, I contended that here in the United States we had several enemies—Germany, Italy, Japan, and the labor monopolies, and that, of these enemies, the labor monopolies were the most dangerous because after the other enemies were eliminated, we would still have them with us. Due, in no small part, to your valiant services, my predictions were fulfilled, and the Japanese, Germans, and Italians were crushed. But the labor monopolies still use every opportunity to hamper national progress. Since we have had more than ample evidence of the damages that they have done in this country, it would seem that we ought, certainly, to eliminate their prototypes in Japan, a country over which we have complete control. Why not forbid all monopolization of labor both in private industries and in public service?

I hope you will pardon me if I suggest that, while we have been devoting much effort to introducing the Japanese to democracy, we have not been equally interested in introducing them to economic freedom. Thus, it is reported in the New York Times of July 19, that the American Government is supporting Takeo Kurosu in a program including frozen wages and prices, exchange control, an allotment and distribution system, and improvement in the crop-collection system. As I see it, such measures all interfere with the type of free economy which is essential if Japan is to become self-supporting, and thus relieve the United States of the necessity for giving aid to our former enemies. Moreover, if the extent of interference in private enterprise by the Japanese Government were greatly reduced, many Government employees could be dispensed with, the budget could be balanced and the currency put on a sound basis. The last step is, of course, essential if success is to be attained in the program to revivify Japanese industry.

An economist friend of mine who has recently returned from Japan says that your military administration of the islands furnishes a wonderful tribute to your skill, and that he found universal respect for the behavior of your troops, and your thoroughly altruistic attitude. However, he felt that your economic advisers had not shown like competence, and that they have established a regimented economy which makes effective production impossible—a fact which is being amply demonstrated throughout Europe. Can you not see your way clear to put the Japanese currency on a metallic basis and eliminate all economic controls? I believe that, if you were to do this, you would be amazed at the speed with which Japanese industry would revive, and that you would achieve enduring renown in the economic field, as you have already done in the military field. Incidentally, I feel that you would be rendering a tremendous service both to the people of Japan and to those of the United States.

I am taking the liberty of sending you, under separate cover, an autographed copy of my new book, *The Keys to Prosperity*, and also a copy of John Scoville's book, *Labor Monopolies or Freedom*. Probably you will not have time to read either one of them, but I am sending them to you in the hope that you may find it worth your while to inspect their contents.

Among thinking people in the United States you have a great aggregation of friends who are more than anxious to see you make an outstanding success of the Japanese administration. I feel sure that they would all be gratified if you could see your way clear to follow some of the suggestions which I have made.

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman*.

Copy for E. A. Rumely.

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HARDING COLLEGE,
Searcy, Ark., August 5, 1948.

MR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee For Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Thanks very much for your letter of July 20 commending my recent article Who Wants Housing.

Thanks also for enclosing statement by Ralph Gwinn on public housing. We regret to advise that at the present time we are unable to assist with the distribution of Mr. Gwinn's speech as we consider it most excellent in substance.

Thanking you for your letter and for the enclosure and anticipating receiving the revised copy of speech, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

GEO. S. BENSON, *President.*

JULY 20, 1948.

DR. GEORGE BENSON,
President, Harding College,
Searcy, Ark.

DEAR DR. BENSON: That's an excellent article Who Wants Housing.

Enclosed is a statement by Ralph Gwinn on public housing which you, no doubt, have seen. He has revised this and the next run will be available later this week. We shall send you copy.

If you care to send copy of this to all who receive your Looking Ahead and if you will supply the addresses on gummed labels, the copies can go out under Ralph Gwinn's frank from Washington. Or if you prefer, we could supply them to you without envelopes for use as a tuck-in in your mailing.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

AUGUST 5, 1948;

MR. GUY WOODWARD,
229 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WOODWARD: Herewith are five copies of Civil Rights of which our first run is 65,000. We hope those reached will pick it up and promote further distribution. This and a previous piece Civil Rights and State Rights are in the record, inserted by Senator Eastland.

One-half million to one million copies, distributed to the right lists, would exert far-reaching influence.

Some years ago, the Rumely Hotel placed a copy of the Norton book in every one of its rooms and sent a copy to every clergyman in the city. About a year later, the Episcopal minister met me on a train and remarked, "I want to thank you again for that Norton book on the Constitution. A church publication, discussing the poll tax, had caused me to write a sermon denouncing it. I referred to the Norton book to find a quotation supporting my sermon. To my surprise, I found that the demand I was making was contrary to the Constitution. Therefore, I tore up the sermon."

There are 140,000 clergymen. Lawyers also should be reached, heads of women's organizations, farm leaders. The cost would be very small, the educational value great. In some areas all rural and small town mail boxes could be reached without addressing cost and only the bare cost of reprinting and bundling, possibly less than 1 cent per name.

We have just put out 125,000 copies of Public Housing Disastrous Here and Abroad with the attached letter by Ralph Gwinn to doctors and others. I wish you could have seen the hundreds of letters of approval, the large numbers of purchase orders for additional copies, to gauge the effectiveness of a good-franked mailing.

A tremendous amount of worth-while material went into the Record recently from many members. \$50,000 or \$100,000 spent to distribute this material could have far-reaching results.

You know one man in Dallas with staggering income. He has the viewpoint of the South, owned a plantation before he went into oil.

Why do some of the interested leaders who must bear the brunt in Washington, not stimulate such individuals to do something to educate the country? It should be possible to educate far enough so that it won't be profitable for politicians to

wreck the framework of our Government by appeasing and trying to buy the votes of minorities.

Businessmen are so inert that they need pressure from the men in Congress who have stood up for sound policies.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
August 6, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The Honorable Jesse F. Orton, of New York City, was here with us several days during the Senate debate on the anti-poll tax bill and rendered a most helpful service to those of us who were bearing the burden of opposing the bill. I am a member of the Rules Committee which passed on this bill, and for this reason made the opening argument against it and was assigned the task of making the rebuttal argument at the conclusion of the debate. Mr. Orton was of special service to me in this connection also, but even though we had the rebuttal prepared in part, it was never used because the debate was abruptly concluded without the arguments being completed.

I wish to especially thank you and other members of the committee for your splendid contribution to the cause in making it possible for Mr. Orton to be with us.

Also, I want to thank you for your general and specific work in behalf of constitutional government, which I feel has certainly been a definite contribution.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

JOHN C. STENNIS,
United States Senator.

(NOTE.—Mr. Orton is the author of the best study on the unconstitutionality of the poll tax legislation by Congress. He contributed his legal services and the committee paid for printing his booklet and covered his expenses while in Washington.) E. A. R.

AUGUST 13, 1948.

MR. HYRUM R. ARCHIBALD,
1147 Concord Street, Glendale 2, Calif.

DEAR MR. ARCHIBALD: We greatly appreciate the contribution enclosed with your letter of July 30. We will do our best to use the money which you send to push along our program for better Government.

I am especially sympathetic with your statement that men should not be allowed to run for important offices who are not qualified, by education and experience, to hold such positions. I have long contended that all parties should be compelled to nominate, for positions in the State legislatures or in Congress, and also for executive positions such as Governor or President, only men who have received high grades in competitive examinations in economics and political science, and who have demonstrated practical ability by achievements as administrators or executives. The type of examination which I have in mind would be similar to that required of candidates for important civil service positions. As you know, such requirements are not merely to pass written examinations, but the merits of the candidate are judged, also, by his writings, his membership in scientific organizations, and his experience in the various positions which he has held.

Certainly, a man who aspires to be a Member of Congress, a Governor, or a President, ought to have at least the educational requirements for meeting a Ph. D. degree in economics and political science, and also have shown himself to be a capable executive or administrator.

I would go even further and say that we should have a law requiring every young man or woman desiring the privilege of becoming a voter to pass, with a grade of at least 80, a reasonably stiff examination in elementary economics

and civics. This examination should be given by the civil service authorities and based upon a simple, standardized textbook in each of the fields mentioned.

Again thanking you for your encouragement and support, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman.*

THE GIBBS MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY,
Post Office Box 100, Whitehaven, Tenn., August 20, 1948.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Recently appeared on my desk a copy of your quite remarkable speech in the House on June 4 concerning the question of public housing.

I was born in England and my father was deeply interested and concerned in housing in all its stages from construction to investment, so that your remarks on the situation over there are appreciated. I may add that the whole story is gloomier than you have painted. When I was a little boy houses were considered the prime investment for the small income people for it was remarked "a house can't run away." Today with Government control and rent control lasting from 1914 and never lifted the phrase is, "You can't run away from a house." Naturally banks are loath to lend money on such insecurity so housing as an investment has become very low indeed. Take away the normal possibility of a proper yield on investment by controls of profit, but not of loss, and housing becomes merely a cash commodity in which the purchaser (and usually dweller) must be found for each separate house before it is built. (Unless on Government subsidy.) There is thus never a dwelling ahead of the demand as there used to be and always will be for any commodity under normal competitive conditions. A controlled economy means always the impossible situation of the dog catching up with his own tail.

As you see I most heartily agree with your remarks and am delighted to learn that someone sees the danger of meddling with homes. As you properly bring out unless folk have their own home and are really free inside its walls—not pestered with Government spies if they are called sewerage, drain, electric, or water inspectors—they will develop no roots neither economic nor moral. They become a people of flouters hungry for any free handout they can acquire, and having no idea at all that the people of a land all have responsibility be it from the "widow's mite" to gigantic taxes. They become an easy dupe to those whose aim is control by planned economy, centralized government, totalitarian state, communism, or any other name given to exactly the same, namely a general loss of freedom to a select hierarchy.

In the frantic efforts now being made on the part of at least 1,000,000 excess Government employees to gain control over the Nation by socialized medicine, socialized education (note questionnaire to universities), socialized housing, agriculture controls, FEPC with its necessary army of spies—I believe that housing is the most dangerous. This destroys privacy of the individual and privacy is essential if individual character is to develop. Next, on somewhat similar grounds is medicine, though education is obviously potent since there one deals with the very young who do not know enough to recognize good from evil. Liberty from dictatorship, for the latter can be, and is at the early stages, most cunningly disguised.

Without prolonging this matter I wish to add my voice to those of many others who recognize the present peril of our country which has become infected with the syphilis of communism to an alarming extent. A quiet disease easily—even romantically acquired, gives little pain or trouble to the owner, but rots him to death.

Yours very sincerely,

O. S. GIBBS, M. D.

AUGUST 27, 1948.

MR. EARL HARDING,
31 West Twelfth Street, New York 11, N. Y.

DEAR EARL: We wish to put out to the mailing house a letter for production early next week, which is to be dropped into the mail on the day after Labor Day so as to reach destination after desks have been cleared of holiday mail.

This letter is to go to about 20,000 corporation presidents. This is a call to action. It will carry Labor's Contribution to High Prices and will be an appeal to every businessman to do what Harvey Fruehauf has done.

Note Victor Riesel's column, of Thursday, on A. E. of L. committee eliciting in. One union with \$20,000,000 in its treasury.

Possibly the way to hook the interest of businessmen is to say:

See inside what Harvey Fruehauf has done, or will you do your part of the indispensable public education as Harvey C. Fruehauf has done in the enclosed booklet, Labor's Contribution to High Prices. He took time out to compose this, put his name behind it, putting it to his own employees, and is distributing it to 200,000 individuals.

But 5,000,000 should go out in the next 6 weeks. One Congressman who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, and whom the labor bosses are attacking because of high prices, wants 10,000 copies. Should he pay for them? Or should the job of correcting the misinformation of labor bosses be done by the citizens who profited by his courageous stand. You should see to it that thousands of copies of this piece go to every clergyman, service club heads, educators, to all opinion molders whose addresses are in your telephone book, to your own workers, to your stockholders.

If you and others distribute 2,000,000 copies, and 1000 others will distribute 1,000 to 5,000 copies each, an average of 2,000, the 2,000,000 reached will quickly ask for free copies and lift the circulation to 4,000,000 or 5,000,000.

The piece needed—100,000 Paul Reveres, and the postcard Labor Boss Candidates, have proved effective. Use them in your bulk distribution.

This committee neither opposes or helps any candidate or party but, by educational effort, we neutralize the smear propaganda and misinformation being distributed by the labor monopolists. Your purchase of any literature on the enclosed order blank will help.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

AUGUST 30, 1948.

Mr. ROBERT LUND,
300 South Euclid Avenue, St. Louis 10, Mo.

DEAR Mr. LUND: A group of people are organizing, using your name as sponsor, as the National Council for American Education.

They have approached friends of the committee to lend their names in support of the effort. These, in turn, have asked us what we know about the organization, its management, and aims.

The Committee for Constitutional Government carried on a long campaign on the Rugg textbooks. It is a major job to influence the textbook structure of the country.

Any information that you can give will be helpful. Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D. C.

208 UNITED STATES COURT HOUSE, ERIE, PA.,
September 1, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR Dr. RUMELY: Mr. John Denler, associate director of public relations at the Fruehauf Trailer Co. in Detroit, has suggested that I write to you about securing additional copies of the pamphlet, Labor's Contribution to High Prices.

I have been considering sending about 9,000 more of these booklets, and would like to know what the charge would be for such a number.

Awaiting your reply, and with kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

CARROLL D. KEARNS, M. C.

Copy for E. A. R.:

Original and one carbon to Senate Office Building.

This went to main post office, (Penn Station) Sunday afternoon. Regular mail, special delivery, marked "Please deliver Monday morning, not later than 9:30 a. m."

Wouldn't you better check by phone sometime Monday to be sure the Senator has it?

E. HARDING.

Suggestion for possible contents of a message to be read at Cloud Club (New York) meeting, Tuesday, October 5, 1948, of businessmen invited to meet Senator Hawkes and Samuel B. Pettengill to consider ways to assure continuance of Pettengill broadcasts. Senator Hawkes will please mail statement, as he wishes it to be read, to Dr. Edward A. Rumely, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y. It will be read as coming that day in the form of a telegram dated from the point where the Senator is speaking on the fifth. Please indicate where that is.—E. H.

Confusion as to the date of a pledged speaking engagement, where I am sure you would not have me fail in these crucial days, makes it impossible for me to be with you this afternoon. I regret this more than I can tell you. But your honoring my dear friend Sam Pettengill by furthering his public service will mean more than any courtesy you could extend to me as your guest.

Never in my lifetime, in business or in public office, have I felt so strongly that we must continue, and redouble, our efforts if we are to save our personal freedom and the life of our Republic.

No matter who is elected 4 weeks from today, the Federal Budget—unless public opinion compels retrenchment—will reach fifty billions in another year and sixty billions a few years later, even if we avoid a shooting war. National bankruptcy is where present fiscal policies are heading us. Reckless debt has destroyed every free government on earth.

All your working capital in business, the returns to your stockholders, the security of your employees, your own and your children's future—everything you and I hold dear will depend on the decisions which public opinion will permit, or force, the next President and the next Congress to make.

Public opinion is never static. Sound policies can be initiated and sustained only if public education is sound, and persistent, and spread wide enough to reach a working majority of citizens. We have a stupendous amount of reeducating to do. Every business enterprise will need such voices as Pettengill's speaking for it—not to sell goods, but to reell understanding and support for the very foundations of our private enterprise system, on which your business and my business rest.

I wish I could be present to tell you in detail what I have seen inside your Congress of the really great influence exerted there by Sam Pettengill's thinking. More of his broadcasts go into the Congressional Record than of any other commentator.

Your meeting is not in the interest of Pettengill; it is in the best interest of every individual and every business represented there. It offers us an opportunity to serve and help save ourselves. I shall participate in what you do. I trust that your meeting will definitely assure continuing and greatly extending Pettengill's splendid Voice for America.

(Signed) _____

(City where message originates)

OCTOBER 5, 1948.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1948.

HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEARNS: Replying to your letter of September 2, I enclose herewith two copies of the booklet, Labor's Contribution to High Prices, in the form in which it is now available. As you will see, the price on quantities in excess of 1,000 is 1½ cents each, delivered. This is the bare cost, plus handling.

The committee has a rule that it neither favors nor opposes any candidate or party and, therefore, gives no literature except for sale on the basis that it is generally offered to all.

You will notice, in the statement on the last page, that anyone receiving a copy of this booklet can request five free copies. This usually results in a much wider distribution than originally made.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

NATIONAL SMALL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION, INC.,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE, 39 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET,
Chicago 3, Ill., August 9, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I know you are interested in helping us to increase the membership of our association. I also know you are very busy with your own business and do not, therefore, have much time you can devote to getting new members for us. With this in mind, we have developed a plan which will produce maximum results with a minimum of your time.

The first step in this plan is for you to send us as complete a list as possible of your business associates and other friends who you believe should be members of our association. In making up this list, please keep in mind that our members are individuals rather than companies.

Upon receipt of this list we'll check each name with our membership records to eliminate those who are already members and I'll write a personal letter to the others inviting them to become members. I'll probably start my letter in some such manner as, "I'm writing to you at the suggestion of our mutual friend, Edward A. Rumely, to invite you to become a member of our association." Then I'll go on and tell them about our work.

My letter will bring in some new members but the big pull will come—this is the heart of the plan—from a personal follow-up letter from you mailed a week or 10 days later.

Asking you to write a letter to those whose names you send us may seem like we are, after all, putting quite a bit of work on you, but actually we aren't. All you need to do is send us enough of your business stationery, letterheads, and envelopes to cover the list. We'll write the letter, subject to your approval, process it, address and stamp the envelopes, and attach the enclosures so that when we send the letters to you, all you'll have to do is sign them and have your secretary fold, insert, and drop them in the mail.

As I said, your working with us on carrying through this plan will take a minimum of your time and we know from experience that it will produce maximum results.

I'll be glad to have you tell me by return mail that you will cooperate and to receive your list of names as soon thereafter as you can compile it. Some of our members have checked the names of their friends on the membership roster of a club or other organization to which they belong and sent it to us as their list. This works out fine so far as we are concerned, but any kind of a list which shows the name of the individual and the name and address of his company is entirely satisfactory.

Awaiting your reply, I am

Sincerely,

DE WITT EMERY, *President.*

AUGUST 10, 1948.

Mr. DE WITT EMERY,
*President, National Small Business Men's Association,
39 South La Salle Street, Chicago 3, Ill.*

DEAR MR. EMERY: On my return from vacation I was startled by your letter of August 9 because you are using exactly the plan for broadening your membership that we have worked up for use in our September mailing.

It seems almost like thought transference. Of course, essentially it is the plan used by NAM and others over a long period.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

NATIONAL SMALL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION, INC.,
EXECUTIVE OFFICES,
39 South La Salle Street, Chicago 3, Ill, September 9, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DOCTOR: You are quite right in saying that there isn't essentially anything new about the plan we are using for increasing our membership. The main thing, however, is that we now know from the tests we have made during the past 8 months that this plan will work effectively and we are, therefore, going to shoot the works on it. Next Monday is our D-day.

It's been much too long since you and I sat down to compare notes and perhaps we can do something about this the next time I am in New York. At any rate, I shall give you a ring in the hope that you will have some free time while I am in town.

With best regards, I am
Sincerely yours,

DE WITT EMERY, *President.*

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington on Hudson, N. Y., September 15, 1948.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I would like to talk to you personally when the occasion permits, concerning your letter of the 12th.

We did miss you at the Palyi dinner. You can be assured of a rain check.
Best wishes.

Cordially,

LEONARD E. READ, *President.*

SEPTEMBER 21, 1948.

Mrs. EVELYN FREER,
Human Events, 1323 M Street NW., Washington 5, D. C.

DEAR MRS. FREER: That is a penetrating statement by Bertrand de Jouvenel, September 15 number, on prices in France.

Can you send five additional copies? Thanks.

The Chamberlain article on DP's is extraordinarily illuminating. However, he does not regard one basic factor, and that is the population question.

I am sending you two copies of the fiber-bound edition of Dr. King's book, *Keys to Prosperity*, which deals with the population question in the second chapter—also *Population Bulletin* for September by Guy Burch, and copy of Dr. King's recent testimony before the Senate committee.

America's high scale of living is due partly to the natural resources per capita and partly to the capital per worker which provides highly efficient tools.

Dr. King made a study, *What Raises the Workingman's Scale of Living*, copy of which I am also enclosing, and copy of *Can America Supply a Multiplying Europe?*

Is not this population question worthy of treatment in *Human Events*?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1948.

Memo: Dr. Edward A. Rumely, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y., to Dr. King.

Herewith statement by Bertand de Jouvenel on France which strikes me as especially penetrating and valuable. I have written Mrs. Freer, manager of *Human Events*, as per the attached.

BAIRD & WARNER, INC.,
Chicago, September 30, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have been having considerable telephone conversation with Paul Schofield regarding a meeting for you and Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn here in Chicago, and I am sorry that I have not been more successful, but I have been unable to get a group of sufficient importance to warrant you two men coming out here. One group that I thought would be the one has taken as its platform an increase in rent as provided by the law and they do not feel that it would be right for them to sponsor a meeting where it is advocated to abolish rent control. Naturally they would like to abolish it, but they feel that they should work within the law, rather than try and eliminate the law at the present time.

I am working on other groups and hope to be able to set a meeting.

It was nice to hear from you and I congratulate you on the fine work you are doing.

Most cordially,

WARNER G. BAIRD.

OCTOBER 7, 1948.

Mr. GUY WOODWARD,
229 Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WOODWARD: Attached hereto the Pettengill broadcast in proof form. The President and Congress.

We are printing 25,000, out of which distribution will be made to every editor in the United States. We have a basic rule that during a political campaign literature will be sold only at the established prices, which in this particular case is 2½ cents per copy.

This piece could be mailed to rural mail boxes with 1 cent postage and to mail boxes in small towns of 1,000 or fewer inhabitants. Of these, there are in Oklahoma a goodly number (which can be ascertained through some research in this office).

The piece might likewise be sent at a cost of 1 cent postage, 2½ cents for the folder and one-half cent for envelope and addressing—or 4 cents per name to lawyers, clergymen, doctors, business and farm leaders. There are probably 30,000 to 50,000 such leadership names in the State of Oklahoma.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, Assistant Secretary.

OCTOBER 8, 1948.

The Honorable FRED D. BUSBEY,
The House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BUSBEY: We have had an amazing response to Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn's statement "Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad." We have put out more than 100,000 copies, preceding the distribution with a post card to stimulate the recipient to "catty" the distribution further.

As we see it, what is needed is an intensive educational campaign that will reach hundreds of thousands of leadership individuals with such articles as Congressman Gwinn's on housing and one Federal aid to education, with a post card preceding the arrival and asking for help in further distribution. This intensifies interest in the piece and we find multiplies the first distribution several fold. It is particularly helpful when local citizens select the individuals on school boards or in other positions who need most to be reached, or when they write back to their own Representatives in Congress.

Have you seen Edna Lonlan's statement, "The Republicans and the Republic" which was put into the record by Congressman Smith of Wisconsin? Copy is enclosed. To carry through the needed educational job between early November and January 20, or to organize so that the campaign can be released on Nation-wide scale just as the new Congress convenes, is going to require organization and special funds.

A group of friends in Chicago, interested in the housing question, is planning a meeting there to raise a fund for this special educational work. It is hoped that the pattern developed in Chicago can be transferred to other cities. Congressman Ralph Gwinn has agreed to come to Chicago and to speak at this meeting, called by real-estate men, in which other groups will be included.

It would be extremely helpful if you were willing to be present and express your viewpoint.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

9144 SOUTH HOYNE AVENUE,
Chicago, Ill., September 18, 1948.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR RALPH: I am hoping that some guardian angel has provided you with thousands of copies of the reprint of your speech, "Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad." I have found your revised reprint of inestimable value out here in Chicago and I could use a thousand copies.

Are they available and could they be furnished to me?

I know that they have been keeping you too busy to permit any relaxation before jumping into high gear in the campaign and I want to add my good wishes for the best of luck.

With kind regards and assurances of my appreciation for whatever you can do for me on reprints of your speech, I am,

Sincerely yours,

FRED E. BUSBY, M. C.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: In any trip to Europe, entree there with top people would be important.

Yesterday Brig. Gen. Brice Disque asked me about the syndication of articles by General Reilly who is widely acquainted at the top in Europe. He wishes to make a trip.

I believe that a combination trip of a Member of Congress, of a widely acquainted general who knows Europe and could write from the military aspect authoritatively, and of an economist like Dr. King, would make a trio that could be syndicated to great advantage, assuring a large audience.

Such a trip starting early in November and extending into January would make the material available for publication right after the turn of the year when it might be most effective.

What would you think of such an enterprise if newspaper sponsorship assuring wide use of the material could be secured?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,

OCTOBER 27, 1948.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
15 Ridge Road, Bronxville, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GWINN: General Disque is a friend of General Reilly and knew something of our discussion regarding a trip to Europe.

General Disque called me this morning and said the best-informed man, in his opinion, in the United States on Mexico, South America and indirectly on Spain, a businessman of means, had told him that if a trip were made abroad, he would give introductions to the industrialists of Spain.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., October 29, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: This campaign is so pressing that it is not safe for me to think about the trip you suggest. If I can come to some conclusion I will try it after election, providing the invitation is issued. As you know, I planned the trip with Mrs. Gwinn for September, got our pictures and visas all fixed up and then didn't take the trip and felt very good afterward for having made that decision.

Sincerely yours,

R. W. GWINN.

NOVEMBER 5, 1948.

TO A HANDICAPPED STARTER, AN UPHILL FIGHTER. TO A MAN WHO COULDN'T WIN, AND DID. TO A MAN WHO, DESERTED BY PARTY, GIVEN NO CHANCES BY FORECASTERS, UPSET ALL PREDICTIONS AND DID WHAT COULD ONLY BE DONE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. TO HARRY S. TRUMAN, THE COUNTED-OUT CANDIDATE, WHO IS NOW PRESIDENT IN HIS OWN RIGHT

You are in—in without the help of sycophants and in spite of the opposition, the pity, and the apathy of your own party. You not longer wear the mantle of office by accident. You do not stand as the inheritor of another man's shoes. You are emphatically and entirely on your own. You owe nothing to politicians, factions, minorities, registered Democrats, or registered Republicans. You are entering the Truman administration by mandate of the American people.

You need have no fear that your new Congress will be left-wing or reactionary. You can be confident that the new Congress will present a solid constitutional front made up of two groups which, seemingly far apart politically, are in complete agreement on the preservation of the Constitution, in every part and particular. These are the southern Democrats and the 165 Republicans. This united front you can count upon to stand behind your every move to preserve the Constitution and to be unalterably opposed to any move further to abrogate, erode, or interpret, rather than preserve and enforce, the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

You will have unanimity in foreign policy and in popular desire for peace. You will be unopposed in every move to strengthen and preserve our economic system. There will be opposition to every move to weaken it. You will have cooperation in all proposed legislation for the good of all the people and opposition to all erosions of the rights of States, the rights of people in the States, the rights of property, privacy, religion, assembly, free speech, and free press. You will have impregnable opposition to class legislation and to special privilege.

Yours is a great personal opportunity. Unaided, except by the people, you have won the Presidency and in so doing have enabled many Senators and Representatives who had no hope of winning to be seated in the Eighty-first Congress. Yours is the opportunity to return this Nation to government of, by, and for all the people. You owe nothing to any party or any politician. You are responsible only to all the people. In many ways your election comes closer to unanimity than any since the days of George Washington.

That does not merely put you in the spotlight. It also puts you on the spot. You have won with the help of the people alone. You are alone politically. But you are more nearly one with the people than even you may know. If you fail the people, people will know it. Right now you are one of us—of the people, elected by the people, an uphill fighter reflecting our own typical American spirit; a man with the common touch, with simple religion and simple pleasures; one of us elected President of the greatest corporation for freedom on earth.

You know the left wing is even less than a minority. You know the constitutional wing in Congress is made up of at least 285 Representatives and at least 60 Senators. You owe nothing to labor blocs, minority blocs, or any other blocs. You owe nothing to any State or city political bosses. You made so few campaign promises that you need have no concern. In your campaign, however, you stated:

"I believe the Constitution which rightly protects property is still more deeply pledged to protect human rights."

There are millions of Americans who wonder precisely what you meant; millions who wonder if you were speaking of some special interpretation of the Constitution, not written there; wondering if you meant that in granting property rights, religious rights, the right to progress, freedom of speech and assembly, the Constitution was thus deeply pledging the protection of human rights.

You are one President who can say to the people, "It is not for me or the Congress every attempt to change, in any way, the Constitution. We cannot change the Constitution without the consent of all the people, voiced through their own State legislatures. Thus, we, the people, can amend our Constitution, but to do it other than constitutionally is to abrogate our own greatest document of liberty and freedom."

The people have put you into high office, not as the inheritor of the policies, the plans, and the program of another President, but as a President to represent them as of today and during the next four critical years. You are in office only because you were beloved in and believed worthy of confidence. From here on it is entirely up to you to prove yourself the rightful representative of that confidence.

May the same unwavering faith that carried you through your battle to victory remain with you when your party, its advisers, its leaders saw nothing but defeat. When your party strove to repudiate you as a standard bearer, you had nothing but faith to go on. But in faith you have proved you had everything.

Keep faith with the Constitution and the American people. Avoid the socialistic errors that are rampant in the world. Keep fighting for America and the American way. By so doing more and more popular faith will reside in you, and we will have greater chances of aiding all the peoples of the world to achieve a comparable kind of liberty, freedom, and opportunity.

As an American first and a Republican second, I am happy to point to you as an exemplar of the American type, a winner of a lost cause in an uphill battle. In that you are typical, not unique. Only the office and the spotlight of publicity accents your achievement. You have my unqualified endorsement of any policy of yours and any legislation that is for the good of all the people. You may count upon me to stand with you in your opposition to all legislation that is special privilege and which gives special powers and license to groups, cliques, or cliques.

E. F. HUTTON,
Westbury, Long Island.

PETTENGILL SAYS: "NEEDED NOW, A REALIGNMENT OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS AND CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLICANS WHO WANT TO BEQUEATH FREEDOM AND TRUE LIBERALISM TO THEIR CHILDREN SO THAT THEY CAN PRESENT A UNITED FRONT TO THE ENEMIES OF OUR REPUBLIC."

(Text of broadcast by Samuel B. Pettengill over ABC Network, Sunday, November 7, 1948)

WHAT ABOUT AMERICA'S FUTURE?

No finer tribute can be paid to the American people than the sportsmanlike way in which they accept the results of an election.

Yet, in other respects, the election was a disgrace. Only half of those entitled to vote did so. This is a poorer record, I believe, than is made by any other people in the world who still have the privilege of free elections.

The Census Bureau tells us that 95,000,000 were entitled to vote. Only 47,332,632 did so.¹ About half. Fewer than in 1940 and 1944—and this despite the increase of population. Actually, the election was the closest in 32 years. It is only the pollsters—Gallup, Roper, and Crossley—who have made Mr. Truman's election appear to be a landslide.

At the last figures reported, Mr. Truman actually received less than half the popular vote—less than a majority. His plurality was only slightly over 2 millions. But, in 1932, Mr. Roosevelt had a plurality of 7 millions; in 1936, 11 millions; in 1940, 5 millions; in 1944, 3½ millions.

Recalls Wilson victory

Before Mr. Roosevelt's first election, in 1928, Mr. Hoover had a plurality of 6½ millions. In 1924, Coolidge had 7½ millions. In 1920, Harding had 7 millions,

¹ Published by America's Future, Inc., 210 East 43d Street, New York, N. Y.

² Figures corrected in print to conform to the latest, incomplete totals.

with 40,000,000 fewer people in the country than today. You have to go back 32 years, to 1910, in the Wilson-Hughes election to find a President with as small a margin of victory, in the popular or electoral college vote, as Mr. Truman received on Tuesday.

I am simply stating the facts without any disparagement of Mr. Truman, whose fighting heart undoubtedly changed more votes after the nomination than ordinarily take place in a campaign.

I mention the facts only to put a fighting heart into the Jeffersonian Democrats and constitutional Republicans who are opposed to the further concentration of political and economic power in Washington, D. C., and the transformation of this Republic into, first, a Socialist labor government, as in England, and then, as the controls are extended, into something still worse.

Good political sportsmanship does not require the losers to quit, any more than a losing football team is denied the right the challenge the winner to another contest. Abraham Lincoln made this clear when he said that loyalty to our Government does not require acquiescence in the administration of the government.

Trend to political control

In 1940, I wrote a book—"Smoke Screen"—showing that we were moving away from the principles of a free constitutional Republic, toward a system of political controls over business, agriculture and men, similar in many respects to the national socialism in Germany and the fascism of Italy.

The present trend is almost a total abandonment of every great principle for which Jefferson's name became immortal. The present administration wants to concentrate political and economic power over the American people beyond the dreams of Alexander Hamilton—Jefferson's great adversary.

Only the States' Rights Democrats talked of the great principles of free government in this campaign. But, as I wrote Governor Thurmond, they rested their case on a too narrow application of those principles.

Must broaden the appeal

Only if they—and all who want to be free—extend their effort along the whole long battle-front of freedom versus fascism, and thus appeal to voters in every State, and in both the old parties, can we stop the descent toward European socialism and the nationalization of industry and men.

If, as I believe, the preservation of the Constitution and our private property system is the only true liberalism, there is no group of people in America who should fight harder to preserve it, than American workingmen.

You cannot nationalize industry without nationalizing men. You cannot control the means by which men live without controlling their lives. This becomes plainer, day by day, as British socialism moves on to its inevitable end.

When government takes over the ownership or management of industry, the freedom of workingmen to choose their jobs and manage their lives grows less and less.

When industry is privately owned and managed, men can strike to improve their working conditions, or change jobs to another employer. But, when industry is politically owned, or managed, government calls out the troops to force workingmen to do the will of the government, as troops have been used by the Socialist governments in England and France.

We had a hint of all this 2 years ago when Mr. Truman proposed to draft railroad men into the Army and subject them to martial law—a measure I vigorously opposed. I am getting fed up to the teeth paying high taxes to oppose totalitarianism in Europe and Asia and promoting it at home. I want Americans to be free, also.

Administration inconsistent

It is a strange commentary on events that in the directive to General Clay, issued by the Truman administration, for the government of Germany, he was told to break up the concentration of political power there, and to reestablish the separate German states, and local self-government, while, here in America, the Truman administration proposes to further destroy States' rights and further concentrate power in Washington.

One reason for the small vote in this election, is the fact that as Government has moved away from the courthouse and city hall, and State capitols, it has become so huge, so complex, and so distant, that no one can understand it. I said no one. No one at all. Not even the President of the United States.

If Mr. Truman, the administrator of the sprawling, jangling, conflicting costly Chinese maze in Washington, were asked to name all the bureaus that are loaning or giving away your money, or those that deal with our natural resources, to mention but two cases, he would do well to name half of them. I try to keep up with events, but I couldn't name 10 percent of them.

This feeling of being lost in the woods dampens the spirit of our people. They feel helpless. They feel like throwing up their hands. They don't bother to vote. They cease to be a part of the government. For when a citizen votes he is acting as an unpaid official of government.

We have come to a dangerous pass when half of our people abdicate as the officials of American Government! When government grows big, the citizen grows small.

The "Reds" don't abdicate

The Communists, however, know the score. They are shrewd and cunning men. They know that they can never take over, nor can the Ship of State sink in the widening sea of despotism so long as government is divided into many separate bulkheads—48 States, 3,000 counties, and tens of thousands of cities, towns, and villages.

The Communists want government concentrated at a single point. Using beautiful words looking toward the improvement of our lot in life, they are behind all this push to concentrate power, here, and throughout the world.

Now that the election is over, I do not feel like being unduly critical of the way the campaign was managed.

Every candidate has to work, to a large extent, like a fish in the sea, within the climate of the public opinion of his time. If that were not so, this would not be a representative government; it could only be an authoritarian government—a police state. In saying this, I do not defend the mere following of the latest Gallup poll—not any longer anyway! A politician ought not to be a person held upright by equal pressure from all sides. Public officials and candidates should help mold public opinion much more than they do. But, beyond a certain point, no candidate can get too far out in front. If he does, he gets knocked off.

Public not informed

The trouble, partly, has been in not creating a climate of informed public opinion, previous to the campaign, in which a winning fight could be made for American freedom.

The man on the street, by the millions, has been left uninformed as to the things that make the American clock tick. Millions believe that everybody in Russia gets the same pay. They believe that the profits of privately owned business in this country are 25 percent or more.

Millions believe that without increasing output per man-hour, wages can be raised and paid out of profits. Millions believe that government can fix prices successfully. They believe that prices can be controlled without controlling wages.

Millions don't understand why prices are high, and so swallow the Communist dope that our business system is chiefly to blame.

Millions don't understand

Millions don't know that today's inflation is due to the flood of money poured into our economic system by the Government; that, in truth, the dollar has been cheapened or diluted—like pouring water into milk—rather than that prices have risen.

It is doubtful if prices have risen if measured by the prewar dollar rather than the 50-cent dollar we have today. If we used 18-inch yardsticks, everybody would be 10 or 12 feet tall.

The school teacher, policeman, fireman, and civil servants looking forward to retiring on pension; the disabled war veteran counting on his Government check; the factory worker looking forward to his social security; the depositor in savings banks or building and loan; the holder of Government bonds; and the 70,000,000 or more paying premiums for life insurance for their wives and children, and all the thrifty, hard-working men and women are having their dollars diluted by Big Government—as it buys the support of pressure groups. They don't realize that it is fundamental Communist strategy to destroy the independence of thrifty people, by debauching their money, robbing their nest-eggs, controlling their jobs, and so making them the helpless wards of the all-powerful state.

Who spoke for these millions in this campaign? No one. Who said, "I do not propose to see your savings of a lifetime washed out by this flood of cheap dollars"? No one. On the contrary, both the old parties tried to outbid each other with more subsidies, more spending, more pap. Everything to convince the voter that he must look to the Federal Government as the provider of all good things—including false teeth, which the Socialist-Labor government is putting into the mouths of Englishmen. Mr. Truman said, "Don't bite the hand that feeds you." That is an echo of the "bread and circuses," when night began to fall over the Roman Empire.

Something for nothing

Who said, "There is no such thing as something for nothing"? Who said, "There is no such thing as free medical aid, or free anything"? Who said that every dollar the Government gives to one must be taken from another; that government cannot create wealth; that all it can do is to transfer wealth by taxation; that it cannot provide a single ton of coal, or bale of cotton, or loaf of bread, or quart of milk that is not first created by the work of human beings, with the aid of tools called capital?

Grover Cleveland, with rugged honesty, said that it is not the duty of government to take care of the people; it is the duty of the people to take care of their government. Who said that in this campaign? No one. No one at all.

There was no League of Honest Men, speaking the truth to the people, as the prophets of the Old Testament spoke to their people. Oh, no. The battle cry on both major fronts was: Vote for us, and we will take care of you. But who pays the politicians who take care of us?

It says in the Bible: "Because thou art luke-warm, and neither cold, nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth." Will that be the epitaph of the Republican Party, and the American Republic?

A friend of mine, who has fought for years to prevent our swift slide into state socialism wrote the Republican candidate, during the campaign, as follows:

Warning was given

I hear from many directions misgivings parallel to my own that your advisers are leading you and the Republican Party dangerously near defeat. You will be elected or defeated by the "man on the street" whose judgment will be no better on November 2 than his information. He is being filled with convincing lies about you and about the Republican Party. You have the answers and the American people are entitled to hear them. Your announced policy of not fighting back is suicidal. It is not the American way to avoid issues.

Two things are necessary if our drift toward European state socialism and the police state is to be reversed:

One: An all-out, year-round and continuous campaign of education in schools, colleges, homes, and factories to explain the basic facts of our political and economic system in plain, simple words that "bounce along the sidewalk," as Al Smith said. General Eisenhower, now president of Columbia University, has dedicated himself to that task on the college front. It must be done everywhere.

Two: A political realignment of Jeffersonian Democrats and constitutional Republicans who are still in an overwhelming majority, so that they can present a united front to the enemies of our Republic, and thus bequeath freedom and true liberalism to their children.

United, these Americans are unbeatable by any foe, foreign or domestic. United they stand, and divided they fall.

FORESIGHT—IN 1888 PETTENGILL WARNED: "WE ARE MOVING TOWARD NATIONAL SOCIALISM." SEE BELOW HOW FOR 10 YEARS HE HAS BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE FIGHT TO KEEP IT FROM AMERICA

The Pettengill broadcast of November 7 outlines a viewpoint that he has held over a long period.

Samuel B. Pettengill, as a Democrat, represented South Bend, Ind., in Congress, from 1930-33, when he voluntarily retired.

Immediately upon leaving Congress, he wrote his book, *Jefferson, the Forgotten Man*, dedicated to Jeffersonian Democrats and Lincoln Republicans—

"Soberly it is now no child's play to save the principles of Thomas Jefferson from total overthrow in this Nation."—A. Lincoln.

Jefferson, the Forgotten Man, had a circulation of about 70,000 copies. It exerted a great influence among Members of Congress, dozens of whom, on the radio and in speeches in Congress, referred to the book or quoted from it.

In 1940, Pettengill wrote another book, Smoke Screen, which, completed on April 15, had, within 5 months a circulation unparalleled for a book of that type—of 475,000 copies. Here is what Mr. Pettengill said in his foreword:

"This book is written to demonstrate that we are moving toward national socialism, and that from now on, we should move away from it.

"It is not intended as a partisan discussion. It is, however, political in the sense that the American Constitution is political. Heretofore, both great parties and their leaders and platforms have been forthright in their loyalty to the fundamental concepts of government upon which we have built the greatest and happiest civilization the world has ever known.

"To the men and women of both parties who still think that America is 'the last best hope of earth,' and are willing to fight to save it for their boys and girls, I dedicate these pages.

"To Republicans I recall Abraham Lincoln's words: 'The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of a free society.'

"To Democrats, of whom I have been one for a lifetime, I recall Jefferson's admonition, 'What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government which has existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all powers into one body.'

"To those who have grown weary of our great effort to be free, and have embraced, whatever the label or disguise or excuse, the principles of Karl Marx, and are willing to become the pawns of the state, I recall President Roosevelt's words in 1936, 'We have built up new instruments of public power' * * * which in other hands * * * 'would provide shackles for the liberties of the people.'

"* * * After 8 years in Congress I am certain that the American people have not chosen that course, and I do not think they will freely and deliberately make that decision.

"The decision is being made for them behind the 'smoke screen' of an unguaranteed political promise of the more abundant life which our great age is capable of producing. Hence the title of this book, Smoke Screen.

"The single important question is whether the general welfare we all seek can be more certainly attained under free enterprise or collectivism; under the Constitution of the United States which makes the state the servant of the people, or under Marxism, which makes the people the slaves of the state.

"To assist in answering that question is my only purpose. For a fuller statement of the argument for 'the American way,' I refer the reader to Jefferson, the Forgotten Man" (1940).

In the Postscript for Action, he asked the question: "Are we licked?" and outlined a program for action—of sending strong, constitutionally minded men to Congress.

In 1944, he wrote For Americans Only, which again achieved a circulation of 420,000 copies within 6 months. The following passages are quoted from the preface, and elsewhere, in that book:

"This book shows how the New Deal is taking America into national socialism. Its bureaucrats are fastening on our economic life permanent controls similar to those Hitler and the Nazi Party have fastened on Germany."

"The New Deal plans greatly increased Government ownership and operation of more and more business, particularly the utilities, such as the railroads, ships, aviation, and the light and power industries. It intends to go in for more and more housing. It intends to compete more and more with its own citizens, taxing them to make up its deficits. It is committed to unlimited borrowing and ceilingless debt. It has adopted the basic Nazi and Fascist doctrine that it is the unlimited business of Government to support the citizen, rather than that the citizen should support a limited government. It does this with mirrors—debt and concealed greenbacks."

"But when in history has government controlled a man's bread without controlling his life? 'You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live.' How can any government take responsibility for the planning of a nation's economic livelihood and long tolerate criticism or opposition to its plans? How can plans (4 years or 16 years) be harmonized with the right of the people to

elect a new Congress every 2 years (or a new President every 4 years) which can repudiate or change the plans?"

"If the New Deal is to go on, American liberties will go out.

"It is hard to keep a rein on government when it exercises political power only. But when both political and economic powers are concentrated in the hands of the state, no resistance is possible. We have seen that in Germany."

"The issue today is not between the historic Democratic and Republican Parties. It is between the New Deal collectivists on the one hand, and genuine Democrats and Republicans on the other. The latter, together, are in an overwhelming majority. They ought to find ways and means to make their combined opposition effective at once."

"Our only weapons are facts and truth. Our one hope of preserving the 'blessings of liberty' is to make those blessings plain to the millions of Americans to whom this book is dedicated. If they understand that America is at stake, they will think and vote American."

"The future of every home, farm, job, social security card, bank deposit, life insurance policy and every business in the United States depends upon the question whether the public understands and will support the American way of life. The Trojan horse of European or Marxian philosophy of government is ceaselessly at work undermining the faith of the people in the Constitution of the United States and the free-enterprise system.

"Those who believe in the American way of life have been letting the battle for its survival go by default. People vote as they think and feel. If they think wrong they will vote wrong. If they think the American system has failed and that communism, fascism, or national socialism is a better alternative, the American system will perish."

"In the same way that the Federalist papers sold the American system to the Americans of 1787, it is urgently important now for Americans today to resell America to those who hold the fate of America in their hands." (1944.)

"Nine-tenths of wisdom consists of being wise in time" was a favorite motto of Theodore Roosevelt's. Pettengill, of all Americans was wise in time. During his first term in Congress, Pettengill was appointed by John Garner, Speaker of the House, to membership in the Shannon committee to study government competition with private enterprise. In the opening pages of *Smoke Screen*, he says:

"During my first term in Congress I was given a job. It came from John Garner, Speaker of the House. It commissioned me to do what I could to stop the silent erosion of free enterprise—and with it the American Constitution.

"On and off, in Congress and out, I have worked at the job. At the beginning of this new decade I am more concerned about it than I have ever been. So are tens of millions of other Americans. I am not ashamed to underscore that word 'American.'

"Who in 1930, could foresee 1940? Who, in 1940, can justly be called an alarmist if he thinks that by 1950 or before, unless present trends are checked there will be little or nothing remaining of the freedom our fathers left us?

"I have not believed the immediate threat is communism. The outright confiscation of property, and the overnight destruction of liberty are not likely. The danger today is something else. It is a creeping collectivism. The New Deal, as it has been unveiled to us, especially since the 1936 election, has set its feet upon that path. Both from inner conviction and the logic of events it must proceed, unless it is brought to a halt by forces outside itself.

"The progress will be gradual but the end inevitable. There will be no sudden coup d'état. The march will be step by step, and by muffled tread. It will move under the smoke screen of laudable 'objectives' to its hidden goal. That goal is national socialism." (1940.)

If you want to help preserve the American way of life and to resist socialistic trends, you must do the necessary educational work. Buy, read and then place in circulation Pettengill's great books, *Jefferson the Forgotten Man*, price \$1; *Smoke Screen*, price \$1; For Americans Only, price 60 cents, two copies for \$1.

Distribute this folder in your own circles, as widely as possible. Up to 5 free copies postpaid anywhere; \$1 for 20; \$4 for 100; 200 to 700, \$3 per 100; 1,000

or more, 2½ cents each. To all to whom you distribute copies, we stand the cost of supplying 5 free copies upon their request. Ask for Pettengill's broadcast, *What About America's Future?*

EDWARDS & ANGELL,

15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, November 10, 1948.

HON. IRVING M. IVES,
Norwich, N. Y.

DEAR SENATOR IVES: A news item in the Providence Journal for Monday, November 8, contains the following statement attributed to you:

"The defeat of the Republicans can be ascribed to difficulties the party faced because of the inability of the Eightieth Congress to get together on a forward-looking, liberal program which would meet the conditions in the country as they exist."

"We are moving forward in this country. We are not static, and unless a political party recognizes that fact and governs itself to meet conditions with an adequate program, that political party is not going to get very far."

I should be interested to have you explain just what you mean by "a forward-looking, liberal program," and in just what respects the Eightieth Congress failed to meet the requirements of such a program.

Very truly yours,

R. B. DRESSER.

EDWARDS & ANGELL,

15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, November 17, 1948.

MR. HARVEY C. FRUEHAUF,
Fruehauf Trailer Co.,
10940 Harper Avenue, Detroit 32, Mich.

DEAR MR. FRUEHAUF: I have received and read with great interest a copy of Dr. Rumely's letter to you of November 6 and am in complete accord with the views therein expressed.

I fear that unless a vigorous and determined effort is made to inform the people about the important issues facing the country we shall within the space of a few years become a socialistic state. Predictions to this effect are already being made.

It is now or never if we are to save our freedom, and I know of no organization as well equipped to handle the job as the Committee for Constitutional Government. I am sick and tired of the phony talk about "liberalism" and the necessity for liberalizing the Republican Party, such, for example, as the recent statement by Senator Ives, of New York, a quotation from which is contained in my letter to him of November 10, a copy of which I enclose.

Equally revolting is the talk about the "reactionaries" and "Old Guard." It is about time that those using such terms be made to explain what they mean. They are, of course, nothing but political slogans intended to deceive the public.

The best discussion of this subject that I have seen is contained in the following excerpt from the book of Dr. Henry M. Wriston, president of Brown University, entitled "Challenge to Freedom":

"The proposals of this book are all radical; none of them looks toward any reactionary policy whatever. We have been living in a world where, by a kind of double talk, the vocabulary of liberalism has been stolen by the real reactionaries. Only in a world where values have become topsy-turvy would it be possible for Hitler to describe tyranny as a 'new order,' or for bureaucracy to masquerade in the habiliments of liberalism, or for the planned economy to make a pretense of 'economic democracy.' Government by bureaucracy, control of business by administrative regulation, manipulation of the economy for political purposes—these are stark reaction. Not all the cascades of beautiful words about 'new social goals,' 'bold social engineering,' 'security from the cradle to the grave' can wash away that ineradicable fact."

Mr. Truman has made commitments that he cannot possibly keep. He may be able to deceive the people, but he cannot flout the economic laws.

It is an utterly unwarranted conclusion that he has received a mandate from the people to do the various things he proposes to do. This claim should be knocked in the head wherever it appears. The farmers voted for Mr. Truman because he promised them high prices for their products. The consumers voted for Mr. Truman because he promised them low prices for the very same products. Organized labor voted for Mr. Truman because he promised to repeal

the Taft-Hartley bill, and the labor bosses told union members that this was a bad bill. Certainly the farmer was not advocating a repeal of the Taft-Hartley bill, and certainly labor-union members were not advocating a continuance of high prices for the farmer's products.

Among the important issues that must be debated, and with respect to which the public must be educated, are (1) the Taft-Hartley Act, (2) Federal aid to housing, (3) Federal aid to education, (4) Federal aid to medicine, (5) continuance of expenditures under the Marshall plan at their present scale, (6) continuance of the huge army of bureaucrats on the Federal payroll, and (7) the destruction of private enterprise through confiscatory taxation. Surely these are issues on which the public can and should be informed, and it behooves all of us to do everything in our power to see that this is done.

Outstanding in this battle, of course, would be Sam Pettengill and Ralph Gwinn. I can think of no persons better qualified to take the leadership in this crusade than they.

I should be very glad to get your views on this subject.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. DRESSER.

NOVEMBER 19, 1948.

MR. HARVEY C. FRUEHAUF,
Fruehauf Trailer Co.,
10940 Harper Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

DEAR MR. FRUEHAUF: As we are asking you to write to the 17,000 corporation presidents, we asked Ed Hutton to write to 20,000 individuals worth \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 and over. Copy of his letter is attached.

Note the postscript. If you care to, you might say, "This committee is in no way political. If it were, I would not support it. It does not work for the election or defeat of any candidate. But it does try to shield public officials, regardless of party, from the revenge tactics of the rulers of labor monopolies. It distributes to the public nonpartisan, educational material on vital constitutional and free-enterprise issues that are under consideration."

I do hope that we can have on Monday your O. K., for your letter is the only good key that we have to open the door to the most important group that we must reach immediately. I am sure that it will build valuable good will for you and for your operations.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

NOVEMBER 24, 1948.

MR. LEONARD E. READ,
Foundation for Economic Education,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR MR. READ: Mr. Leo Wolman writes me as follows:

"I have your letter of the 17th concerning the distribution of the pamphlet *Industry-Wide Bargaining*. The pamphlet is the property of the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., and any decision as to its distribution will be made by the foundation."

My thought with this piece is that if we could get it inserted into the Congressional Record, we could do a mass distribution job at low cost.

What is needed is, first, 15,000 to all editors and publishers, including weeklies, commentators, columnists, as well as the bar association (if there is money to cover about 158,000 lawyers in all, of whom 31,000 are members of the bar association), clergymen (about 60,000 of the top leaders), and other groups.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

SOUTHERN PINE INDUSTRY COMMITTEE,
New Orleans, La., November 26, 1948.

MR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I believe you will be interested in the enclosed letter on wage-hour prospects which went out recently to the members of this committee and to the entire southern pine lumber industry.

Pressure for a higher minimum wage and for FLSA amendments to broaden coverage, narrow exemptions, and others seeking to extend the benefits of the law will be greater in the Eighty-first Congress than ever before and their chances for success are proportionately favorable.

Overnight the picture has changed. Where before it appeared certain that the wage-hour law would be thoroughly studied and overhauled by the next Congress, to reduce its burden upon industry and clarify its uncertainties, it is now possible that the favorable atmosphere for intelligent and sound amendments built up in Congress during the past 2 years will be dissipated and the opportunity to accomplish something constructive will be lost.

What is possibility will become reality if all of us who have worked so diligently for sound legislative changes do not double our diligence to protect the progress we have made. Regardless of what sections of the law affect your group and irrespective of what changes in the law your people particularly desire, it is of utmost importance that there be no slackening in the effort to convince Members of Congress that these changes are necessary not only for the welfare of your industry but for the well-being of our national economy.

Last year, the Southern Pine Industry Committee compiled a booklet titled "Why You Should Oppose the Wage-hour Law," which was distributed widely throughout the Nation by many industry groups. Our records indicate that you helped in that distribution. As you know, the booklet attacked the principle of Federal wage-hour regulation, the false economic theories of the law, and the unending confusion and uncertainty it creates.

In carrying out our renewed effort in behalf of constructive amendments, it is our intention to publish another booklet in much the same vein but differently styled and more attractively done up. We are wondering if you would be interested in assisting in the distribution of the new booklet. We would supply them without charge and would arrange to have your organization's name printed on them if you so desire.

Very truly yours,

SOUTHERN PINE INDUSTRY COMMITTEE,
H. C. BERCKES.

Mr. H. C. BERCKES,
*Secretary, Southern Pine Industry Committee,
528 Canal Building, New Orleans, La.*

DEAR MR. BERCKES: I have your letter of November 26.

Please send me as soon as you can draft of the proposed new booklet.

Have you seen Dr. King's testimony before the committee on minimum-wage bill? We hope to distribute this under frank.

This is material that should go to clergymen, newspapers, thought molders throughout the country. Sent out under frank, with a preceding postcard asking the recipient to speak to his Congressman and to distribute the piece further, it would be highly effective. We are doing a similar job on Edna Lonigan's statement, "The Republicans and the Republic." We have sent out 141,000 copies of this recently. Copy of our little dodger that goes with it is enclosed herewith.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MEMO

NOVEMBER 23, 1949.

To: Dr. Rumely,
From: D. Pope.

On Saturday, after you had gone, I received a long-distance call from St. Louis—a Dr. J. E. Buckley, attending a meeting of the AMA wanted me to rush the following (which I told him I would do first thing Monday morning—there being no one here on Saturday):

800 What the election did not prove.

500 Why we did not lose the fight for freedom.

50 Federal aid to education—Gwinn (50 only).

500 Gwinn letter to Dr. King.

and two pieces put out by Foundation for Economic Education (Dr. Buckley had forgotten these pieces were not by us). I offered to contact them to rush the following:

50 The Golden Goose piece.

50 Wolman's Industry-Wide Bargaining.

All of these pieces to be charged to: Oregon State Medical Society, Medical Dental Building, Portland, Oreg.

All these items have been ordered here and at the foundation for rush shipment and charged to Oregon Medical Society.

NOVEMBER 27, 1948.

MR. EARL BUNTING,

National Association of Manufacturers,

14 West Forty-ninth Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. BUNTING: Attached hereto three copies of Mr. Robert W. Wason's extraordinarily effective talk, *The American Individual Enterprise System*. Please note the reference, in the box at the end, to the two volumes by the same title; also, the copy of our letter to James N. McGraw, Jr., which is self-explanatory.

If you concur in the viewpoint that now is the opportune time to give much wider and more effective distribution to the two volumes, possibly NAM would be interested in working out the placement of the book so as to give it increased effectiveness just now when the message it carries is so vitally important to the country's future.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

NOVEMBER 30, 1948.

MR. ROBERT B. DRESSER,

15 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: Thanks for letting me see copy of Mr. Freuhauf's letter to you.

I think Mr. Freuhauf wholly overemphasizes in his own mind the effect of his going to businessmen to ask them to support a cause that he himself has very generously previously supported. It does not give him the reputation of being a professional money raiser. On the contrary, it places him as a man fighting for principles that all businessmen know in their hearts they should be fighting for.

This isn't theory. One man after the other, beginning with Mr. Gannett, who put out such letters of solicitation, had their positions strengthened and the esteem for them increased. That's one aspect of the thing.

The other aspect is this: We have only a few names who can give effective leadership. Harvey Freuhauf pioneered a forthright stand against rising labor monopolies as probably no other man in the United States. Therefore, in his own right he has a platform from which to speak. But, in addition, when his little folder, *Labor's Contribution to High Prices*, came, we tested it, using 40,000 copies, which he supplied, on the Pettengill list. Then we worked out a smaller format of which he supplied 100,000, and we subsequently printed 500,000 copies at a cost of about \$5,000, and we included this as a principal piece in a mailing to about 600,000, which mailing cost \$30,000. It included all business leaders, many of whom ordered additional copies. Thus we had spread Mr. Freuhauf's name and the knowledge that he was taking a forthright stand over the lists that we must now solicit.

It, therefore, is a serious set-back not to have an appeal by him. I am convinced that the letter which we urged him to write would have brought him no unfavorable reaction and possibly would have done great good, stiffening the spirit of business leaders by showing that one outstanding man had not folded up. At the same time I estimated that the letter which would have cost the committee about \$1,800 would produce somewhere from \$18,000 to \$30,000 on the basis of the productiveness of his earlier letters.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

NOVEMBER 7, 1948.

Mr. R. B. DRESSER,

Edwards & Angell, 15 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: You received a copy of my memorandum to the trustees dated November 6. Here is a copy of a letter to Harvey Fruehauf.

If you with your very long experience with the top officers of NAM would express your viewpoint to Mr. Fruehauf, even if you dissent from the viewpoint I present, it would be helpful because Mr. Fruehauf is in a key position.

Very much depends upon our being able to get the business leaders to become aggressive fighters to preserve our form of government. Never have men had such a great heritage to fight for and never as a body have they been so apathetic and inert.

The program for the NAM meeting in December should be revised to put on two or three men who will state the cause of economic freedom and challenge business leaders to roll up their sleeves and get into the fight. The stockholders' position is being liquidated by the labor bosses, but the trustees for stockholders, that is the directors and officers of corporations, are inert on the challenge that fronts them and the Nation. They have to be waked up and it will be a tragedy if the NAM meeting does not do the job.

It is only 14 months to January 1950, when the nominations for the next Congress begin. And after years of neglect, now every month counts if the country is to be reeducated away from European socialism.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

FRUEHAUF TRAILER Co.,
Detroit, November 23, 1948.

Mr. ROBERT B. DRESSER,

Edwards & Angell, 15 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

DEAR MR. DRESSER: Thank you for your letter of the 17th.

I certainly agree with your appraisal of the Committee for Constitutional Government. As you know, I have supported it rather substantially for several years and I intend to continue to support it to the best of my ability.

I have been giving considerable thought to the letter Dr. Rumely would like to send out over my name and expect to be able to tell him within a day or so whether I am agreeable to it or not.

My hope all along has been that the committee, having such a splendid record for achieving constructive results, would be able to enlist more nationally prominent business and industrial leaders in its crusade than it has had contributing to it and fighting for it. The lethargy of our big men amazes me.

After all, I would not want to get the reputation of being a professional money raiser, and it certainly is obvious that more leaders in private enterprise working for the committee's program would be a great help.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

/s/ HARVEY C. FRUEHAUF,
President, Fruehauf Trailer Co.

DECEMBER 7, 1948.

Mr. LEONARD E. READ,

*The Foundation for Economic Education,**Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. READ: It is kind of you to invite me. I shall enjoy hearing Henry Hazlitt's report, and be glad to be with you on the evening of Friday, December 17.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., December 6, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

*Committee for Constitutional Government,**205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Henry Hazlitt has just returned from several weeks in Peru—studying our foreign fiscal policies from the vantage point of how they work on one small country.

Henry wrote me from Lima, "There is much to tell,"
You are invited to the telling party. It will be here at our workshop in
Irvington—6 p. m., Friday, December 17.
There will be a cocktail, a buffet supper, and then Henry Hazlitt. Make it
if you can, but let me know.

Cordially,

LEONARD E. READ, *President.*

UNITED STATES SENATE,

105 Belgrave Drive, Kearny, N. J., December 10, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

America's Future, Inc.,

210 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Thanks for yours of December 8.

I have advised my secretary, Miss Barrett, that 200 copies of my broadcast
speech will be sent to Kearny, so that she may have them to send out to those
wishing copies. I think if you will send 100 copies to the Washington office, it
will be enough, as I am closing up shop there the end of this month.

When Miss Barrett gets her copies, she can send one to Mr. Ralph Bradford,
general manager of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and one to
the several organizations which have heretofore liked to send out most of the
things I have said publicly.

I will ask her to confer with Mr. T. L. Shaffer, and perhaps he can write a
letter to the proper people to see if they wish copies to send out, in which event
they will notify you.

There is much to be thought about and much to be done if we are to save
America, and one of the important things is to get the people to read what they
should rather than what they do read.

I have checked over the proof and it seems all right to me, but I know you
have gone over it carefully.

With kindest personal regard and every good wish to you and yours for
happiness on Christmas and New Year's Day, I remain

Sincerely yours,

A. W. HAWKES.

DECEMBER 8, 1948.

Senator ALBERT W. HAWKES,

Congoleum Nairn Co., Kearny, N. J.

MY DEAR SENATOR HAWKES: Here is proof of your broadcast. We shall im-
mediately, when this comes from the press, ship 200 copies to your office in
Washington and 200 copies to Kearny. If you can use more of our first run let
us know.

You may have lists that you would like to have covered. We shall be glad to
supply as many copies as you can use to advantage.

It was a great broadcast.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Mr. HARVEY FRUEHAUF,

Fruehauf Trailer Co., 10040 Harper Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

DEAR Mr. FRUEHAUF: We are mailing you Dr. King's new studies.

Attached hereto is a letter that we would like you to put on your stationery
and let us mail to the business leaders of the country at the committee's expense.

I am trying to find a seed money fund of \$3,000 to carry this. We will not only
mail your letter with the enclosures to the 17,000 business leaders but if they
purchase in any reasonable quantity, we can extend it to more business leaders.

We will immediately mail for release to every newspaper editor and publisher,
columnists, commentators, Washington correspondents. If we get the seed
money fund, we can go to the 10,000 country editors, to the editors of all period-
icals (business, labor, religious, agricultural, etc.). Thus, the editorial offices
will get the viewpoint.

Now is the time to break down the false promises in the public mind. On the
Grannick Forum this week Senator Pepper debated with Senator Ball. Pepper

said, "The official Government figures show that since 1943 the wage increases have not kept pace with the increasing cost of living. Therefore, this proves that the Taft-Hartley law so crippled unions that they can no longer fight effectively enough to protect the workers. Therefore, there must be repeal."

How the business world can sit on its hands and not do the educational job to break down the false conception propagated by the 10,000,000 circulation to union members and by Government officials, by Senator Pepper, to the public is hard to understand. Billions of stockholders' rightfully earned money may be taken from them if this false picture is allowed to prevail and the fourth round of wage increases driven through in a sagging market with high break-even point.

No name that we have available can be as effective at this juncture as your name. Also you are not asking anything of industrial leaders, but you are offering them the most valuable tool for their own protection that is available at the moment.

Dr. King is bringing to bear the lifetime background of one of the most expert economists and analysts for the aid of business. Why is it so difficult for businessmen floundering in a stormy sea to take hold of a life saver that is tossed right into their hands?

Please give me a phone call when this letter reaches you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Subject: The Fourth Round

Both business and labor-union press have spread false ideas that a fourth round of wage increases is necessary and just.

Statements by some union spokesmen that lower prices would be better than higher wages are more window dressing. Union leaders, in order to keep their following, must do as they have always done, promise to get more and more for less and less.

No our serious-minded employees, who are probably in the majority, are left defenseless unless management, down through the foremanship level, is armed with proof of the falsity of this union propaganda.

The enclosed three pieces were submitted for my consideration:

1. Using Charts To Deceive Rather Than To Enlighten. This was designed to present the truth in convincing form to upper-level thinkers.

2. Statistical X-ray and (on reverse side) Apples and Walnuts. Here the facts are condensed, simplified, and headlined to challenge attention.

3. (For possible bulletin use, or for presentation in foremen training groups.) An enlargement of charts and text identical with No. 2.

I consider this material so useful that I volunteered to bring it to your personal attention. The fourth round issue is being tried in the court of public opinion, and we in industry must meet it there as well in our own circles. Wide distribution to stockholders in service clubs, to clergy, farm, and other community leaders seems to me to be urgently needed.

Sincerely yours,

H. FRUEHAUF.

DECEMBER 15, 1948.

Memorandum to the Office Forces:

In the recession that has started, money is going to be more difficult to secure. It is imperative that the committee take advantage of every possible economy. If you see any place where money can be saved, please bring it to the attention of your department head, or myself.

Also, the committee must get full-time service per worker from all of us. We have had many vacation days. The workweek has been reduced, for although employment was entered into generally on a 5½-day week basis, the committee has not called for the half day on Saturdays that was part of the arrangement. It may have to go back to having half of the force here each Saturday. But the decision on this is reserved for the future.

By close application, we want to try to handle the work fully during the 5 days as long as possible without calling for the extra half day. This means that everyone should put in full time—9:15 to luncheon time, 1 hour and no more for luncheon, 5 o'clock closing.

If, for unavoidable reasons, there is lateness or a longer luncheon period, the time lost must be made up before any claim can be put in for extra time or overtime.

The 5-day week of 33½ hours is a very short week, and the committee is entitled to full-time service up to this limit before any claim is made for extra time.

Extra time will be paid for at straight rates up to 40 hours, and time and one-half for time in excess of 40 hours.

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

DECEMBER 15, 1948.

Mr. EARL BUNTING,
National Association of Manufacturers,
11 West Forty-ninth Street, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. BUNTING: Herewith copy of an open letter to the President which we expect shortly to distribute to all newspapers.

Ralph Gwinn quotes Senator Byrd as saying that 45,000 bureaucrats are spending \$75,000,000 annually for Government propaganda.

We shall distribute Harness' statement, Our Most Dangerous Lobby, to the entire press.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Same letter to John M. Pratt, Earl Shreve, president, United States Chamber of Commerce.

DECEMBER 16, 1948.

Mr. HARVEY FRUEHAUF,
Fruehauf Tractor Co.,
10040 Harper Avenue, Detroit 32, Mich.

DEAR MR. FRUEHAUF: Here is a letter that is going to about 3,500 editors and publishers of all daily newspapers, of periodicals, religious, business, agricultural, etc., and to all columnists and commentators. On January 3 when Congress opens, we will send copy to all Members of Congress and a personal letter is going to the President and other members of the executive departments dealing with this wage problem.

This study by Dr. King and a subsequent follow-up study he is now making can mold national thinking if adequately projected. The next step is to place these in the hands of 20,000 or more corporation presidents, each of whom needs to know the facts and each of whom has a self-interest in distributing them or in putting up the large piece on the bulletin boards, using them in mailing to stockholders, to workers, also to clergymen and opinion molders in the local community.

The problem is how to get this out with a letter that will challenge the attention of corporation president addressed, and for that we need your letterhead, your name. No other is available to us half so effective. We will defray the cost. But it would be great if the Fruehauf Tractor Co. paid for postage, letterheads, and mailing cost, we supplying the enclosed at our cost. But, even if the Fruehauf Tractor Co. is unwilling to do that, we will pay the cost.

But we do need your authorization immediately.

I believe this letter on your company's letterhead will build many thousands of dollars of good will among corporate executives throughout the country for you and particularly for your company. And it will bring admiration for your persistence in the fight for a balanced, stable, and free economy.

But time is of the essence, for we must get this letter through and ready to drop into the mails not later than January 3. That gives us only 2 weeks if you give us the go-ahead on Monday, December 20.

Copy of the suggested letter was previously sent but another copy is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

RALPH W. GWINN, TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT, NEW YORK,
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 18, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I find I failed to thank you for your letter of December 1 enclosing clippings from the New York Times regarding the proposed lobby inquiry.

I'll make inquiries regarding the Lobby Committee and see what can be done. With kind regards, I am

R. W. GWINN.

DECEMBER 30, 1948.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Herewith, copy of Dr. King's testimony on corporate profits before the Flanders committee.

We are trying to drive this statement into the consciousness of our Congressmen when Congress convenes.

It would be particularly effective if Congressman Rich could possibly distribute this, as he is on the Flanders committee, and we are asking him if he would.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

300 SOUTH EUCLID AVENUE, December 30, 1948.

Hon. HOWARD A. COFFIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR HOWARD: I have your letter of December 23 and have looked over the correspondence you enclosed.

As our plans have developed, it is clear that your present radio enterprise would not fit into it. I think we can take this conclusion as final.

I wish you luck with your own enterprise and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you from time to time in Washington.

Good wishes for the new year.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT L. LUND.

JANUARY 11, 1949.

Hon. DANIEL A. REED,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN REED: That's an excellent piece on political medicine that you introduced into the Record. We had planned to suggest that.

We are planning to have introduced a piece along similar lines by Aaron Sargent, copy enclosed herewith. We may wish to reproduce for wide distribution the piece introduced by you (p. A-32 of January 5) and the Sargent piece. We trust that if Mr. Dodge approaches you you will give consent to our reprinting the article Political Medicine. Thanks for any courtesy that you can show.

It may interest you to know that the committee is sponsoring the drive to repeat what proved so highly effective in the court fight, namely, the mass distribution of franked releases. Attached hereto a postcard and the 4 releases, each of which is going to 100,000 a week. We plan to step this distribution up by another 100,000 next week and to carry through as far as our funds will permit to a total of 1,000,000, accompanied by 4,000,000 franked releases.

We hope that the millions of individuals thus reached will in turn ask for large quantities and will buy for bulk distribution to their own lists. The story of what was accomplished by the use of franked releases in the committee's fight against Court packing is told in the booklet Needed Now enclosed herewith.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JANUARY 24, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: We wired the Honorable S. K. McConnell and the Honorable Graham A. Barden as per the attached. We are mailing copy of the telegram special delivery to each member of the committee—as we are able to ascertain the corrected new membership. We have begun with Messrs. Brehm, Wint Smith, Kearns, Nixon, Norton, Werdel, Velle, J. S. Wood, Lucas, Sims, Steed, and yourself.

Dr. King's testimony of December 4, 1947, is one of the best presentations made. If those interested in this situation would finance the distribution of a postcard, followed by Dr. King's testimony, urging wide distribution, it might really turn the country's thinking around on this issue. Think, for example, of a postcard to 120,000 clergymen who are confused on this issue—and to educators.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Assistant Secretary.*

JANUARY 20, 1949.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: The attached memo shows the program for mass distribution. I am sending this to a few in order to induce them to help supply the seed money.

Nowhere will 5 cents accomplish so much, and nowhere will initial funds bring in additional funds and enlist the cooperation of very large numbers, as with the formula that, with your help, we are using.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JANUARY 27, 1949.

Senator ALBERT W. HAWKES,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR HAWKES: We have just made a test with 100,000 postcards similar to the attached one to lawyers, which has brought the most astounding results in correspondence, in requests for tens of thousands of reprints here and to Washington. (See Ralph Gwinn's letter, reproduced with his permission, at the end of the attached memorandum.)

We are just now at the point of enlarging this program, if we can find finances, to include public education on the harmfulness of trying to lift minimum wages by law. The pending bill is particularly dangerous. Attached hereto copy of a letter that we have sent to all Members of Congress today, on this issue.

The results, so far, indicate rather clearly that if the kind of campaign that was waged against court packing and the one-man-reorganization, is repeated, a similar result could be had. The problem is to wake up business leaders to give adequate financial support. Ed Hutton gave out an interview on this a few days ago. It was very strong.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JANUARY 29, 1949.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
Hay-Adams Hotel, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: I am sorry to address this to your home, for I know what a sad plight you are in with the overwhelming mass of work demanding your attention, and cutting into your leisure time, but I am in the same boat.

Here is a list of men to whom the attached memorandum has gone. These men all have the delusion that if they get hot and bothered and send their lawyers, as Western Union will do on Monday, to protest before a congressional committee, that they have done their utmost. They do not realize the importance of educating the public. A Western Union executive told me that they had lost \$2,000,000 last year and that this minimum wage bill (if it goes through)

they will lose millions more, because they are compelled in their messenger service to employ tens of thousands of marginal workers, who operate with their two legs—the tools that God gave them. But they have done nothing to make clear to the public such facts as Dr. King brought out in his testimony.

Both Byler and Ward told me that they are not very warm for further expenditures but that they will come together to listen to what we have to propose. Every dollar that we put into a fight will be spent immediately and the trustees of the committee are spending time and their own money. We are asking no favors of them. If they realized the facts, we are performing a service for which they are deeply indebted.

I am trying to find a man who could send a message to someone in this group telling them of the importance of educating the public and not expecting Congressmen to fight and legislate in a vacuum of favorable opinion and against sentimental opposition. Possibly O. A. Taylor could spread the word.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., February 1, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Thank you very much for your renewed donation to aid the work of the foundation. We deeply appreciate your continued interest and support, and we hope that our achievements during the coming year will surpass your expectations.

Cordially,

H. C. CORNUELLE, *Executive Vice President.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1949.

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I have your letters of January 10 and 23 with reference to the insertion in the Congressional Record of an open letter to all Congressmen. I do not wish to insert this letter in the Record, and respectfully decline to do so.

It may be that some other Member will find it convenient to present this matter.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

DANIEL A. REED.

JANUARY 23, 1949.

The Honorable DANIEL A. REED,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN REED: Attached hereto in duplicate, release and open letter to all Congressmen.

If this appeals to you as deserving of a place in the Congressional Record, and if you would insert it, we should like to immediately order 100,000 reprints carrying this open letter and the welfare state piece by Dorothy Thompson which you inserted on January 7.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JANUARY 10, 1949.

The Honorable DANIEL A. REED,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. REED: Mr. Dodge reported.

Of course we respect your opinion. You have put into the Record much valuable material and have given us great cooperation.

In this fight we are operating on such a large scale that we are under compulsion to keep down unit costs. The addressing operation on a single envelope in this one mailing will cost us about \$1,850.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 18, 1940.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I appreciate your letter of January 11, 1940, as well as the enclosures. Mr. Dodge called on me today, and I think he will explain to you the situation with reference to your request.

Yours sincerely,

DANIEL A. REED.

FEBRUARY 5, 1940.

Senator GEORGE W. MALONE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MALONE: The widespread and rather sharp decline in farm prices, rising unemployment, sagging business activity reflected by decrease in orderings, indicate that the deflationary movement is rather strong. It may level off or it may go further. If it goes further, now is the opportunity to mobilize farm support, widespread urban support, and all interested in basic raw materials and metals, especially gold, which is tied to a deflationary \$35 per ounce prices.

When \$35 was set, the value of gold required about a \$50 price for full recovery. The real world value is not known because the world index of gold as against other commodities, which was maintained at Cornell University with the support of General Motors, was discontinued. Therefore, a proper price to support the right price level is not available, but one might guess that it should be between \$15 and \$75 per ounce, to keep the price level high enough to offset the fixed ratio, debt load, monopolistic union wages rates, that will be difficult to revise downward. This means that with the right kind of statement by somebody willing to fight for sound monetary action, public thinking might be crystallized.

Yesterday I attended the House Education and Labor Committee's meeting on minimum wages, while Dr. King testified. It was interesting to see how Congressmen, elected in labor-dominated districts, are pausing in their thinking over the danger of a depression. The only time we had monetary thinking that amounted to much in the depth of the 29-33 depression. The fear of that may give opportunity for monetary leadership for someone like yourself.

Frank A. Vanderlip, on the basis of his long banking experience, worked out a monetary authority bill which was inserted into the record, I believe in 1934 by Senator Borah. That bill was the result of very careful and expert thinking. You may find it worth while having your secretary look it up and bring it to your attention.

I look forward to a personal meeting and exchange of thought with you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
February 7, 1940.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I have your letters of February 5 relative to distribution of material relative to the President's program of legislation and, in addition, monetary policies.

Appreciate you calling the Vanderlip study to my attention and I shall take advantage of the first opportunity I have to look it over. This is, in itself, a hectic session, and for western Senators like myself has been made much more

so by the tremendous pressure resulting from the storm emergency in the Western States.

With reference to your suggestion that Dr. King's material be mailed over my frank, I feel that fundamentally this is an inappropriate use of the franking privilege. Whatever the merit of any single suggestion along this line, doing so in one case would set a precedent of approval for all similar requests, and I do not feel that such a precedent is desirable. I am confident you appreciate this viewpoint.

I have several speaking engagements during the coming 2 weeks, and will therefore be in and out of my office. I shall, however, be glad to talk with you at any time you call.

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. MALONE.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y., February 8, 1949.

Hon. SAMUEL K. McCONNEL, Jr.,

Committee on Education and Labor,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

When asked to express my views concerning a flexible minimum wage rate by members of your committee, I had not previously given the question any thought. I have since made comparison between hourly earnings average for factory workers, cost of living, and payroll index curves. I am having a comparison of these charted for the benefit of our committee.

If minimum wage is to be enacted and tied to some index, it would be preferable to tie it to the payroll index which is published regularly by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The value of using this index would be that it is much more flexible than hourly earnings. Hence, when business declines, it would move down almost proportionately. Such being the case, if minimum-wage legislation were tied to the payroll index, in times of depression, such legislation would cause less unemployment than would be the case if the rate were tied to average hourly earnings or cost of living.

I would, therefore, like the privilege of having my testimony conform to my views which I hold after having had an opportunity to think the matter over further and to make the comparisons which I shall submit in chart form within a few days.

I am sending a copy of this to Chairman Lesinski and Ralph W. Gwinn.

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman*.

FEBRUARY 10, 1949.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,

1244 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

My DEAR HOMER: Batt, Bates & Co., who are enclosing Political Medicine, phoned this afternoon. They ran into a little difficulty in that Wint Smith wanted to be consulted before furnishing his frank for shipment to New York City. I then called Congressman Gwinn who agreed to use his frank for this operation.

I hope that Barr Miller succeeded in breaking the log jam and getting the packages moving to us here. Every day's delay is tragic. We want to drop 400,000 post cards tomorrow and they must be followed very promptly by the mailed release.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 11, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR Dr. RUMELY: Sometime ago you sent me the American Enterprise Foundation's President's Report. They are going through a lot of motions collecting

an enormous amount of material which the Congressmen, of course, are glad enough to have, but which is very seldom read, in my judgment. Like all the rest, they take no position, have no convictions, and fight for nothing. They let the Congressman get elected, whoever it may be, then expect to influence his vote to change his whole philosophy of life by overwhelming him with a lot of facts.

Sincerely yours,

R. W. GWINN.

FEBRUARY 14, 1940.

MR. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS,
Sheffield House, Southport, Conn.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS: Henry M. Wriston, of Brown University, has just put out a statement, "Fire Bell in the Night."

I recalled how an article by you on the same basis rang the bell across the Nation. Is there not something that you would say now, and would like to have widely distributed, about the trend of things in Washington?

Active leadership people today will respond as they did during the court fight. Please note the attached memorandum. We are having an amazing response to the post card, sample of that sent to lawyers enclosed. See also Ralph Gwinn's column.

It is time for you to speak—your voice will be heard and will be an influence in Congress. Possibly we can have newspapers all over the country use it as they did before.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

FEBRUARY 21, 1940.
(Dictated February 16, 1940.)

HON. GEORGE W. MALONE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MALONE: Thanks for your letter of the 7th. If the drop in farm, raw material, and metal prices should go further, the country may become awakened to the need for monetary action. The problem then will be to force the acceptance of a sound program instead of regimentation.

I fully accept your statement of your viewpoint regarding the use of the frank and withdraw the suggestion made.

However, I should like, in reference to the future—and not to Dr. King's piece—to register another viewpoint. Government bureaucrats, by the record, are spending \$68,000,000 annually for propaganda purposes, generally to establish a socialized welfare state, destructive of constitutional freedom. Even if Members of Congress, by putting out contrary material incurred \$1,000,000 or \$2,000,000 of expense for the Treasury, it would be negligible compared with the very destructive bureaucratic propaganda carried on at the expense of the taxpayers.

I enclose Our Most Dangerous Lobby, a statement which was reprinted in Reader's Digest.

When the Court fight started, there were only 12 Republicans in the Senate and 87 in the House. Senator Borah, who was at the heart of this fight, felt much as you do about the use of the frank. But, it soon developed that there was no way to counter Henry Wallace's vast army of retainers, who were digging up opposition in rural districts to Senators who opposed Court-packing. Three hundred and fifty thousand franked pieces in one State cleared a very menacing situation for the Senator who had dared to take a stand upholding the independence of the Court. Then, other Senators asked for similar distribution and probably one of the most important factors that defeated the Court-packing bill was the distribution of 15,000,000 franked releases, mostly to small town and rural mail boxes. Just at the moment, we in the committee are engaged in a similar effort. It is having an astounding response. Post cards like the attached to doctors and lawyers have gone to 500,000, followed by 2,000,000 packages of reprints containing about 5,500,000 individual statements from the Record. And a prairie fire of determined opposition against socialized legislation is spreading as the result. In war we cannot always choose our weapons.

Let me say again that this is not an effort to have you change your viewpoint on Dr. King's statement, but simply a statement of experience for your

consideration—for at some future time, fighting for a sound monetary program, you may have to disseminate on a huge scale authoritative information on the significance of what you are undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Assistant Secretary.*

FEBRUARY 16, 1940.

Mr. H. O. BEROKE,
*Secretary, Southern Pine Industry Committee,
520 Canal Building, New Orleans 4, La.*

DEAR MR. BEROKE: Thanks greatly for your cooperative and helpful letter of February 14 with its enclosures.

It would be most helpful if you could give us the list of the 1,200 lumber manufacturers throughout the South either on cards or sheets, or on gummed labels, air-mailing them when run.

We will supply you immediately 3,000 copies of the King testimony as we are now having it printed and if you want more copies, we shall be glad to supply these.

The country is waking up. Ralph Gwinn's column of this week and the column of a week ago indicate this. Most of his letters trace back to the post cards and franked releases.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
February 7, 1940.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I have your letters of February 5 relative to distribution of material relative to the President's program of legislation and, in addition, monetary policies.

I appreciate your calling the Vanderlip study to my attention, and I shall take advantage of the first opportunity I have to look it over. This is, in itself, a hectic session, and for western Senators like myself has been made much more so by the tremendous pressure resulting from the storm emergency in Western States.

With reference to your suggestion that Dr. King's material be mailed over my frank, I feel that fundamentally this is an inappropriate use of the franking privilege. Whatever the merit of any single suggestion along this line, doing so in one case would set a precedent of approval for all similar requests, and I do not feel that such a precedent is desirable. I am confident you appreciate this viewpoint.

I have several speaking engagements during the coming 2 weeks, and will therefore be in and out of my office. I shall, however, be glad to talk with you at any time you call.

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. MALONE.

FEBRUARY 18, 1940.

Mr. E. M. ANDERSON,
Editor and Publisher, Transylvania Times, Brevard, N. C.

MY DEAR MR. ANDERSON: We are enclosing herewith Dr. King's testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor, as well as his column, The Minimum Wage Gold Brick.

I should like to talk to you Monday about this.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

FEBRUARY 17, 1949.

Mr. E. M. ANDERSON,
*Chairman, Legislative Committee, National Editorial Association,
 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR MR. ANDERSON: Here's Dr. King's testimony and his column. I should like to talk to you tomorrow by long distance.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,
 28 Shore Road, Douglaston, N. Y., February 23, 1949.

Hon. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,
*Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee,
 House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. DOUGHTON: Rarely has the absurdity of attempting to increase American prosperity by maintaining tariff barriers been brought out more clearly than in the present issue regarding a tariff on watches. Recently, the Waltham Watch Co. failed. This failure is being advanced as a reason for placing higher tariffs on imported watches. Yet, at the same time, two American watch companies, namely, Bulova and Gruen, are reporting excellent profits. I happen to know that, in the case of the Bulova Co., they are taking on large numbers of employees to take care of an unprecedented volume of orders.

Free competition has made American industry the most productive in the world and, thereby, has raised wage rates to levels never before approached. In view of this fact, how absurd it is for Government to intervene in an endeavor to keep in operation inefficient producers.

Trusting that you will do your best to keep tariff barriers down, I remain,

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING,
Economics Professor Emeritus.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
 COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
 February 24, 1949.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: I have your note of February 5 and hope you will keep me advised as to how you regard the levelling-off process now going on in prices and how far you think it will go, from time to time. I realize it is very hard to gage because I agree with you that it may recover this time, but with our free-trade policy I cannot see what would prevent it from a downward long-range trend.

I am enclosing copy of my Lincoln Day address at Battle Creek, Mich., on February 10, in which I call attention to the three-part program to level the living standard of this country to the low-wage living standards of the Asiatic and European nations.

This is the thing that I really consider important and where I think we need some real help because they are doing this while keeping the attention of the Members of Congress and the public on group legislation.

I am enclosing a reprint from the Congressional Record of my speeches and debates on the floor of the Senate during the Eightieth Congress and hope you will have the opportunity to study two things at least—one is the debate on the Marshall plan starting on page 5 together with the summary of this debate starting on page 3, and secondly my proposed flexible-import-fee bill, starting on page 81.

All of the material is carefully indexed, and I will be glad if you would critically analyze anything of interest to you. I think the flexible-import-fee legislation should take the place of the 1934 Trade Agreements Act.

I will look forward to a visit with you on your next trip to Washington.

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. MALONE.

The 3-phase free-trade program should be publicized as you suggest.

FEBRUARY 28, 1940.

Mr. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS,
Sheffield House, Southport, Conn.

DEAR MR. ADAMS: Thanks for your letter of the 10th. But the situation is not so hopeless as it appears on the surface. If you could see our mails and the way people are responding, and the mails received by Congressmen, you would realize that the country, if given leadership, will overthrow socialistic plans.

Attached hereto copy of a mailing that we are sending to 6,000 contributors to the Republican Party and to scores of thousands of others. We have sent post cards like the attached to all lawyers, all physicians, all dentists, and other groups—up to a half million—and we hope to get financed to go much further.

In the statement Your Help Needed, there is reference to a message from Congress—that came from Eugene Cox who helped in the fight against court packing. The quotation, tempered down, is longer.

I called upon Cox to find out whether we had time enough to mobilize the country against the one-man-rule reorganization bill. Walking down the steps of the Capitol he said, "My people in Georgia have sent me here for 11 terms and I am therefore chairman of the committee. No demagogery out of the White House windows will remove me from the chairmanship nor cause me to release this bill 1 day before I am certain that the country has been aroused sufficiently for its defeat." The result was that the overwhelming majority, that Roosevelt had, crumbled both on the court bill and the one-man-rule reorganization bill and the \$400,000,000-a-month spending bill.

Confidentially, Congressman Cox and another Congressman and a Senator sent word that they would put on the same kind of campaign so that the socialistic measures could be halted and, in any event, the country educated. Cox pointed out that Roosevelt had a bigger majority and was much abler than the present incumbent.

However, the vast union funds and the organization of the pressure groups is an added factor. But if all others are made aware of the harmfulness to their interest of the present policy, the country could be turned.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMKLY.

Mr. CLARENCE BIRDSEYE,
Eastern Point Boulevard, Gloucester, Mass.

FEBRUARY 28, 1940.

DEAR MR. BIRDSEYE: Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn was so deeply impressed with your letter that he allowed us to see it.

We are at the present time cooperating with him in the mass distribution of his releases from the Congressional Record. The story of what has been accomplished is told in the accompanying letter to our committee supporters.

Five hundred thousand postcards like the attached have been sent out, followed by distribution of 1,800,000 packages of franked releases such as you received.

The point you make in your letter to Congressman Gwinn touches upon the most important problem of our time, namely, the lack of understanding of what the competent, unusually inventive, organizing individual, if allowed to accumulate capital for himself, can do for his fellows.

Carl Snyder's studies proved beyond question that those societies in which there are the greatest differences in wealth and income have the highest scale of living for all.

Our committee printed 700,000 copies of a digest of his book, Capitalism the Creator, copy of which we are sending you.

We also secured Ayn Rand's article, the Only Path to Tomorrow, turned it over to Reader's Digest for first printing, and then distributed about 700,000 copies ourselves. This carries the same underlying truth as the book.

Another organization, America's Future, distributed more than 2,000,000 printed copies of the radio broadcast by Pettengill, What Henry Ford Taught America, in which you have the same message from a somewhat different angle.

Mr. Dressers' studies on taxation and the committee's struggle to set a 25-percent maximum tax limit are part of this same campaign.

But most interesting is the fact that an effective over-all rate in excess of 25 percent actually does not bring the Government more revenue, as brought out in

Dr. King's study, *Income Tax Rates and Revenues*. We are sending you copy of this study also.

Dr. King's book, the *Keys to Prosperity*, contains much basic material bearing upon this point. He referred to it in a recent open letter to Congress.

I am sending you this material so that you may have it available in your files.

Mr. Gwinn and Dr. King are now carrying forward the column for newspapers, formerly syndicated by Pettengill. After being printed in newspapers, these columns are distributed by us as Paul Revere Messages. Your name has been placed upon the mailing list to receive them.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MARCH 2, 1949.

To the Honorable R. W. Gwinn:

Attached is copy of letter from Senator Kenneth Wherry to Robert Dresser. This letter came in response to Mr. Dresser's letter on rent control—copy enclosed.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,

28 Shore Road, Douglaston, N. Y., March 1, 1949.

Hon. HARRY F. BYRD,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BYRD: Many thanks for sending me a copy of your testimony before the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration concerning cloture.

I feel that your position in this matter is correct. In general there is much more danger that the public will suffer from unwise new legislation than that it will be seriously penalized by lack of legislation. For this reason it is desirable that the Senate continue to have power to block proposals of a dubious nature. In my opinion, conservatives of both parties ought, at the present time, to support your position vigorously.

The present movement to cut off debate in the Senate is, of course, inspired largely by a desire to pass the so-called civil-rights program. I take it that practically every Senator disapproves of lynching. In my opinion, there is no justification for discriminating against anyone because of race or religion. Personally, I feel that the poll-tax laws have much to commend them, and we would probably get better government if the Northern States were to put in stiff poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting, for I do not believe that people who have no interest in public affairs ought to participate in government.

But it seems to me that one's views on the matters just mentioned have little bearing upon the question of what action the Federal Government ought to take regarding the civil-rights program. The Constitution states specifically that all powers not definitely conferred upon Congress are reserved to the States and the inhabitants thereof. I find nowhere in the Constitution any provision giving Congress the right to determine the qualifications of voters. Likewise, I find no provision giving Congress any authority to decide whom an employer must hire. Murder is not among the crimes concerning which Congress has jurisdiction. Therefore, as I see it, the whole civil-rights program is unconstitutional and Congress has no authority to consider it. Under such circumstances, endeavors to limit debate in the Senate in order to enact such a program seem to me to be entirely unwarranted.

I feel that the American people are much indebted to you for your continued valiant efforts on behalf of constitutional principles and sound economics.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLFORD I. KING,
Economics Professor Emeritus.

MARCH 2, 1949.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: On your word that rent control is the most urgent issue, we send this telegram to those indicated and to all Members of Congress a mimeographed copy.

We intend to send it out of Washington by wire to all members of the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees other than the chairman and ranking minority members.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

P.S.—Attached also another telegram which is being handled in the same manner. This is going to the Committee on Education and Labor and Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

MARCH 2, 1949.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: You will receive mimeographed copies of the attached telegram. Please, tomorrow morning, send to members of the Senate and House Banking Committees, other than those already addressed, copies by day letter from Washington. This will greatly reduce the cost.

Also, place the mimeographed copies on display and do what you can to promote pick-up.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

P. S.—Enclosed is copy of the wire sent you this morning to go to the members of the House Committee on Education and Labor and Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Mimeographed copies of this also going forward to you.

MARCH 2, 1949.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: Herewith an additional telegram to be sent as a day letter to all members of the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, excepting the four who received it from New York.

We have phoned Western Union to accept charges on this.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

MARCH 2, 1949.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: Here's a telegram that went to all Republican Senators, also to Senators Russell and Byrd with a byline saying "Copy of telegram sent to all Republican Senators."

We wish you to have this mimeographed and placed with Washington correspondents, stating that the committee this day sent this telegram.

I am also enclosing the statement of Judge Norton.

I hope you can get this out early enough to have it effective.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

DULANEY, JOHNSTON & PRIEST, INSURANCE,
200 Central Building, Wichita, Kans., March 3, 1949.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Attached is a letter I got off recently to all of the Kansas Representatives and Senators. I've also written about 25 people over the United States asking them to do likewise, if they agree with me.

Sincerely,

FRANK T. PRIEST.

MARCH 3, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: I hand you herewith proof of an article, What Socialism Is Doing to British Freedom. One of the things that Mr. Palmer brings out is that the socialistic government there is writing a provision into British legislation permitting the bureaucrat to interpret the law and extend it. The law itself carries a provision that this interpretation shall be binding and beyond the appeal to the courts.

He also says that about 200 men in the top ranks of the labor unions dominate England and that these 200 are dominated by 6 or 7 men and that Harold Laski meets with these 6 or 7 each week and tells them what to say during the next week. Harold Laski carried on a weekly correspondence with Justice Frankfurter, who in turn supplied young men and guidance for much of the New Deal legislation.

On page 110 of Smoke Screen, chapter 11 (going to you under separate cover), Pettengill brings out a similar provision. Does the similarity in these provisions indicate that they come from the same source?

When the Beveridge plan came out, Palmer challenged Beveridge that the privacy of patient-doctor relations, one of the most sacred traditions, would be violated when the state made itself and bureaucrats middlemen. This was vehemently denied, but within 14 days after the passage of the act, by just such a bureaucratic ruling, every doctor was required to complete promptly a case record of diagnosis and treatment and to hold these available for call by a local committee composed of one or two doctors and a half dozen laymen and union officials.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, Assistant Secretary.

KANSAS CITY, KANS., March 3, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
Representative from New York.

DEAR MR. GWINN: In my 64 years of living, with at least 60 of these years having been devoted to educational pursuits, I never read a better speech than yours in the House July 26, 1947. My friend, Mrs. Riley, mailed me the copy which her husband, Dr. Riley, had received. I agree with your idea 100 percent that each State should take care of its own educational matters and raise its own money to do so. I have long feared that we are giving up too much freedom and too much money when we concentrate all power in Washington. Two sons of mine fought in this last war to preserve our freedom as individuals which we unthinkingly give up without enough consideration as to where we are going.

I have been a teacher in the Kansas City schools and in the Wyandotte County schools for 17 years and I know the NEA is for the bill; so is the American Association of University Women, of which I am a member. In fact, Mrs. Riley and another member and I put on a radio program, a panel discussion, last summer in favor of the bill. Not one of us was for it, but our AAUW president asked us to make the broadcast, so we did. I realize now we should have stood by our convictions and said "No." Why don't you send this speech to Reader's Digest and see if they wouldn't use part of it? This would get it before so many people. Or perhaps the Saturday Review of Literature would publish it. More people should read it. If I had a copy of my own I'd send it to Reader's Digest.

Sincerely,

Mrs. DORA M. CLAFLIN.
327 North Seventeenth Street, Kansas City, Kans.

MARCH 4, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Congressman Hoffman writes us as follows: "I have enjoyed reading the Paul Revere messages sent to my office. I would appreciate your placing my name on your list so that I may receive them regularly."

We have been sending the releases regularly to all Members of Congress. I take it that you have no objection to this.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

MARCH 4, 1949.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Evidently the New Deal boys are already feeling, or fear, the effect of the campaign. They seem to have pulled into action their left-wing associates. Here's one from Pearson, who gave us the works—me, in particular—in connection with the tidelands bill.

At that time we mailed directly 158,000 lawyers, and the flood of mail to the Senate as a result of letters from lawyers was terrific. Pearson seemed to have contact with the Department of Justice and be stimulated by what he learned there. The administration was trying to take over the tidelands.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MARCH 7, 1949.

Mr. HARRY BARGER,
246, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARGER: Mr. Pettengill allowed us to see your very interesting letter of November 28, 1948, together with its enclosures.

Due to his moving to Chicago, the letter was mislaid and turned up only now. While we have no opening in mind at the moment, we should like to know whether you are still available if an opening were presented to you.

Please send to the writer another copy of *Things the Public Has Not Been Told*, or two, if you have them available.

We are sending you copy of the Norton book on the Constitution. Judge Norton is at the present time writing another book.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MEMO

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*205 East Forty-second Street,
New York 17 N. Y., March 2, 1949.*

To Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,

Please note and return the attached from Editor and Publisher, which goes to 15,000 newspapers each week.

E. A. R.

There's no other writing team with this background—none covering these two vital fronts.

Inside Your Congress, by Ralph W. Gwinn,¹ distinguished Member of Congress, lecturer, and author.

King's Comments, by Dr. Willford I. King,² nationally recognized economist, economics professor emeritus, New York University.

These two recognized authorities in the fields of government and economics voice their own independent views and not those of any group or organization.

This new syndicated feature, boiled to 600 words twice a week, will give your readers a watchful, penetrating, and interesting analysis of day-to-day news as it affects their pocketbooks and their way of life.

If your territory is not already taken, test 4 weeks' publication of the columns free. Wire or write for reservation and terms.

FEATURES FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE,
210 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y.

¹ Hoosier philosopher, an outstanding lawyer in New York, a Congressman with principles unfainted by expediency.

² Has won universal respect for his clarity of expression and courageous, down-to-earth defense of the American way of life.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Thank you for your letter of the 23d of February enclosing a copy of your letter to Dr. Willis.

I would like very much for my district to be blanketed with releases as you suggest. I need very much this help and think it would be well for public housing and rent control to be sent out first and to follow later with Socialism—American Variety, revised copy of which I am sending you now. This release has dragged a bit, but I am most anxious to get it out in good form because it is in a measure a summary of the proof that we now have downright socialism which everybody who is willing to face the situation honestly can see.

My judgment is that the district, which has many Catholics in it who ordinarily vote Democratic, is capable of being aroused and made to fear socialism as the same thing as communism.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

MARCH 9, 1949.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: As soon as Socialism—American Variety is in the Record we can distribute in your home district.

In the meantime, as soon as we get a little surplus of the rent control-public housing bulletin, of which we have 100,000 on order, we will cover the district as you suggest with this piece.

Are there any cities in your district where the telephone lists should be used to reach all business people? The small towns of less than 1,000 and the rural routes that have mail boxes can be easily covered but we would be glad to hand address a few thousand in communities where you think this is important.

With 20,000 copies of each piece we would pretty well saturate the district. What do you think about this quantity?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

MARCH 9, 1949.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Thomas B. Sutton, of Larchmont, N. Y., writes as follows:

"Thanks very much for your letter dated March 4. I mailed the statement on public housing to 2,500 people and am planning to mail out 2,500 more.

"At your suggestion, I mailed a copy to Congressmen Gwinn and Gamble.

"It has happened here and to reverse the trend means a hard fight and unfortunately there are so few who will fight."

We have replied as attached.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

INTEROFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

To: E. A. R.
From: J. E. S.

Mr. Barger's original letter (November 23, 1948) was sent to Ralph Gwinn, March 8, 1949.

THINGS THE PUBLIC HAS NOT BEEN TOLD

1. Do you want authenticated data showing—

(a) How fundamental changes in our governmental structure have been unconstitutional and surreptitiously effected and concealed from the public, and even from Congress;

(b) How the Federal Government has been, unconstitutionally for the most part, spent into bankruptcy, and is now faced with complete regimentation, collectivism, and ultimate communism; and

(c) How many of our inalienable and sovereign rights and powers have already been, and still are being, unconstitutionally sacrificed on the altar of internationalism for the purpose of reducing this country to the position of a mere province of a one-world state?

2. Following are a few examples of how the American people and our Congress have been hoodwinked:

I

For more than 16 years the people have not been told one-tenth of the truth about our National Government, and whither it is drifting.

Thanks to the gigantic propaganda machine maintained by the administration at the taxpayers' expense (estimated at from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 a year) the public has learned only what the administration wanted it to know, and the rest has been suppressed. Result: It is not generally known that the Government has unconstitutionally been brought to the brink of bankruptcy—a national debt and contingent liabilities greater than our estimated national wealth; that fundamental changes have been wrought in our Government structure through tricky, unconstitutional legislation passed by a half-asleep Congress at the behest of the Government-wrecking bureaucrats; and that a well-defined plan is afoot for the surrender of this Government's inherent and sovereign powers by entry into a one-world state where this Nation will become a mere province of such world state.

Further as to propaganda: About 2 years ago the Budget Bureau reported to Appropriations Committees of Congress, in writing, that it could only give estimates of the cost of governmental publicity and propaganda because, except in rare instances, such expenditures are not budgeted or accounted for as such. Who, it may be asked, should have such information, other than the Bureau of the Budget?

II

The United Nations was established and proclaimed as a sure-fire means of bringing permanent world peace; but it, like the old League of Nations, is proving of little avail, and both appear destined to take their places in history as mere international debating societies, where representatives of member nations meet and call each other names—with Russia exercising the freely granted veto of all the Communists do not want.

Nobody dreamed that United Nations could, or would, demand that our Government surrender any of its inherent and sovereign powers, yet such demands have been and are being made, and favorable responses have been made thereto without the knowledge, consent, or approval of the American public or Congress. Those things have been and are being accomplished through the hellish device known as and called executive agreements, which, while they are treaties, are not ratified by the Senate or made public for discussion and consideration. In short, the one-worlders are bypassing the Constitution in a big way.

If something is not done, and done promptly, the United States soon will find herself a mere province of a one-world state, with but few powers she can exercise as her very own. The gory details of these occurrences are astounding.

III

American industry and labor have been lulled into a false sense of security and into believing that world free trade, world barter and trade, and the lowering of all trade barriers everywhere will inure to their benefit. They are not awake to the fact that such a course will reduce our industry, labor, and standards of living to the level of that of the rest of the world. We are being taken for a one-way ride down the self-same road that France, Germany, and Italy, and other nations traveled when they were taken over by dictators. Those things, too, are being accomplished unconstitutionally through the bamboozling of an inattentive Congress.

IV

During the past 12 or 15 years many billions of dollars have been spent on subsidies and price supports while, on the other hand, other huge sums were being spent on programs to stimulate production of the self-same commodities

that were covered by subsidies and price supports. And, too, there was, as usual, much fraud and chiseling on all such programs. The facts are astounding; and the details and figures are more of the same.

V

Congress gave Veterans' Administration permission to educate veterans in American institutions of learning; but, through dictation of the State Department, many hundreds of them are being educated in foreign institutions of learning instead.

For a long time, due to a silly construction of a plain statute, the Veterans' Administration, under the guise of education, furnished veterans lessons in ballroom dancing, aesthetic dancing, and aviation. The Budget Bureau and Veterans' Administration, however, finally to that ridiculous conduct, and, at their suggestion, Congress curtailed those silly programs.

Congress also gave Veterans' Administration permission to furnish hospitalization to veterans with non-service-connected disability—in meritorious cases; but Veterans' Administration construed the permissive provision of the law as mandatory. Result: Sixty-seven percent of Veterans' Administration hospital beds and facilities have been occupied by non-service-connected cases.

Strange as it may seem, Veterans' Administration has under way a hospital-construction program estimated to cost more than \$1,000,000,000—to produce more hospital beds and facilities. That construction program is committed to the care of a well-known wastrel of public funds in WPA days; and, as he has gone on with that construction program, VA has abandoned and refused to use hospitals and facilities established by the armed services at costs aggregating many, many millions of dollars.

Nobody wants to deprive veterans of anything a grateful Nation wants them to have; but so many complaints of waste, mismanagement, and inefficiency have been made, by individual veterans, veterans' organizations, and others, that there must be something radically wrong with these programs.

VI

When the Marshall plan was conceived and launched as a claimed means of preventing the spread of communism, little or nothing was said about aid to China for the same or any other reason. Now, however, the bleeding hearts of internationalism and the one-worlders cried to high Heaven for succor to China to prevent the Iron curtain from being lowered on her.

Had we enforced our traditional open-door policy in China when she was attacked and raped by Japan; and had we promptly and properly avenged the sinking of the *Panay*, the odds are that we would not, at this late hour, be asked to rescue China from the maw of communism—when, for so long, the Chinese Communists have kept themselves largely supplied with such materials as we have sent to China.

Again, the chances are that there would have been no Pearl Harbor had we enforced our open-door policy and avenged the *Panay* sinking. Maybe Churchill's speeches to our Congress immediately after Pearl Harbor, and in Commons when he returned home, explain some of these elements of remissness; but nobody pays those speeches any heed.

VII

In September 1942 the Bureau of Internal Revenue ruled that, if business concerns saw fit to advertise governmental functions and activities, they could deduct the advertising cost in computing their income taxes. That ruling was in the face of the plain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, namely: That expenses of a business concern, to be deductible, must relate to the business conducted. Of course, advertising governmental functions is no part of any commercial concern's operation.

These kinds of advertising, lavishly indulged in during the war, still are being conducted during the peace, without any show of abatement.

Such advertising campaigns have cost, and are costing the loss of untold millions, perhaps billions, in revenue; and, of course, that loss has been, and is being, made up by the taxpaying taxpayers of the country.

A sad feature of this illegal program (which has also served as a propaganda medium for the administration in its plans and schemes) has also served to serve political ends and purposes galore.

VIII

To June 30, 1947, the Federal Government spent and incurred contingent liabilities in the public housing field amounting to more than \$14,916,941,000. (And it's more than \$10,700,000,000 to June 30, 1948.) And what have we to show for it? Why, a demand by minorities and the Conference of Mayors for more and more of the same. An unnamed delegate to the recent Conference of Mayors said: "We don't want any damned State legislature to get between us and the Federal Treasury."

The Federal public-housing programs have always put greatest emphasis on slum clearance, because that catch phrase is euphonious and lends credence to the claim that ill-housed and underprivileged citizens are being benefited.

It has been established that some Federal low-rent housing projects have been turned into slums; and that they have been largely occupied by politicians and Federal workers not having need for subsidized rents.

The administration's propaganda ministry has never told the public that, if the States, cities, towns, and local communities had exercised their inherent police power, and had enforced their sanitary, health, and building regulations, there would have been no slums to clear. The fact is that the private owners of property in slum areas—usually powerful politicians—have been above the law; hence the slums.

The Federal housing projects but serve to shift the burden of slum clearance from the owners of the slum properties, where the burden belongs, to the shoulders of Federal taxpayers generally—many of whom have no slums in their communities to clear.

Baltimore, Md., long known for its slums, Atlanta, Ga., and perhaps other cities, have begun campaigns to make slum property owners clear their own slums; and the programs are said to be working wonders, without cost to the Federal Government.

IX

We "sold" some 1,200 surplus war-built vessels to various foreign governments, against "credits" which we extended to them. Those vessels are not being used to carry the relief we are giving those same nations under the Marshall plan; but, on the contrary, they are being operated for American dollars only, in competition with our own subsidized American merchant marine.

ECA has threatened to pay some of the very same vessels "sold" to France ocean freight amounting to almost as much as the purchase cost of petroleum and petroleum products bought in Saudi Arabia for France—ocean freight at 50 percent higher rates than those fixed during wartime by our Maritime Commission.

X

There is no doubt whatever that ECA is being operated as a world-wide WPA; and that, tied in, as it is, with the reciprocal trade agreements, it will further the establishment of world free trade, world barter and trade, and a one-world government in which the United States will be a mere province—to pay most of the expenses.

MARCH 10, 1940.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: The attached memorandum is going to a few people at the top. Herewith a postcard that went to all editors accompanied by the rent control and public housing franked releases.

I took home the piece on rent control and reread it quietly. You have made the most effective and convincing statement put out by anyone. You have the rare gift of phrasing what you say to the reader's interest, also you bring out the great issue of our time—station versus individual freedom. No man in public life today, in my judgment, has the opportunity for Nation-wide leadership that you hold.

When I owned the Mail, I backed up over a 8-year period Theodore Roosevelt in an effort to bring him back as the Presidential nominee of both the Republicans and the Progressives. He, by bolting the Republican Party and by having attributed to himself the recall of judges and other mistaken policies, had dropped in public esteem. It was a problem of covering his mistakes by broad

stands on current issues and of rebuilding, against the opposition of the Republican machine, his dominance over public opinion so as to secure new leadership and control of the Republican Party.

The issue today is not Democrats or Republicans, because Constitutional Democrats, resisting the encroachment of statism, are working more effectively than Republicans. The issue is individual freedom versus big government. Now to build Ralph Giwnn to a dominant position at the door of public opinion so that his leadership will be accepted by all who want individual freedom as a guide for public policy—is our problem. No nominations and public office, but education of the public is the need at this time.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

To All Editors:

Congress will shortly make a fateful decision that may commit this country to continuing rent control. You will find in Congressman Ralph W. Giwnn's statement, *How To Get More Rental Houses*, facts that should lead any disinterested citizen to the same conclusions that he has arrived at, namely, that continued rent control is an extremely dangerous step toward socialism.

Why not give your readers the information he presents by digesting his statement as a feature article or using it as background material for editorial discussion.

Please look for brown envelope labeled "Rent Control and Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad" being sent you by today's mail.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS: NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.,
March 11, 1940.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have telegraphed you that Dr. Stefan Orusky, former Minister of State of Czechoslovakia, can be reached at Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

Almost immediately after talking to you; that is, about 11 o'clock, it occurred to me that Fulton Lewis would probably be as influential as anyone in the cloture matter. He was not at his office but was in Washington. His secretary said he might come in or call in during the day so I dictated a very brief memorandum on the importance of the cloture issue from the constitutional point of view. Having been at the Capitol all afternoon getting the political medicine pamphlet started, I have not learned whether the message ever reached Lewis, but, if it did, I believe it would be effective.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

MARCH 12, 1940.

Mr. CLYDE H. ALEXANDER,
Continental Building, Dallas 1, Tex.

MY DEAR MR. ALEXANDER: Not since the court fight, described in the enclosed booklet, *Needed Now*, has the country responded to educational effort as at present. We have sent out a half million postcards like the attached to lawyers, followed by 2½ million packages each containing three or four reprints from the Congressional Record.

Please note the circular *Your Help Needed*. It is very important to build up the feeling for States' rights. As an instrument for this we are mailing State legislators more and more frequently and have a list for the entire country, approximately 7,500.

We are trying to find support for mailing this entire list regularly the Paul Revere Messages of which the last four copies are enclosed. We would make a

special price of \$5 per name. Would you enter subscription for 200 names on this basis? We will then immediately try to broaden out to cover the entire list. Your support several years ago was most helpful.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

MARCH 15, 1940.

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: Hearty congratulations on your successful defense of the traditions of the Senate. By defeating the administration's attempt to amend the Senate rules, you have greatly increased the possibility of defeating the attempt of the radicals to send the Nation speeding down the "road to serfdom." I sincerely hope that you can maintain a working coalition with the conservative Republicans, and thus block the efforts of the Socialists and near Socialists to destroy our competitive, capitalistic system and transform it into a collectivist economy.

The issue is so serious that every effort should be made to cast aside partisanship and cooperate to protect our Republic.

Again, I wish to express our appreciation of the fine work which you have done so far in the battle.

Very respectfully,

WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman.*

MARCH 23, 1940.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: We have distributed 50,000 copies of the attached folder. Your letter to Francis J. Heafy, clerk of Yonkers, prompts my sending you the attached two copies of the folder on Cardinal Mindszenty.

Within a few days we shall have a somewhat revised version, of which we will then send you 12 copies, or more, if you can use them to advantage.

I am returning herewith your letter to Mr. Heafy.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Assistant Secretary.*

MARCH 23, 1940.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: We mailed 7,000 copies of the rent control piece to rural boxholders and have stopped all mailings beyond that.

Attached is my office memo that came back to me 10 minutes after you telephoned this morning.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MARCH 26, 1940.

MR. JAMES H. CARNINE,
*Engineering Metal Products Corp.,
401 South Harding Street, Indianapolis 7, Ind.*

MY DEAR MR. CARNINE: Your letter of December 31 has been passed around to our active advisers and studied. You are quite right as to the need for getting down to the grass roots.

In its releases to the newspapers, in the syndicated Paul Revere articles, in the radio talks, very large numbers of rank and file are being reached. But that does not obviate the necessity for organized local direction.

We plan an organization of "grass-roots fighters for freedom" city by city, county by county, designed to do just what you suggest. We cannot work within one party, as we are fighting for a philosophy of government and not the supremacy of either party. Most of the victories that slowed down encroaching

socialism have been the product of cooperation between constitutional Democrats and Republicans.

Enclosed is copy of the booklet Needed Now, which tells the story of the committee's early days.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

MARCH 29, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DOCTOR: I think it's a swell idea to institute a suit to invalidate the rent-control law, and I suggest that Usher bring the suit. There are plenty of lawyers in Chicago who would take the case. I also think the Committee for Constitutional Government should most decidedly join in.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 29, 1949.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Your letter of March 28 has been received and I am glad to note that you are sufficiently interested in my extension of remarks of March 15, namely, the Robert Dresser statement, to want to distribute 100,000 copies.

Now I am in sympathy with what your committee is doing, and shall be only too glad to cooperate with you providing your committee pays the postage. I think to frank as many as 100,000 copies is an imposition on the American taxpayer, and an abuse of the franking privilege. I shall be happy to start your postage fund with a contribution of \$20.

The Record clerk advised me this morning that they can set this in 7¼-point type (Record proceedings). The first 1,000 would cost \$107.70; this includes composition of \$34.20. Each additional thousand, based on 100,000 copies, will cost \$1.65, making the total, according to the Record clerk, due the Public Printer \$271.05.

Awaiting further word and with assurances of my continued interest and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT F. RICH.

MARCH 30, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

My DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Congressman Lawrence H. Smith introduced into the Record, page A1333, an ad of the McGraw-Hill people: Socialism—Now Is the Time To Fight It.

This is the type of piece that might be highly valuable to distribute in your district over your frank. It makes out a strong case against socialism, and such distribution by you would show your opposition to socialistic trends effectively, besides carrying the message to your voters.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

1020 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1949.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Care of Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: As requested in your letter of March 7, 1949, and as promised in mine of March 25, I am sending herewith two copies of the memorandum Things the Public Has Not Been Told.

The various subjects are merely sketched in the memorandum, and they need filling in, with authentication.

Then, too, there are numerous other and kindred subjects, including many arising since the memorandum was prepared, which may be added to the counts and charges made.

If I can serve you further in this or any other matters, command me.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 4, 1949.

AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATION,
1424 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I have just read the Truck Drivers Local Union No. 807 notice dated March 21, 1949, to employers that each driver would be stopped from Canada to Mexico to ascertain whether or not he is a member in good standing of the local union in accordance with the contracts in existence between the local union and the companies involved. Inconvenience, delays, and incidental violence are implied.

Will you please let me know what contracts referred to in this notice warrant such interference?

Yours very truly,

R. W. GWINN.

[Telegram]

CONFIRMATION

APRIL 11, 1949.

We believe this request merits your consideration. After 3 years' highly successful Sunday afternoon AHC network broadcasts, America's future, a non-partisan, nonprofit, educational organization, has enlarged program to bring twice every week outstanding national leaders upholding economic freedom and the American way of life to radio audiences across the entire Nation. Twenty-five nationally known leaders each with prestige and special knowledge about subject matter will speak each quarter, Pettengill speaking twice.

If the trend to socialism is to be checked and our form of Government with economic freedom and constitutional liberties safeguarded, such radio programs must be continued. They carry the facts to the man on the street who holds the future of our country in the hollow of his hand. Patriotic citizens throughout the Nation, many of them well known to you, are helping to finance this program.

We in Philadelphia are requested to give initial financial support to project this program through local sponsors. Will you join with us in giving financial support to our budget goal? United States Treasury has ruled in writing such gifts deductible for individuals and corporations. Please take your own or your company's check, payable to America's Future, Inc., and send to Percy C. Madeira, Jr., president, Land Title Bank & Trust Co.

J. HOWARD PEW.
MILLARD D. BROWN.
HARVEY BEYER.

APRIL 19, 1949.

Senator HARRY F. BYRD,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BYRD: The attached memorandum may interest you in connection with your drive for economy.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, Treasurer.

APRIL 21, 1949.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
305 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.:

Exceedingly important your advertisement and questionnaire help to repel back-home pressure on Congressmen by CIO organized votes referred to by David Lawrence in his column Wednesday. He is perfectly right. Letters and telegrams from unorganized inarticulate individuals back home offer very little tangible opposition to the power of organized votes. When an organized group like the CIO PAC or vets with over 10 captains in every industrial election district, supplemented by their wives as auxiliary forces, organize and vote, citizens in critical number, the way they are organized to vote, that makes Congressman jittery. You cannot defeat organization without counterorganization for the purpose.

Congressmen don't even hear from their own Democratic Party or Republican Party organizations. Either party seldom takes a position and informs its Congressmen. Congressmen are bossed no longer by a county political traditional "boss" but by well organized groups that have infiltrated in both old parties.

Why can't 8,500,000 little-business men, 7,000,000 little property owners, all being hurt or liquidated, why can't farmers, laborers who want to do business for themselves, physicians, dentists, druggists threatened with socialized medicine, teachers and preachers threatened with political thought control, organize themselves in each election district? Now, they are not party workers, they are not independent workers. They are unorganized and incompetent in the fight against a Socialist labor government which is now winning the battle in open undefended field.

It will be a tragedy by 1950 if the descendants of the Fighters for Freedom fail to organize in a real military sense to engage in the mortal battle now on. If the congressional battle restores the Wagner Act and again grants monopoly control to the labor bosses, the final battle in defense of political freedom will be much more difficult to win.

RALPH W. GWINN.

APRIL 23, 1949.

Mr. M. J. MENEFFEE,
Secretary to Hon. Harry F. Byrd,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MENEFFEE: Enclosed herewith are three copies of the T. J. Norton study entitled, "Constitutional Lawyer Rebukes Elected Representatives Who Violate Allegiance to Their Own Constituencies."

The problem is how to get this out effectively in the widest possible distribution. How can we bring it most effectively to the attention of the Members of Congress? Of course, Members of Congress might be more impressed if they received this from another Member than if it came from us directly.

We are ready, at our expense, to reach the entire press of the United States, Washington correspondents, and others.

We have friends in Minnesota who might take hold of this and give it adequate local distribution. How can it be placed widely in the South?

Under separate cover we are sending you 100 copies. We shall be glad to send as many additional copies as you can use to advantage.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

APRIL 27, 1949.

Memorandum from E. A. Rumely to R. Gwinn.

Homer Dodge writes: I told Mrs. Pope on the telephone that Secretary Tobin has no definite list of 40 House Members who are wavering on the labor bill. At a press conference some days ago, in answer to a question, he said something to the effect that 40 Members could change the vote.

Herbert Little, Labor Department press secretary, an old Scripps-Howard man who has covered labor for years, told me that Secretary Tobin has compiled no definite list. He did say that, at the Department, they believe that Speaker Rayburn will have more to do with the outcome than anyone else as he can control the presentation and handling of amendments.

Herb Little made it pretty clear that they will hold out for the administration bill as long as they think it can be put through, but if that appears doubtful, compromise amendments will be accepted in preference to having no bill at all or a substitute bill the administration does not like or cannot claim.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
May 3, 1940.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: This will acknowledge the receipt of a copy of a telegram you have sent to all the Members of Congress, together with the attached newspaper clipping and cartoon, which I have read with a great deal of interest. Thank you very much.

With kind regards, I am,
Sincerely,

WM. LANGER.

MAY 6, 1940.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: I need about 75,000 in franked envelopes and 75,000 without. I assume the Oregon Medical Society wants them without envelopes and that Dr. Smith is quoting in that way. It would interest me to know whether they buy or not.

Keep us informed on the lobby investigation if anything further comes up. We assume that we will be called.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Re socialized-medicine package.

MAY 9, 1940.

Mr. AMBROSE W. BENKERT,
70 Pine Street, New York 5, N. Y.

MY DEAR AMBROSE: I am sending you 200 copies of the third printing of *The Railroads and America's Future*, as they come in. You, of course, are welcome to as many as you care to use. Dr. King thought the two additions made are excellent and strengthening to the piece.

The situation has become a little complicated through our three printings, but I hope to get this piece rolling so that we can absorb the first two printings in places where they will not be objected to.

I am keeping faith with our friend, at whose suggestion we made the last changes, and supplying his friends only the third edition.

I expect now to have several bulk orders. Also, this week we should meet Mr. FitzGerald and get this thing moving. I reread it over the week end. It is the most comprehensive, authoritative, and convincing statement that I have ever seen.

Sincerely,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MEMO TO E. A. RUMELY

MAY 12, 1940.

Following are quotes from selected letters from Cong. Gwinn:

Who wrote Gwinn	Date	What impressed him - what comment
Tenth District Dental Society, 88-86 One Hundred and Sixty-third St., Jamaica 3, L. I., Herbert L. Taub, secretary.	Apr. 18	Medical issue, letter reveals society has adopted resolutions in keeping with American Dental Society recommendations, similar to ours.
Attorney George H. Wyant, 304 New York Central Terminal, Detroit, Mich.	Apr. 19	Federal aid, excellent letter, intelligent comment.
Dean F. C. Grise, Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Ky.	do	Federal aid, shows appreciation of Gwinn's stand and of the committee's attitude on issue.
Attorney Wilson M. Farr, Fairfax, Va.	Apr. 25	Federal aid, indicates he believes many share view that Government spending dangerous.
Dr. Robert F. Darwin, Dillon, S. C.	Apr. 21	A States' rights Democrat who applauds Gwinn.
Dr. Blam Williams, 395 Claremont Ave., Montclair, N. J.	Apr. 21	Federal aid, wants to copies for friends - all "good Americans."
W. H. Grogan of Grogan Mfg. Co., Irving, Tex.	Apr. 11	Excellent letter, could be sent to all Members of Congress.
Wayne Dinmore, secretary, Horse Association of America, 407 South Dearborn St., Chicago 6, Ill.	Apr. 20	Federal aid, this chap personal friend of Governor of Connecticut and of Ben Hibbs, editor of Saturday Evening Post. He suggests to Hibbs that Post carry article.
Dr. Leo S. Fountain, 1118, Nix Professional Bldg., San Antonio, Tex.	Apr. 13	Federal aid, says he would like other material to place on display in his reception room.
Attorney Kemner W. Clay, 6 6 North Field St., Dallas, Tex.	Apr. 14	Public housing, would like to receive additional material.
John Cordes, of Cordes & Montgomery, attorneys, 1 Wall St., New York 5, N. Y.	Apr. 18	Federal aid, big New York law firm "in complete accord."
John S. Walker, attorney, North American Bldg., Wilmington 7, Del.		Public housing, he wrote Public Printer for extra copies, seems much interested.
Dr. Robt. C. Robertson, Medical Arts Bldg., Chattanooga 3, Tenn.	Mar. 30	Socialism, American variety, excellent letter; says need is to "unite fearless leaders."
James Barngrove, 112 North 7th St., St. Louis, Mo.	Mar. 22	Rental housing, a Jeffersonian Democrat, really man and builder for 45 years.
E. L. Deusy, 1115 Palmetto St., Mobile 20, Ala.	Mar. 25	Rental control; says he read "Pearson", wants more of Gwinn's stuff and others.
T. J. Priestley, Jr., Priestley Engineering Co., 321 25 South Juniper St., Philadelphia, Pa.	Mar. 31	Minimum wage - minimum wage will keep young men from burning a trade, brands proposal as mere "New Deal insanity."
William L. Potter, attorney, 638 New York Life Bldg., 9th St. and Baltimore Ave., Kansas City 6, Mo.	April 1	Rent control and public housing, well-written endorsement, sees hope in States' rights issue.
American Bar Association, W. R. Edlman, chairman, 1411 4th Ave. Bldg., Seattle 1, Wash.	Apr. 1	Socialism, American variety, Junior bar group roster of bar association public information directors attached, good letter.
A. W. Robertson, P. O. Box 1017, Union Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh 30, Pa.	Apr. 4	Rent controls, free economy, excellent letter, forthright statement as against Government regulation and controls.
Dr. H. R. Combs, 616 South Broadway, Tyler, Tex.	Mar. 16	Price control, public housing, always a Democrat but "now no place to go" his letter impressed Congressman Gwinn.
A. W. Frish, A. W. Frish & Co., 1874 Fremont St., Chicago, 14, Ill.	Mar. 21	Public housing and rent control, much interested and sent out 1,000 of Gwinn's talks.
James N. McCole, president Oak Grove PTA, RR3 Peoria, Ill.	Mar. 20	Sends list of PTA officers, good letter on Federal aid to education.
Attorney William E. Culham, 2003 Union Commerce Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.	Apr. 8	Federal aid, member of school board and wants additional copies.

Memo to Dr. Rumely:

MAY 12.

As per your instruction I examined all of the letters sent to us by Congressman Gwinn, made the attached notes as to those that seemed to warrant attention; the selected letters are attached and should all be returned to Congressman Gwinn after you have examined them.

All other letters, not attached hereto, have been returned to Congressman Gwinn's office.

GEH.

Note that my memos are made in duplicate in case you wish to send copy to Congressman Gwinn.

MAY 12, 1949.

Hon. HARRY F. BYRD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: You are to be congratulated on standing for economy and sound government to such an extent that you are singled out as the leader of those opposed to wasteful collectivist spending. More power to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. I. KING.

MAY 10, 1949.

Mr. W. R. COE,
Chrysler Building, East Forty-second Street, New York City.

DEAR MR. COE: Thanks greatly for the contribution by the Coe Foundation to America's Future.

I wish you personally could hear two or three of these records on the play-back, also that Mrs. Coe might hear them. You would then get a first-hand impression of what you have helped create.

I am sending you another copy of the brochure describing the program. You may wish to show it to Mrs. Coe.

The Nation-wide response to the mail distribution is very favorable. We hope on June 6 to have at least 100 stations starting to carry the program with local sponsorship. We are now building a second program "Food and Freedom." The 2 months ahead are the critical period. If we can maintain our sales drive at high gear, we expect to be able to increase substantially the number of stations carrying the program. If it is possible to reach with the two programs—"Americans Speak Up" and "Food and Freedom"—a total of 500 stations, per week, at \$5 per recording, America's Future would have an income of \$2,500 per week which will carry a substantial portion of its overhead.

Five hundred recordings would cost local sponsors, at an average of \$25 each, \$12,500 per week. The sales task of enlisting local sponsors for this amount, and ultimately more, is a huge undertaking upon which America's Future is now engaged. The excellence of the program, the outstanding position of the speakers are very helpful. Experienced radiomen tell us that this list of distinguished speakers with their messages is outstanding.

It was your early confidence and your financial support that helped carry America's Future to its present position. We hope by hard work to increase its usefulness at this critical time.

One of the trustees of America's Future, Mr. A. Benkert, called to say he was particularly impressed with the description of the meeting of the community leaders in La Porte and their reaction. See marked passage in enclosed statement.

On behalf of the officers and trustees, thanks greatly for your encouragement and the continuing support that you have given.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MAY 17, 1949.
 (dictated May 14)

Mr. R. B. DRESSER,
*Edwards & Angell,
 15 Westminster Street,
 Providence 3, R. I.*

MY DEAR MR. DRESSER: Thanks again for the remittance for \$900 that came in this morning (Saturday) as the result of your effort. You are certainly doing your full share, personally and through others, and more.

I am trying to re-arouse the fighting spirit in some of our trustees. Please note copies of the enclosed letters. The New York supporter whose home you visited with me is the one to whom I took Congressman Gwinn.

The fact that one of the large banks in Detroit, without more stimulus than our letter, went on the job of enlisting 150 fighters and that others are doing likewise, is an indication for a line of support, and others are doing likewise.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

A. W. BENKERT & Co., INC.,
INVESTMENT SECURITIES,
70 Pine Street, New York 8, N. Y., May 16, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
210 East Forty-third Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: We received today by messenger your letter of May 16 and 100 copies of the brochure, "Americans . . . Speak Up!", and their envelopes; also 100 copies of Mr. Lund's letter with envelopes.

The brochures did not contain the order blanks and advised your Miss McCormick of this.

We intend mailing the material out in the next couple of days.

Sincerely,

A. W. BROWN.

P. S. I am returning herewith your file copy of letter dated May 16, 1949, to Mr. W. R. Coe.

MAY 25, 1949.

Mr. LEONARD B. READ,
Foundation for Economic Education,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR MR. READ: Supplementing my letter and in partial reply to yours of May 24, I attach hereto Pegler's column of yesterday.

I still think that a little pressure on ABC at this time for opportunity to correct misstatements may be helpful.

I will let you know what we get in reply to our letter, if anything.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MAY 25, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
641 Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Herewith copy of telegram sent to E. P. Simmons of the Sanger department store, Dallas, Tex., after my talk with you and your authorization.

It might be helpful to have a telegram on record that we could send to other cities where Mr. McCann is to speak.

If you are willing to make such an introduction available for Mr. McCann, will you revise this telegram into a standard form in which you wish it used?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

MAY 23, 1949.

Mr. E. P. SIMMONS,
Care of Sanger Bros.,
Dallas, Tex.:

It is of utmost importance that the principles, not the name, of the Taft-Hartley law be preserved if the march into labor socialism is to be stopped.

As member of House Committee on Education and Labor I witnessed the highly effective work of its general counsel, Mr. Irving McCann, who planned the hearings that preceded the legislation. Mr. McCann is widely informed, intelligent, and a true patriot. He will render great public service if given an opportunity to present the facts of the present critical situation.

RALPH W. GWINN,
Member of Congress.

MAY 26, 1949.

Mr. M. J. MENEFEE,
Secretary to the Honorable Harry F. Byrd,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MENEFEE: This morning an employer of a considerable number of people, whom we have known over years and whose good judgment we value

highly, was in the office. He stated that he and others in a similar position had been discussing the Government's problem of reducing personnel, as called for by Senator Byrd.

In his own business which is highly unionized, with restrictions, they find this, that it may be difficult summarily to reduce, but there is a constant seepage out of the employment rolls for various reasons.

He suggested that the Government might make a rule that the forces were to be reduced by not employing any new people, and requiring that any vacancy occurring be not filled at all, thus reducing the department in question. Or, if the individual has to be replaced, the replacement come from some other department that could, under the rule, be compelled to spare its personnel. In a few years, this process alone, without hurting anyone, would reduce personnel considerably. It may be necessary, in addition, to make a drastic initial reduction, but that could be less if this viewpoint prevailed.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE,
105 Belgrove Drive, Kearney, N. J., May 27, 1940.

DR. E. A. RUMELY,
Care of Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Your letter of May 5 should have been answered long ago, but it became buried in a great mass of mail that accumulated here, particularly at that time.

I wish I had enough time to be of real service to you, but I am spread so thin now that I cannot help feeling that what I am doing now is rather ineffective. However, that may be said of most of the things that most _____ would save the American system of free men.

In your letter of May 5, you ask if I would be willing to give my personal endorsement to the program of Fighters for Freedom by writing a letter. I most certainly would, and if you will signify in writing the points you would like me to accentuate in a letter, I will use it as my guide.

With kindest personal regards to you, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT W. HAWKES.

P. S. If you think it would be better to join in a letter written by two or three other Members of Congress, will you be good enough to give me their names.

A. W. H.

MAY 31, 1940.

Hon. ALBERT W. HAWKES,
105 Belgrove Drive, Kearney, N. J.

DEAR SENATOR HAWKES: It goes without saying that we greatly appreciate your generous contribution. We will try to use the money as effectively as possible in our endeavor to keep America free. If we had, in Congress, more men of your caliber, our task would be easier.

Cordially yours,

W. I. KING.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
June 3, 1940.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee For Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

MY DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have not had an opportunity earlier to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 26.

The suggestions which you make have been given consideration by Senator Byrd's committee, but along with other efforts to economize, it has not as yet received sufficient support from the Members of the Congress.

The Senator is always pleased to hear from you and to have any suggestions which you may care to make.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

M. J. MENEFEE, *Secretary.*

WALBRIDGE, ALDINGER CO.,

400 Griswold Street, Detroit 20, Mich., June 7, 1949.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: As an enthusiastic supporter of your committee, I am wondering if you maintain a speakers bureau, or if some of the group are ever available as speakers, such as Dr. King or Mr. Pettengill or Congressman Gwynn.

I am a member of the program committee of the Detroit Rotary Club, and I feel that a program featuring a spokesman for your splendid organization would be most timely and well received.

For your information our club has a membership of approximately 500 with an average attendance of around 80 percent. We meet Wednesday noon, and the speaker is allotted from 25 to 40 minutes.

I will greatly appreciate advice relative to this matter at your early convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

A. H. ALDINGER, Jr.

JUNE 8, 1949.

AMERICAN RETAIL FEDERATION,

Henrich Building, K Street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth,
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. Jones, Director.

DEAR MR. JONES: Mr. Nathan Shefferman told us of his talk with you yesterday and has asked that we send you information regarding America's Future program.

The brochure, four of the current talks, are going first class by same mail, also copy of a mailing that recently went to radio stations.

The National Retail Dry Goods Association bulletined all its members, copy enclosed herewith. These broadcasts are the culmination of the expenditure of \$1,000,000 by patriotic citizens to project Pettengill over network time. It was found, however, that a far more effective program could be built with transcriptions and that local sponsorship would enlarge the audience.

In Chicago, for example, W. A. Alexander, general insurance agents, have purchased time at WGN costing \$17,500 for 8:30 to 9 Sunday evening and are spending \$20,000 a year in addition to the already large audience of WGN.

Seldom has a transcription program been as widely accepted as this. It represents something new in radio. The head of one of the big advertising agencies said, "If business interests had begun doing this 15 years they would not be in the plight they are now."

America's Future is nonprofit, educational, nonpartisan. Its trustees and supporters contribute not only money but time and unpaid effort. You could render an important public service if your organization could send out an endorsement to your members along the lines of that of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, calling attention to the program. It would leave better feeling with the stations if the suggestion that they contribute the time as sustaining be not made in the original letter.

Sincerely yours,

JUNE 9, 1949.

Mrs. JOHN O. BEATTY,

3533 Haynie Avenue, Dallas 5, Tex.

DEAR MRS. BEATTY: Dr. Willford I. King, who has been away on a trip, has asked me to reply to your letter of May 4 because I have been in closer touch with America's Future, with which Dr. King has little contact.

It seemed to us all a great tragedy that Pettengill's voice and pen were lost to the public during this critical period. However, he had put in 8 years in Congress and 10 years writing and speaking for our free-enterprise system. Several meetings were held at which an appeal was made for funds to project the Pettengill broadcasts though 1940. Although the men present represented industrialists and institutions with billions of capital, the response was not adequate during the initial period.

An institution like America's Future must live from hand to mouth, while an organization like Pure Oil Co. has an assured permanent position.

Having sacrificed so much of potential earning power in the interests of public good, Pettengill felt that from his own and his family's standpoint he should accept the position with assured future with the Pure Oil Co.

America's Future has been fortunate in the alternate program that it developed. We are sending you the brochure under separate cover.

We have just closed an arrangement with a big station in Dallas (Mr. Dealey) for \$50,000 to carry the program and possibly to have it carried on another station in the city another day in the week.

We also have received word that a sponsor has purchased WGN time in Chicago on Sunday evening for the next year and will spend \$20,000 in advertising and other promotion efforts to build the largest possible audience.

It looks as if this program, on which Pettengill will appear up to twice each quarter, will have great success. The great advantage for America's Future, however, is that a budget such as it has had in the past of \$400,000 a year will enable it to enlist \$800,000 of local sponsors' money for the purchase of radio time and thus accomplish far larger results than have been possible heretofore.

The first four talks are enclosed herewith.

If you have not used your deductible allowance, you may wish to continue your support with the knowledge that it will accomplish far-reaching results.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JUNE 9, 1949.

MR. SEWALL AVERY,
Montgomery Ward, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR AVERY: Herewith three copies of a telegram that went to all members of Congress and to some 4,000 editors and publishers. It will interest you.

We have comprehensive file running back over years and, in addition, have made research in the archives in Washington when the White House staff refused to yield the information.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

JUNE 10, 1949.

MR. A. H. ALDINGER, Jr.,
Walbridge, Aldinger Co., 409 Griswold Street,
Detroit 26, Mich.

DEAR MR. ALDINGER: Yes; we have available Mr. DeLoss Walker, who is an effective speaker and would be glad to appear without cost before your organization. He would like to discuss the situation that calls for the organization of Fighters for Freedom who will uphold our constitutional liberty and economic freedom.

Mr. Harry Fruehauf, of your city, has just written the enclosed letter to 225 business leaders. In Pittsburgh last Monday the attached ad ran in the Post-Gazette.

If you prefer, no financial appeal would be made by Mr. DeLoss Walker, but every member might be given some of the printed material with the suggestion that if it appealed to them they act upon it. In Pittsburgh 800 telegrams and 8,000 letters were sent out. Copy of this mailing is enclosed herewith.

We are sending Mr. Walker, whose address is 400 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., a copy of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY, Executive Secretary.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.,

June 14, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,

*Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: There is no doubt that a strong drive is being made for the nationalization of the electric industry. The President has nominated Leland Olds to succeed himself as a member of the Federal Power Commission. The nomination has not been acted upon. There probably will be hearings, as he is opposed by the utilities. He is an outspoken advocate of nationalization not only of the electric-utility industry but of all public utilities. The Commission's radical bloc has just been strengthened by the confirmation of Thomas Buchanan as a member. He votes with Olds. The question of utility nationalization therefore is a live one.

Copies of Mr. Mullendore's material should be inserted in monthly electric bills—by all means. But the distribution might well go further. The gas companies are facing the contest and I have little doubt could be induced to include the matter in their monthly bills. Further, a definite effort now is being made to develop, partially as an IREA adjunct, a federally subsidized rural telephone system. This would be an initial step toward nationalization of the telephones. If the Mullendore and similar material could be included in electric, gas, and telephone bills, there would be an immense coverage which could scarcely fail to be effective.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

To: Mr. Small.

From: E. A. Rumely.

DATE: JULY 28, 1949.

Are there lists of public utilities such as referred to in the attached letter from Homer Dodge?

Please let me know.

(Pencilled notation: We can get the names of all public utilities—gas, electric, telephone—from the list of stocks listed on New York Stock Exchange, curb and other exchanges, and supply officers' names from corporation directory.)

JUNE 16, 1949.

Hon. E. H. MOORE,

425 National Building, Tulsa, Okla.

DEAR SENATOR MOORE: In Dallas the limit was set at \$490. A. G. Hill, the son-in-law of Mrs. H. L. Hunt, expressed interest and contributed the maximum asked for. Mr. McCann had the impression that he and his group might be willing to go further, as they could.

If you are willing to help in some way, could you not write a letter to Mr. Hunt (Cotton Exchange Building, Dallas) or to Mr. A. G. Hill (6912 Vassar Drive, Dallas), with a request that he show it to Mr. Hunt, urging support by substantial purchase of the Norton books?

There must be some men who, in view of your great sacrifice in the public interest, would readily respond to a suggestion from you with reference to support at this critical moment. Personally, I am convinced that the Committee for Constitutional Government is on the threshold of its greatest success and that Fighters for Freedom will develop into a movement of historic importance in helping to turn the tide against encroaching statism. We are moving in all directions to expand support. Copy of a letter that went to 7,500 who gave this year, with its enclosures, is going to you under separate cover.

Miss Rand then told me that she hoped to get the story of individualism in Fountainhead into the movies. Note the box on page 2 of her enclosed piece. We are invited to a private showing next week of the movie Fountainhead. I always felt it was my releasing to De Witt Wallace your conviction that the tide toward

socialism could be turned that helped bring about the printing in Reader's Digest of the Ayn Rand piece.

Just one more thing. You and Mr. Gannett together laid the foundation for America's future. You recognized the public significance of what Pettengill had to give the country. It was your support that made it possible for him to work with the Committee for Constitutional Government for a period of time, and out of that grew the distribution of 1,000,000 copies of his 3 books, Smoke Screen, Jefferson the Forgotten Man, and For Americans Only, and the 2 years of radio broadcasting. In the Americans, Speak Up series, America's Future is on the threshold of a sensational success in radio. Another copy of the brochure going to you under separate cover with the first four broadcasts. You will be particularly interested in what Pettengill says about the oil industry in Profits for Consumers.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

JUNE 17, 1940.

Senator ALBERT W. HAWKES,
Congoleum-Nairn Corp., Kearney, N. J.

MY DEAR SENATOR HAWKES: Please note Monday's Wall Street Journal. We have wired about 3,000 individuals the following:

"Please read and have five others read in Monday's New York edition, Tuesday's out-of-town edition, Wall Street Journal our open letter and full-page historic announcement, Fighters for Freedom Organizing Across Nation. If you and others reached by this telegram will now give support, successful launching people's movement assured. Your immediate help urgently needed."

Next week some time I should like to make a suggestion for the kind of letter that you could write urging support of the Fighters for Freedom movement. Our tests indicate that when we get through the bottleneck of initial financing, to which you have helped substantially, we will find the public ready to give support to such a movement.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET

JUNE 17, 1940.

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Telephone calls, letters, telegrams, from all parts of the country indicate growing unrest over seizure provision in proposed bill. People ask why, when unions are offending parties, should not the injunction be used to stop them in place of a provision to seize stockholders' property.

We are sending you 20 additional copies of our telegram with the thought that you may use them to show other Senators the harmfulness of including seizure in the revised law.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

[Telegram]

JUNE 17, 1940.

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

You cannot possibly have any adequate conception of the enormity of any proposal to grant peacetime seizure power to the Executive, however limited, unless you have seen the complete record of its shocking misuse.

Telephone calls, letters, telegrams, from all parts of country indicate growing distrust of every seizure proposal. Albert W. Hawkes saw inside of tyranny in Government seizure Air Associates plants and removal of President LeRoy Hill, who built company from infancy. Ultimatum was, "Government will return your property only if you substitute management that will get along with CIO." Everybody not committed to Socialist labor government must realize that seizures will always be used by any labor-minded administration to punish owners and serve union ends. Of course, labor bosses checked by fines for violating injunc-

tions would prefer seizure of stockholders' property instead of protection of public interest by injunctions.

We are sending you 20 additional copies of our protesting telegram of June 6. Cannot you use these with colleagues to delay action until abuses of seizure power can be thoroughly exposed?

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

JUNE 18, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Note the passage in Cecil Palmer's radio talk about denial of appeal on any Executive orders. Note also in Pettengill's Smoke Screen the chapter relating to this.

In the housing bill there is a passage very emphatically denying any right of appeal to the courts. It's all of one model, in England and America, since the beginning of the New Deal through to Truman today. A systematic effort to break down the system of legal protection of the individual, and having destroyed its safeguards, to deliver the citizens as a pawn into the hands of the bureaucrats and planners preparing to take over.

Frankfurter and Laski and their friends. Who are the individuals who are writing these provisions into the laws for Congress to pass? Can somebody make a speech on the floor on this? How about putting it into a column to get it out to the country?

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

JUNE 21, 1940.

Mr. FRANK A. HARPER,
*Foundation for Economic Foundation, Inc.,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. HARPER: I deeply appreciate your inscription to your book Liberty.

You have been an inspiration over a long period, a guide to my thinking and a helper in the cause we are working for.

Sincerely,

E. A. RUMELY.

JUNE 23, 1940.

Mr. GEORGE W. SUTTON,
1 Winter Street, Dorchester, Mass.

DEAR MR. SUTTON: On any future telegrams omit the name of Charles F. Ayer. His letter follows:

"I was very indiscreet in telling your representative when he came to see me about using my name on telegrams that your organization was proposing to send out, that he might do so if he thought that would help the cause, but at that time I had not seen the telegram, and did not suppose that it would be constantly repeated over and over again, and the repetition has caused me considerable annoyance.

"I am, therefore, going to ask you to be so good as not to send out any more telegrams using my name as one of the sponsors."

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

WINTHROP W. ALDRICH,
18 Pine Street, New York, N. Y., June 23, 1940.

Mr. SUMNER GERARD,
54 West Fifty-third Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SUMNER: I have your letter of June 22.

I am not quite clear what you have in mind in referring to "the acceptance of this important public service by the clearing house." In any event, however, it would not come within the purposes of the clearing house to sponsor any radio program or to recommend it to its members. In saying this I am not, of course,

passing any judgment on the nature of the program itself, which seems to be a very constructive one.

Very sincerely yours,

WINTHROP W. ALDBICH.

JUNE 25, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: Following Miss Smith's telephone call we did yesterday a quick and most comprehensive organizing job.

There was no time to break down by congressional districts, so we listed all the men within the State in front of the post card and put our message on the reverse side and then sent to everyone within the State; 35,000 post cards went out.

While the post cards were being imprinted we mailed your Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad to every one of the 35,000, which included the daily editors in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

JUNE 29, 1949.

Mr. M. ARNOLD,
Knoxville, Tenn.

MY DEAR MR. ARNOLD: That is an excellent article of yours in the Knoxville Journal news column. We are reproducing and distributing it widely under the heading "Knoxville citizen urges Congress to adopt Senator Byrd's economy legislation." Copy enclosed herewith.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

[From the Knoxville Journal, Thursday, June 16, 1949]

ARNOLD ASKS CONGRESS TO CUT WASTE

A STRAW IN THE WIND—KNOXVILLE CITIZEN URGES CONGRESS TO ADOPT SENATOR BYRD'S ECONOMY LEGISLATION

A Knoxville business executive yesterday appealed to Tennessee's Representatives in Washington to back a recent Senate resolution calling for lumping of all Federal appropriations into a single tangible measure.

M. D. Arnold, president of a real estate and trust company, wrote both Senators and each of the 10 Tennessee Delegates in the House, urging support of a measure introduced by Senator Harry Byrd (Democrat, Virginia).

"The United States must cut waste in national spending or face conquest by enemies from within or abroad," Arnold said in his letter.

He urged the legislators to push action to "find out what our economic blood count is."

"The greatest danger to this country is the internal rather than the external threat," Arnold said. "Our country is like a strong, healthy man with lots of good red blood."

"Such a man can give transfusions and in so doing help less fortunate ones, but as each pint of blood is donated it takes time for nature to replace it."

"It seems now that many people in this country have gone crazy on the idea of transfusions. Our economic blood is being donated to this Nation and that, and still more is being used to maintain unnecessarily high employment in various Government bureaus and agencies."

"Our economy is being bled white. Our very safety and security depend upon a complete economic check-up. Let's find out what our own economic blood count is; let's back up the Senate resolution introduced by Senator Byrd and cosponsored by Senators Butler, Bridges, O'Connor, Knowland, Gillette, Ferguson, and Wherry."

"Let's get all the appropriations consolidated into one bill to be considered by Congress at one time."

"We must economize in the extravagant waste of our economic blood, or the time will surely come when the 'strong man' will become anemic and an easy push over for his enemies from within as well as from without."

(For additional free copies, up to 10, write: Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.)

JUNE 30, 1940.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: This letter of Helen R. Graft with the carbons of five letters to Representatives in Congress is typical of the response our postcard is bringing.

I think we have discovered a new, effective, and inexpensive method of arousing the country. If, instead of 35,000, we had 350,000 or 1,000,000 fighters and sent to each a postcard, the response from the country would be so overwhelming that all other pressures would be neutralized and outweighed.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

JULY 8, 1940.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Here is the statement You Have a Job To Do showing the program for local organization.

We put about \$10,000 of advertising out in June, backed by another \$10,000 of local mailings and a couple of thousand dollars into the telegrams.

We are placing in the field experienced men. Joe Lovett, who worked for O. A. Taylor in the chain-store program for years and was later with the National Physicians Committee, has been retained for grass-roots local organization. We are employing a man to go into Texas, where Mr. McCann has been active, to begin city-by-city grass-roots organization with the objective of enlisting 5,000 Fighters in Dallas and 8,000 in Houston and a total of 65,000 in Texas before the end of 1950.

We have two other organizers at work in Knoxville, Tenn., who have been very active in organizing small-property owners and who are giving full time to the grass-roots organization. We expect them to develop a technique of bringing about cooperation between small-property owners everywhere after they have acquired experience in Knoxville where the publisher of two papers is most sympathetic. In every city of any size it requires a few thousand dollars of initial investment which comes back, probably with a substantial increase, over a 6-week period. But to get started broadly enough requires our raising funds for this bottleneck period.

We are moving cautiously so as to limit our expenditures to where there is good prospect of their being returned severalfold. But this does not obviate the necessity for initial investment.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 9, 1940.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: This may interest you. In six places a picket line is being thrown around a business, mainly merchandising stores, and the owner coerced into signing up—in some cases against the will of his employees. In other words, we have fascism developing and Congress is bypassing the issues. Enclosed is a copy of a statement drawn up by Earl Harding.

I attach hereto copy of a memorandum going to our men in Texas, which will show you how we are working. The problem is enough money to make the \$3,000 to \$5,000 of capital investment that will come back slowly at the beginning in each city or area. But we are making progress and broadening our front. The first 100,000 of the folder You Have a Job To Do began going into circulation last week.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

JULY 12, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: The PAC Pipeline has the following item:

"Representative Tom Steed (Democrat, Oklahoma) placed in the Congressional Record the other day a letter from E. J. O'Connor, executive vice president of the Associated Industries of Oklahoma, to W. P. Wood, of Wood & Co., in Steed's home town of Shawnee.

"Expressing concern over Steed's possible support of minimum wage legislation, the letter suggests that letters be written and personal contacts be made. 'The two most important groups that could be persuasive would be campaign contributors, and your employees, and perhaps a banker or two. * * *'

"Looks like Steed is going to lose the banker vote in Shawnee."

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

JULY 13, 1940.

Mr. HARRY S. BARGER,
1020 National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BARGER: We are so heavily committed in connection with our Fighters for Freedom effort that we regret to be unable to take on the distribution of your excellent statement.

Currently, we are putting out 200,000 Socialism—American Variety from the Congressional Record, copy attached hereto. The statement "You Have a Job To Do" will show you the program in connection with our movement.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, Executive Secretary.

JULY 13, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: The attached memorandum shows distribution to date of Socialism, American variety. This distribution is in process, and will be completed shortly. Not all as yet have gone out.

This piece is so highly effective that we must push through to the widest distribution possible.

At luncheon today, Fred Sexauer remarked that the thing that stood out in his mind was your statement that we need above everything else a definition of what is socialism. Ed Hutton says that in the 1940 World Almanac there is the 1948 socialistic platform, which has among its demands minimum wage at 75 cents per hour, expansion of unemployment insurance, revision of tax laws, and social security. These have become Fair Deal demands, but are no longer recognized as socialistic, even though they are liberally borrowed. How to get a definition that will bring this out is the problem.

People are against everything that they believe is properly labeled "communism," but they don't recognize many collectivistic steps as part of the Communist program. People lack the concept—What Is Socialism. If they could be given it briefly, clearly, so that the label would fasten itself, stick to every socialistic venture, we would be much ahead.

I am sending a copy of this note to Dr. King. He may be able to help us in getting a gripping definition of What Is Socialism.

Sincerely,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 13, 1940.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: It would take but a few hours to examine the communistic and socialistic platforms, and you will shortly discover that since 1932 the New Deal has been taking from the two platforms and using it in their own way, incorporating many of their planks into its own party organization.

During all these many years the public has had the opportunity to vote for the socialistic party or the communistic party. The planks in their platforms have been honestly stated, but the public said: "Thumbs down." What has been happening since 1932 through the present group in power? They have taken a great deal of the philosophy of these two parties and have confused the thinking of the public, so that today those voting for the Fair Deal are voting for many of the ideals and the philosophies of these two parties—now implemented in the one party, the Fair Deal. For instance, I have just been reading the 1948 socialistic party's national convention, advocating in the plans of the party—expanded production and a minimum hourly wage of 75 cents; revision of tax laws, and expansion of unemployment insurance and social security.

Sincerely yours,

JULY 13, 1949.

Congressman RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: We need, quickly, the revised form of the Fourth of July piece as we are having calls for it and we want to print it for the widest possible distribution in inexpensive form.

E. A. RUMELY.

JULY 14, 1949.

Mr. LOUIS D. CARROLL,
Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore 2, Md.

MY DEAR MR. CARROLL: Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn has asked us about supplying 1,000 copies of Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad, and 1,000 Socialism—American Variety. We have these on hand and are glad to supply these without cost.

The Post Office in Baltimore may not accept the franked mailing without some authorization. We have standing authorization in the New York Post Office and could mail from here if you will supply the addresses on gummed labels. This would be the least expensive method of handling. However, we are glad to supply the 1,000 copies of each without charge if you will agree to pay the parcel post or expressage. In that event, you would probably need a letter from Congressman Gwinn to the postmaster at Baltimore authorizing their deposit in Baltimore.

We are enclosing The Magic of America postcard of which we shall be glad to supply you 1,000 copies without charge to be included in your mailing.

Is there any way in which the wider distribution of Socialism—American Variety and Public Housing in franked releases could be used to stimulate the Action Guild Members in other sections of the country.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

LOUIS D. CARROLL

ESTATE COUNSELLOR

MERCANTILE TRUST BUILDING, BALTIMORE 2, MD., July 1, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have just finished reading the two reprints you sent me:

Public Housing—Disastrous Here and Abroad
Socialism—American Variety

They are splendid—timely and convincing.

As chairman of the Maryland Action Guild, I would be glad to send these two addresses to our mailing list of 1,000 members in Baltimore if you would send them to me in bulk in your franked envelopes. The two could be contained in one envelope.

Only an enlightened public opinion will reverse the trend established during the past 16 years. It is pretty late. Pamphlet on the Guild is attached.

Keep on fighting. Some of us will help you.

Cordially,

LOUIS D. CARROLL.

JULY 15, 1940.

[Straight telegram]

(Please follow punctuation)

Mr. BENJAMIN FAIRLESS,
President United States Steel
Corp., 71 Broadway
New York City

Mr. ERNEST T. WEIR
National Steel Co.
Grant Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. HENRY FORD, II
The Ford Motor Co.
3000 Schaefer Road
Dearborn, Mich.

Mr. CHARLES WILSON
President General Motors Corp.
General Motors Building
Detroit 2, Mich.

Mr. B. E. HUTCHINSON
Chrysler Corp.
341 Massachusetts Avenue
Detroit 31, Mich.

(Each is to receive following telegram:)

You may be interested in following statement released to the press by Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn, Twenty-seventh District New York, member of House Labor Committee:

"The threatened steel strike can be stopped by the Taft-Hartley Act. It is still the law. It is the policy of these United States, as determined by Congress, to dissolve all monopoly power and conduct, including that of labor bosses. The President is bound by his oath to enforce that act. He must proceed under it to appoint a fact-finding board, not a compulsory, arbitrary board that determines or even recommends what wages and prices should be. There is a law higher than mere man-made monopoly coercion. It is the law of supply and demand that determines absolutely what people will or can pay.

"At present, the President proposes to ignore the law and proceed to choose a board of his own appointees to recommend a settlement, i. e., a fourth round of wage increases. That conclusion is obvious because both he and the labor bosses are committed to the proposition that a fourth round of wage increases will create artificial buying power and prosperity. Why tempt himself, then, to appoint a board who believes as he does? His board must be appointed, therefore, as a device not only to sidestep the Taft-Hartley law but to cover up administrative compulsion, the kind we see on every hand today, destroying voluntary agreements among men and undermining the private-enterprise system. It is a conspiracy by which the President and the labor bosses set aside constitutional law and become, themselves, makers of arbitrary, personal rule.

"That is the evil consequence of the toleration of monopoly power in administrative government in alliance with labor boss monopoly combined. The purpose of the Taft-Hartley law was to dissolve this very double-headed evil. Finally, the proposal to force onto the people an increase in wages and costs at uneconomic rates, at the very time of necessary and painful postwar readjustment, is identical with the proposals made in 1929 and 1939. The Government and the labor bosses set in motion, at that time, the wage-price spiral which kept 10,000,000 workers unemployed 10 years.

"The President should cease trying to usurp the legislative powers of Congress to make policy in contempt of the law and, in collaboration with monopoly and compulsion, to fix wages, prices, and production. He would thus save himself and the country from disaster of violating both law and economics."

We are sending this as of possible immediate interest to you.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

JULY 15, 1940.

Mr. JOHN D. BATTLE,
Executive Vice President, National Coal Association,
Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BATTLE: Mr. Earl Cobb, of Fort Smith, Ark., was in the office and brought us an additional copy of the Road to Statism. We have known this before and wrote you with reference to it, but at the moment we could use 24 additional copies to send to each of our advisory board members.

Our own piece on seizure is moving into very large circulation and has created wide interest both in the press and among Members of Congress.

Mr. Cobb has placed your name on the mailing list to receive the literature of a Fighter for Freedom.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 15, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Emanuel Celler replied as follows to a wire from Sumner Gerard—copy of which went to all the members of the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee—for the study of monopoly power:

"Thank you for your interest in the monopoly inquiry that my subcommittee is initiating.

"Our hearing schedule is overcrowded, and I suggest that you ask Dr. King to submit his opinions in writing for our information. Thanking you again * * *"

The subcommittee is comprised of Messrs. Walter of Pennsylvania, Bryson of South Carolina, Wilson of Texas, Denton of Indiana, Michener of Michigan, Keating of New York, and McCulloch of Ohio, under Celler's chairmanship.

We have a letter from Congressman Wilson of Texas, saying that he wishes to hear all sides.

Dr. King has basically important information, based upon a special research on which he himself and a research worker have been engaged for some time. No one else will present these facts. We are talking about the bigness and concentration of power. What are the facts? Are the corporations of large size absorbing more of the net profits and more of the volume of business? What was their total percentage before the war, during the war, and now? For your private information, Attorney Clark is stirring up a mare's nest, and King's testimony will knock out much of the propaganda, but his appearance as a witness, where he can be cross-examined, will be very important.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

JULY 16, 1949.

MR. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: Where are the most complete lists of public utilities and their officers? Where are the centers of influence that we could appeal to to get behind our efforts to stop socialization of industry? Public utilities are in an exposed front-line position.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

JULY 16, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: I know how burdened you are, but if you can find time to revise the letter by you to accompany the ad "You Have a Job To Do," it would be tremendously helpful.

Just at this juncture it will help us get to our own top lists the importance of starting organizing locally.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

JULY 16, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: At the depth of the depression—1932-23—Elmer Thomas, who has a pioneering background starting in Indiana, migrating to Oklahoma, took a strong stand for private enterprise. But he was won over

by Roosevelt when he wanted to legislate the basis for a bill that would take the monetary measures needed to restore the price level. Instead, Roosevelt convinced him to sponsor the bill written by Roosevelt advisers which transferred the monetary powers out of the hands of Congress into the President's control.

However, the attached letter is interesting. It indicates that it is worth while to keep placing sound ideas like Labor Socialism—Will It Take Over America?—before Congress.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 18, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DOCTOR RUMELY: The order for 100,000 copies of Socialism—American Variety, has been delayed because Mr. Gwinn has been revising it. It is being entered in the Record again today, and copies will be secured just as quickly as possible.

Enclosed are some requests for copies. We have used all the 50,000 copies Mr. Gwinn had printed personally.

[Penned notation:] 7/19. Given to Miss Newbauer to fill orders. J. E. Spindler.

Sincerely yours,

BARR C. MILLER, Secretary.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 20, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I appreciated very much receiving your letter of July 13 and the attached memorandum showing the distribution to date on Socialism, American Variety.

This piece was designed to set forth the definition of socialism. I have improved on it a little in the revised issue. It will be out in 2 or 3 days.

Thank you always for your encouragement.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

JULY 20, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Here is the format in which we intend to put out the Declaration of Independence.

It will not cost us much to reset the type and put this in whatever form you finally decide should be used.

This piece, I hope, can be pushed to really large circulation. We shall include it in the mails and seed the country with it and I am confident people will pick it up.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

COPY OF NIGHT LETTER SENT TO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE LEADERS

JUNE 21, 1949.

Your constituents will have to pay for another round of harmful wage increases in excess of the national total available spending power if you do not stop it.

While the President is forcing the steel industry to assent to political "fact finding" to justify a fourth round of wage increases, the same objective is being reached in part, and by indirection, through his Secretary of Labor.

What Secretary Tobin is doing is based on misuse of existing law. He is holding hearings under the Walsh-Healey Act and jacking up minimum wage rates to inflationary levels. While his rulings affect only the minimum wage rates which Government contractors must pay, those rates inevitably affect all other industries.

The minimum wage just fixed for the woolen textile industry, which was already in serious difficulties, is \$1.05 an hour. The Tobin hearings are expected to set a minimum of close to \$1.20 an hour for steel, and possibly higher for aircraft.

This is being done by the executive branch while the legislative branch is debating whether to raise the Government-dictated minimum wage as high as 80 or 75 cents an hour.

And this mad dance of wage increases and unemployment goes on in the face of tested, indisputable economic proof that taking money from employer's expendable funds and giving it to employees cannot, and does not, add one penny to total purchasing power. It only sounds good. It's smooth as snake-oil for the labor monopolists to sell to their followers and to other misinformed people.

We protest this senseless procedure because neither the manufacturers and suppliers who must deal with Government near the subordinates in Government service who have to carry out the Executive's policies are in a position to protest, much less resist. Unless Congress stops it, taxpayers will have Government costs and their own costs needlessly increased. And the will of Congress, which has the power to legislate minimum wage rates, will continue to be thwarted.

The political debts of a labor-dominated administration to labor monopolists were more than repaid, at taxpayers' expense, by acceding to their extortionate wartime demands and enforcing them, in scores of cases, by plant seizures.

Public interest would be served by a thorough overhauling of the practices in the executive department by which existing labor law is avoided and the Walsh-Healey Act is used to achieve objectives not in the public interest.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

JULY 21, 1949.

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY,
*Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: A generous contributor in Wisconsin has promised us \$1,000 to pay for 1,666 copies of the Norton book on the Constitution for distribution within the State of Wisconsin.

You may draw upon us for this quantity and if you need a few more, we shall be glad to supply them out of our final fulfillment up to 2,500 copies.

Let us know where you wish them sent and when you prefer to have them reach destination.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

JULY 26, 1949.

HON. ALEXANDER A. WILEY,
*427 Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: We shall ship 2,500 copies of the Norton book as you direct.

These will be shipped right after the 1st of August.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
July 23, 1949.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I certainly appreciate your very gracious letter of July 21. I am most appreciative of the anonymous contributor who has kindly

arranged for me to secure additional copies of the Norton book on the Constitution.

Incidentally, I have in turn advised folks who have inquired of me (who are contemplating making financial contributions to your organization) of your wonderful cooperation in giving me large supplies of this book for distribution.

Moreover, I have in my files letters from several hundred school principals, county superintendents, sisters superior of the grade and high schools in my State who have distributed these Constitution books at graduation exercises and on other occasions to their leading students.

If I may, and if it would not inconvenience you, I would be most grateful if the full number you kindly quoted—2,500 copies—could be sent whenever convenient to me, room 427, Senate Office Building. I could be sending them out during the congressional recess when we have more free time than at any other period during the year.

I hope that you or one of your associates will be in Washington in the not too far distant future so that I may be able to get your ideas in connection with the 1950 campaign in Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana, and so forth. If you are down here and could contact my executive secretary, Mr. Cahn, I would like to arrange a get-together with you.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

ALEXANDER WILEY.

C. K. ALEXANDER,

7844 HARWOOD AVENUE,

Milwaukee 18, Wis., July 19, 1949.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

205 East Forty-second Street,

New York 17, N. Y.

Attention: Mr. E. A. Rumely, executive secretary.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: To hear out the comments I made in my letter of June 21, I am enclosing with this letter two full-page advertisements which recently appeared in the Milwaukee Journal and Chicago Tribune. One is by the Committee for Constitutional Government and the other is by the Standard Steel Spring Co. I would like to ask you which one of these you would read if you saw them in the paper.

The answer, of course, is obvious. I read the advertisement by the spring company and I did not read the other one, nor did a good many other people here in Milwaukee. I know this is true because I called several friends and pointed this committee advertisement out to them, the day it was published. They still wouldn't read it, and had the same comment to make that I have made.

I believe the committee is trying to do a good job, but it doesn't take anybody very smart to realize that people just won't read all that fine print. It seems to me if there is no one about the committee at present who has any idea about how to make an advertisement hit hard, they certainly should get someone. I am sure there are many able men in the advertising business who would willingly donate their services for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,

C. K. ALEXANDER.

JULY 27, 1949.

Mr. C. K. ALEXANDER,

7844 Harwood Avenue,

Milwaukee 18, Wis.

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER: You are quite right. More people undoubtedly will read through the Standard Oil ad. But if they asked for money, more people would send money in response to our ad than in response to their ad.

If we were selling Ivory soap, with all grocery stores promoting it, we could make an effective ad using only a few words, "Use Ivory Soap," and white space because only a reminder is needed with the local reputation and long background of Ivory soap. With a new intangible requesting that checks be sent in, full copy is more effective, we have found by long tests.

When you come to New York City, drop in for a visit with us. It would be very helpful for you to see the background of our experience, and for us to have the benefit of your fresh viewpoint.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

THE STANDARD-TIMES,
New Bedford, Mass., July 28, 1940.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
205 East Forty-second Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: A leaflet, headed "Lincoln on private property," and bearing your address, recently has come to our attention. We are very much interested in obtaining the source of the 10 points which appear on this leaflet, commencing with, "You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift," and so on.

Are these 10 points quoted directly from Lincoln, and, if so, could you tell us when and where, or in what writings, he made these statements?

Our search for this information started when we ran across 10 similar points, which now appear to be something of a paraphrase of yours, and which were credited to Abraham Lincoln. Investigation has proven that this paraphrase is not attributable to Lincoln. However, if your material is traceable to Lincoln, it will show where the paraphrase came from.

Being much impressed by the soundness of the doctrine expressed in these points, we desired to publish them; our investigation is being made only so that we may attribute them to their true originator.

Hoping that you may be able to be of assistance in our search, I remain,

Sincerely,

EVERETT S. ALLEN, *Sunday Editor.*

LINCOLN ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

Abraham Lincoln believed in giving freedom to slaves so that instead of working in serfdom for others they might keep for themselves their own earnings. The quotation below shows that he believed just as strongly in protecting the freedom of all other Americans to keep, each for himself, the fruits of his own labors:

Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. * * * Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently to build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence. * * * I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good.

Ten points—They cost so little, are worth so much

1. You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.
2. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.
3. You cannot help small men by tearing down big men.
4. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.
5. You cannot lift the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer.
6. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than your income.
7. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by inciting class hatred.
8. You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money.
9. You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man's initiative.
10. You cannot really help men by having the Government tax them to do for them what they can and should do for themselves.

Carl Snyder, in his great book, *Capitalism the Creator*, and Willford I. King, in his study, *Raising the Workingman's Scale of Living*, have demonstrated that in a free society the wealth of men like Ford, Edison, John Deere, and millions of small-business men, providing better tools, enriches all citizens. Ask for free copies of *Capitalism the Creator* booklet, 32 pages, and *Raising the Workingman's Scale of Living*, sending 5 cents for postage.

If you wish to distribute this leaflet to friends, fellow workers in your firm, members of your church, lodge, or union, we will supply 10 free, postpaid anywhere, upon your request. Buy in quantities for enclosure in your mail; \$1 for each 200. Ask for Lincoln on Private Property.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

JULY 30, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: I hand you herewith a complete package of the committee's current mailing, each piece numbered:

1. Two-sided committee letter dated July 20, 1940.
2. Statement by Thomas J. Norton, "To the Editor," dated July 20.
3. Congressman Gwinn Charges That the President and Labor Bosses Usurp the Powers of Congress (King on reverse side).
4. Four-page letter, dated July 28, 1940, signed by Willford I. King. (Western Union telegram on p. 4.)
5. Pamphlet: Who Gets Knocked Out in That Fourth Round?
6. Steel Facts, editorial from the New York Mirror.

I am sending you two additional copies of this mailing.

It would be highly valuable if we could get into the Congressional Record the following:

(a) Your statement (No. 3 above), (b) the telegram (No. 4 above), (c) letter of July 28 (No. 4), (d) Dr. King's article (No. 3), (e) Judge Norton's letter (No. 2), (f) Steel Facts (No. 6), (g) your revised July 4 piece, (h) editorial in the Chicago Tribune (July 23—attached hereto).

In introducing these into the Record a statement should be made that could be put onto the envelope urging the importance of citizens everywhere speaking up to their Congressmen and Senators as they never have before.

Your column on the Walsh-Healey Act might be included in the package. If we can get this kind of a package into the Record quickly we intend to give it mass distribution.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

WESTCHESTER MEDICAL BULLETIN, JUNE 1940, PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER, INC., 171 EAST POST ROAD, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

EDITORIALS—HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS AND BLUE CROSS

In our March issue there was published an editorial under the above title urging and portraying the physician's responsibility in helping to avoid unnecessary hospital admissions and unnecessary diagnostic procedures on hospitalized patients. In our April issue one of our editorial colleagues, Dr. Higgons, pursued the subject of Blue Cross and diagnostic procedures in hospitals from the standpoint of extending Blue Cross provisions to cover them as an important forward step in preventive medicine. Elsewhere in this issue there is published a letter from Mr. Louis H. Pink, president of Associated Hospital Service of New York.

With the principle of Dr. Higgons' comment we are in entire agreement. Under present conditions how to achieve those ends is another matter, but, as Mr. Pink states, for the benefit of the public we will have to solve these problems.

Presently available hospital bed facilities would not make possible such diagnostic hospitalization service loads as prepaid voluntary insurance coverage might produce. Nowhere is there actuarial experience available which would enable Blue Cross plants to extend their services on a financially sound basis to cover such diagnostic services. But most important of all, granted that the above two problems can and will one day be solved, is the conflict of hospital diagnostic service with the private practice of medicine.

In many localities open warfare is being waged on "hospitals practicing medicine" by their failure to allow the radiologist, the pathologist, or the anesthetist to collect his private fees from Blue Cross or other types of paying patients. In the original planning of Blue Cross in most localities the medical profession required the exclusion of purely diagnostic services from Blue Cross coverage for just this reason. In our opinion this principle must be resolved by the medical profession itself among its own groups before Blue Cross can possibly consider extending its coverage of diagnostic services.

Through a closer integration of Blue Cross and Blue Shield services perhaps acceptable arrangements can be worked out to provide the framework for such an extension of service. At present we are sure that the radiologists would insist that such coverage be provided through Blue Shield rather than Blue Cross.

Westchester has prided itself on its advanced thinking and performance in medical and hospital care. Might not now be an opportune time for our own society and hospital association to pursue this subject with Blue Cross and Blue Shield? Perhaps with the combined thinking and concerted effort of all concerned, a special type of contract could be developed whereby right here in Westchester with a geographically restricted group, actuarial experience could be acquired which would enable Blue Cross and Blue Shield to evolve a really inclusive coverage which might include certain ambulatory diagnostic services. This would offer something to combat the idea of compulsory health insurance, if on a voluntary prepaid insurance basis diagnostic service in hospitals were to be provided.

Meanwhile, so long as the present rules of the game prevail, we reiterate our argument of 3 months ago. Since we physicians are really the ones responsible for hospital admissions and for ordering services rendered to those hospitalized, let us not blame the hospital administrations or Blue Cross for policies on which we had such a major voice in their adoption.

SHALL CONGRESS "BISMARCK" AMERICAN MEDICINE?—BY CONGRESSMAN RALPH W. GWINN, TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

The President has said America should try socialized medicine. So Congressmen are looking into the matter. Some of the things they are finding are curious.

The first modern nation to try what the President has recommended was Germany—under that famous "democrat," Prince von Bismarck. What was the result? Certainly socializing medicine made the Government bigger and bigger. But back in 1885 the average German who became sick got well in 14 days. By 1920—after 35 years of socialization—it took him 20 days. By 1932 he needed 20 days of Government medicine before he was able to work again.

Under our present medical system here in America, few of us stay home unless we are really sick; few are so foolish as to call in a doctor unless we really need one. Yet in spite of our pathetic faith in individual responsibility, year after year the death rate in America has been dropping. Contrast this with what took place in Germany after medicine was socialized. In spite of the great increase in medical knowledge, statistical sickness increased. The biggest jump in sickness came before week ends and holidays. After 50 years of socialized medicine, the average German was out sick 70 percent more days than the average American worker. Having the Government pay his medical bills hasn't seemed to improve his health.

Sickness is a difficult thing to measure. Perhaps statistical sickness is something more than sickness. Those who are most familiar with the matter say that with the Government paying doctor, hospital, and sickness benefits, official sickness often becomes indistinguishable from a paid vacation. As an example they cite the German experience in 1930.

That was a depression year in Germany. Increased unemployment and decreased contributions created a budget emergency. There wasn't enough money coming in to pay everybody's medical bills. So an emergency decree was issued effective September 1. It required insured persons, formerly treated "free," to pay in addition to their regular contributions 12 cents for their first visit to the doctor. The result was amazing. Here's what happened in one typical community. During the last week in August the doctors had 30,300 patients. The first week after the 12-cent charge went into effect, the number fell to 8,800—a drop of more than two-thirds.

It is easy to see why overworked German doctors frequently ignored urgent pleas for help. They even left their phones off the hook. As one doctor said, they knew "that between 65 and 70 percent of all calls are unnecessary. The Government pays for them and here is the important part. They prevent adequate medical care for the really sick. The treatments are most palliative, rarely curative, and no time is spent in personal hygiene and preventive medicine."

Another authority tells about a spot check in 2,008 so-called patients out sick. When interviewed, 816 at once admitted they were no longer sick. Upon examination, another 280 were declared "well." More than half were not really sick. On the other hand, one patient declared officially recovered died 2 days later.

Such deplorable abuses naturally call for drastic controls. Inspectors and detectives are added to the payroll. Doctors and patients are checked and counter-checked. By 1931 Germany had more clerks than doctors on the "med-

ical" payroll. The insurance fund employed a doctor or bureaucrat for about every 250 insured patients. Yet the official amount and length of sickness had increased. In depression years, the scheme became in reality a system of unemployment relief with doctors cast in the role of detectives. And last but not least, it was a mighty step on the road which eventually led to national socialism and Adolf Hitler.

No wonder many Congressmen are asking themselves whether the President is right in saying that the road upon which Bismarck launched German medicine is the road down which free America ought to travel.

LETTER FROM MR. LOUIS H. PINK, PRESIDENT OF AHS, ON DIAGNOSTIC SERVICES FOR BLUE CROSS PATIENTS (REFERRED TO EDITORIALY)

DEAR MR. ROSEBERRY: I was very much interested in Dr. Higgons' letter on diagnostic service for Blue Cross patients. I have always regretted the inability, financial and otherwise, of Associated Hospital Service to provide diagnostic service in the hospital. It is one of the most important features of preventive medicine and somehow we should find a way of doing it. It will undoubtedly cost more as Dr. Higgons suggests and will probably lead to abuse. But we do have some abuse at present as doctors are tempted to certify that these special services are necessary in the treatment of an ailment so as to bring them within the coverage of our plan, when the admission is in fact for diagnostics. We have no way of avoiding abuse except through the efforts of the medical profession. We are in their hands.

It is also true that there is another important obstacle to the provision of diagnostic care in the hospital in addition to the increased expense and abuse. That is the opposition of medical groups to the extension of this preventive service in our contract.

Somehow, for the benefit of the public, we will have to solve these problems.

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS H. PINK, *President.*

DECEMBER 3, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
Pawling, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GWINN: We will be glad to send you 30 copies of each column to Pawling, until January 1, and thereafter to your office in Washington.

We will send you the stencilled copy that goes out to the newspapers.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., August 12, 1949.

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government, New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Herewith is the list of members of the National Association of Electric Companies. Each one of these is an important utility and, together, they constitute the greater part of the entire electric utility industry.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

AUGUST 17, 1949.

MR. JOHN MAPES,
*American Iron and Steel Institute,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York City.*

DEAR MR. MAPES: You probably saw in the New York papers reflection of Dr. King's testimony which was carried rather fully across the country.

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency hearings—first volume published as Economic Facts in Labor Organizations—have a large amount of highly important material.

We have written Senator Robertson as per the attached.

Messrs. Love and Moses gave testimony which contains excellent material.

Do you know whether the testimony before the President's fact-finding board will be available in printed form? Will it carry franking privilege? If not, the strongest sections should be introduced into the Congressional Record whence inexpensive mass distribution can be made.

The testimony of Mr. Randall and the Chicago Tribune editorial relating to it, for example, would be highly important.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
August 18, 1949.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Replying to your letter of the 17th will say that when printed hearings of the labor monopoly investigation are available I shall be glad to send you one copy for your personal files. We have been able to secure only 2,000 copies and, therefore, have not been able to make them available to public libraries or to furnish to any one man or agency more than one copy.

If your committee or any other organization desires extra copies you might be able to procure them from the Public Printer. The first volume was slightly over 500 pages and the second volume will probably not be quite that large but, of course, the Public Printer could quote you no price until all the transcript of the second volume has been submitted to him and the material set up in galley sheets. The hearings are being published as usual with a thin paper binding.

While I would like very much to see a wide distribution made of our current hearings because I agree with you that they deal with a very vital and fundamental problem, our committee was unable to get any extra money for that purpose. We were limited to the usual 1,000 copies plus what could be printed with the maximum supplemental allowance of the Printing Committee of \$750.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON.

AUGUST 18, 1949.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: On investigation, we find it will cost \$300 to put the 10,000 names on plates and that it will entail a delay of about 2 weeks, as only 800 can be stencilled a day.

I have, therefore, decided to get gummed labels, four sets, which can be secured more expeditiously.

Do you wish us to send Socialism American Variety to one set, or do you wish Socialism American Variety to carry your letter? I should think putting the letter in with Socialism American Variety might go well with this particular list.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

P. S.—It was a pleasure to see you last evening and to meet your host, a very fine man.

E. A. R.

MEMO FROM DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
New York 17, N. Y., August 9, 1949.

To: Mr. Small.

Mr. Ralph Gwinn has sent us a list he would like to have put on plates—10,000. I think this would be pretty expensive.

What would be the cost of making a set of gummed labels, one original, and four duplicates?

Please let me know on this.

[Hand written:] \$20 per M for 4 copies (1 original, 3 carbons). Plates, \$8 M. Labor (estimated), \$20 M—\$28 M.

AUGUST 22, 1940.

Mr. A. F. BAXTER,
President, Unit Parts Corporation,
1330 Main Street, Buffalo 8, N. Y.

DEAR MR. BAXTER: We will make a special price of 1 cent each to you for copies of Representative Ralph W. Gwinn's speech Socialism, American Variety, given on April 9, 1940.

In replying, please address your letter to E. A. Rumely.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

1330 MAIN STREET,
Buffalo 8, N. Y., July 19, 1940.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: I have read with much interest your remarks before the House of Representatives on April 9, 1940, and as set forth in Congressional Record, copy of which I received some little time ago.

The purpose of this letter is to inquire whether it would be possible to get additional copies of this Congressional Record folder covering these remarks so we might distribute them to members of our organization and some others with whom we do business. If so, at what cost, if any?

A quantity of approximately 200 would be required for distribution to our own organization and a few selected wholesale customers. If we were to distribute these folders to our entire mailing list we would require about 2,000 copies.

We believe the information contained in your remarks is something which should be read by every good American, as the only hope in stopping the Government trend toward socialism seems to lie in a better education of the individual.

Very truly yours,

A. F. BAXTER.

AUGUST 24, 1940.

Mr. A. E. ARMSTRONG,
Armstrong Machine Works,
Three Rivers, Mich.

DEAR MR. ARMSTRONG: You are quite right in your suggestion about organizing a committee of one or two members for each of the groups having a common aim of limiting Government control.

We have several men in the field testing plans to do exactly this. The most expert and experienced is at work in the State of Ohio. He is making promising progress.

If you get to New York City, please give us a call. Dr. King, Mr. Gerard, and other members of the committee could benefit by an exchange of experience and thought with you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

[Western Union night letter to be sent to the 17 names on the attached list]

AUGUST 24, 1940.

Do you realize how little the public knows that a fourth round of wage increases will raise prices, restrict sales, cause unemployment, and intensify any recession? How to counteract in the public mind the poisonous fallacies of Robert Nathan, CIO, most critical problem American business now must solve. Nation-wide educational job urgently needed.

Committee for Constitutional Government has 12 years' successful experience and necessary material. Equipped to do this job. Committee has already begun operations. The committee and individual members of its board, Senator E. H. Moore, Frank E. Gannett, Robert B. Dresser, Harvey C. Fruehauf, Willford I. King, have given leadership national thinking this area over long period.

Greatest opportunity in a decade for Nation-wide effective education with \$250,000 program reaching 1,000,000 leadership individuals and opinion molders direct mail, and utilizing newspaper advertising and radio.

Ten midwestern companies launched drive with purchase of books totaling \$20,000. You can multiply and project your influence on this critical, national issue by a little cooperation that will not be burdensome. Amos Jackson, field representative, will contact you.

SUMNER GERARD,
Trustee, Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

AUGUST 27, 1940.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: Mr. John Mapes of Hill & Knowlton at my request sent you the preliminary statement of Clarence B. Randall before the President's Steel Industry Board on August 11, together with the statement America at the Crossroads which was his formal presentation.

Congressman Gwinn has already consented to put America at the Crossroads into the Record. I did not, at that time, know of or have a copy of the preliminary statement, which we believe excellent by way of explanation. It adds to the value of Mr. Randall's statement.

Since Members of the House cannot now put material into the Record until September 21 and that will be too late for our purposes we must try to get this in through a Senator.

We have been distributing large quantities of material for Senator Malone who thinks straight and sees clearly on many basic business issues. I suggest that you approach him on Monday with a view to getting this brief statement into the Record. We can then, with his permission, pick it up to print at the lead of the insert of Congressman Gwinn's full statement.

We recently supplied Senator Wiley a large quantity of Norton books on the Constitution for his annual distribution to people in the home State. Of course, we do not wish to use anything that we have done as leverage and naturally you won't mention the fact, but I am letting you know my reasons for believing either of these two will be responsive.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

AUGUST 27, 1940.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: First let me thank you for your kind hospitality when I was recently in New York. I appreciated the opportunity of visiting with you, and I hope that I shall see you again before long.

I also want to thank you for sending the clipping on Kaufman. Mr. Morley has just informed me that he has not been able to use the article because of the pressure of other things. But he is holding a copy because he thinks he may at some time be able to use a good part of it. The theme was that the administration is rewarding those who help to cover their sins.

Mr. GWINN placed in the Record of August 25 the column on raising wages which I discussed with you. At the time you told me that some of the figures had been changed. I now see that a number of them have been changed so that the story is slightly different from the one I originally wrote. The changes made were all of the 1948 figures so that they are no longer comparable to the ones I used for 1920. If you are planning to circulate this further, I suggest changing back to my original figures.

The source for my original figures is the national income number of the Survey of Current Business, July 1949. For dividend and interest income, I used the figures shown on page 10, table 3, for the lines dividends and personal interest income. For 1948, these two items total 16.2 billions. The figure for farm income is taken from the table 1 on the same page which shows 1948 at 18,371 millions which I had called 18.4 billions.

The figures that I had included for wages and salaries was 14.3 billions which is 7.2 billions more than the figure you used. My figure was that taken from the table 1 on page 10 for the total of compensation of employees, 140,261 millions. The figure that you are now using does not include the amounts deducted from payrolls for social security or the supplements to wages and salaries paid by

employers. From a business point of view these are all labor costs. The only reason labor doesn't receive them is governmental action.

If you are going to use these figures, you may want to check them with Dr. King, and I am sending an extra copy of this letter should you care to do so.

Andy's group is holding a meeting in New York Monday, and I am hopeful that they will be in a position to make a concrete offer to me. However, if nothing develops very shortly, I shall have to devote my energy to finding a position in private industry.

Please give me a ring if you should get down this way.

Sincerely,

PERCY L. GREAVES, Jr.

To: Mr. L. R. Boulware:

The attached letter is self-explanatory.

E. A. R.

AUGUST 27, 1949.

Mr. H. C. BERCKES,

*Secretary, Southern Pine Industry Committee,
520 Canal Building, New Orleans 4, La.*

MY DEAR MR. BERCKES: Stimulated by your telegram we are planning to put into a mailing to our 40,000 top names on Monday an appeal urging that all speak up to Congress. However, since we do not want to thresh water I called Senator Butler's secretary who told me that he was away and that she did not yet have knowledge of a decision to offer an amendment to the wage-and-hour bill. I asked Homer Dodge, an experienced former newspaperman acting as our Washington representative to check on the situation. He reports: "Senator Butler has given consideration to the idea of offering an amendment to the wage-and-hour bill which would have the effect of repealing the Walsh-Healey Act but has not decided the matter. He has not yet drafted such an amendment. I will keep in touch with him."

Senator Butler will be back on Monday. If he does not decide definitely to act, possibly some other Senator could be found.

With the Walsh-Healey Act misused as Senator Tobin is doing, it certainly should come off the books because it is an instrument for destroying the policy-making power of Congress. If the power to fix wages passes to the arbitrary discretion of unelected individuals the people lose control of their own government and the Members of Congress are trustees of the people's liberties. They have no right to forfeit them by inaction.

We may decide to say this in a letter to the Senate on Monday but there is no chance of getting action unless we can get the country to speak up and show interest. We might go down and get together a small group of Senators for a discussion. If a hard core of 10 or 12 informed leaders went behind this, saw the magnitude of the issue involved they might radiate their influence. Will you give me a call Monday morning, Murray Hill 4-1102?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., August 24, 1949.

Dr. WILLFORD I. KING,

*Chairman, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.:*

Following message sent to large group of associations:

"It is my understanding that Senator Butler of Nebraska is receptive to offering an amendment to the wage-hour law when it reached Senate floor repealing the Walsh-Healey Act. Your Senator should be urged to cosponsor and support such an amendment which would remove an unnecessary and conflicting piece of legislation. This should be done immediately because our Washington contacts indicate that Senators hearing very little from industry generally about Walsh-Healey repeal. Advise what you do on this."

This for your information.

H. C. BERCKES,

Secretary, Southern Pine Industry Committee.

AUGUST 30, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
(Attention Mr. Barr Miller.)

MY DEAR MR. MILLER: Attached hereto the lists to which about 600,000 copies of Public Housing--Disastrous Here and Abroad, were distributed.

This piece and the OPA piece have permanent value and may again be timely to distribute if the possibility of repeal of the Housing Act comes up. I should like to have for our records any other lists to which this piece was distributed.

We suggested to Herbert U. Nelson of the real estate board that they might wish to make distribution but did not hear whether they did or not. In any event, they took none of the material which we had printed and offered to release at cost.

Will you let know if they distributed and if you know to what lists that would be helpful. We do not want to duplicate.

Did any others purchase Public Housing for distribution? If so, for what lists?

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

AUGUST 31, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
Pawling, N. Y.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: It would be tremendously helpful if we could have a letter from you urging the committee's activities. Our followers have received so much material from you that your name would be more effective than that of any other individual. I should like to get the letter out on Tuesday of next week, if you can see your way clear to give it.

The attached draft, in duplicate, is by Earl Harding. It is only a suggestion. You may be able to word it more effectively in your own way. Whatever you can say about the response from the country to Congress resulting from the committee's distribution of material will be helpful. Harding tried to get this in.

The last sentence might be strengthened: "Each one of us must fight to preserve our freedom. If socialism--American variety now creeping upon us is not checked and reversed, it will soon be too late." Or something similar.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. RUMELY.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

SEPTEMBER 2, 1940.

Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR TAFT: You did a great service to the people of the Nation when you raised the point of order against section 630 in House bill 4146--the section dealing with stop-watch and time-measuring studies. This section, obviously, represented an endeavor to cut down, greatly, the effectiveness of our industrial machine in providing for the Armed Forces. It is fine to know that you handled the matter so adroitly, and secured the elimination of that section. Hearty congratulations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. I. KING,
Chairman.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

SEPTEMBER 2, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: Your August 31 release entitled "Government Lobbies--How They Work (Government Costs--How They Go Up)" is excellent. I doubt that many people realize how much the Government spends in order to secure public endorsement of its programs. Doubtless these expenditures do increase, greatly, the total size of the Government budget.

Herbert Nelson tells me that he is trying to coax you to sponsor the new organization of small-business men. The preliminary platform which he showed us indicates that he has in mind establishing another pressure group designed to distort Government policy for its own selfish ends. I told him that we could not endorse a program of that type, since we do not consider it any more desirable to promote, at the expense of the rest of the public, the interests of small-business men than to do the same thing for the coal miners or the longshoremen. We believe that the only sound basis for benefiting any group is to promote the national welfare as a whole.

I am giving you this tip so you can be on your guard.

Cordially yours,

W. I. King.

PAUL REVERE MESSAGES, INCLUDING BIWEEKLY NEWSLETTER DEFENDING FREEDOM AND THE CONSTITUTION, FROM A CITIZEN OF PHILADELPHIA WHO IS CONCERNED AS TO THE WELFARE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DISTRIBUTED BY COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, 205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1949.

THE MARCH OF THE EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

(By Ralph W. Gwinn)

The Congress sometimes referred to as the Eighty-"worst" Congress on its hike down the last mile of socialism has come to a temporary halt. It may be a very short respite. The House has gone home to mend its fences while the Senate labors on. Let's review the steps that have been taken so that you can tell your Congressman what you think of him.

Congress started off last January by enacting two special-privilege laws. First it gave a 4-day paid holiday to nonpartisan Federal employees so that they could celebrate the inauguration of a bipartisan labor-socialist President. Next it gave a raise to the Speaker and Vice President and then two raises to the President, one taxable and one not taxable. This 1949 Public Law No. 2 marked the first time that this special tax-exemption privilege was ever voted to a single individual.

In return the President presented Congress with a record peacetime budget, providing for \$41,858,000,000 of expenditures and threatened to raise taxes. Lately he boosted this figure another 8,000 to 4,000 millions. No one knows what he'll ask next.

The foreign field and national defense provide an endless row of scarecrows to tax and spend and vote. The power of the administration to keep the people in fear and dread of crisis has never been excelled. No capital of Europe is better than Washington in the control of thought and fear. Our press is still free but it gets most of its news prepared for it in Washington.

A good illustration is found in its double talk about doing things to encourage private enterprise and then forcing the passage of legislation that is the death of private enterprise. We imitate exactly what Socialist England does and yet most of our people do not recognize it as socialism in America. That's what thought control does for us.

The administration pretends to be so scared of the incompetent bungling of the Russian slave state that it asks us to spend ourselves into bankruptcy and socialism as a means of protecting ourselves from foreign socialism. That is the very nature of socialism.

We passed a multimillion dollar measure to surround the continent of Europe with a radar air-warning defense system. Then the Administration decided our defense line was the Rhine and called for a new set of defense measures which compel our citizens to support and defend the Socialist countries of western Europe. To stop their so-called collapse right away, we voted to continue ECA billions. American private enterprise is thus pledged to support European socialism so that European private enterprise will never become strong enough to defend itself against Russian communism abroad. And it works the same way at home, our real fear is within.

Officially we are still, declared by the President, to be at war with Germany. The Supreme Court says so too. Thus the President's dictatorial war powers are continued. Our production is hamstrung by the continuation of wartime controls

on production and prices of food. Notice the price of eggs and potatoes. Priorities of scarce materials and exports and imports are controlled. The President says who shall import and export and who shall not. The Maritime Commission operates our shipping. Maragon can go on an Army plane to get perfume oils, others are denied the privilege. The House passed an amendment to the wage-and-hour law preventing hundreds of thousands of people from working at all unless they can get 75 cents an hour and \$1.12½ for overtime.

Worst of all was the continuation of rent control because that has stopped all building for rent by private persons. They know how. They have the savings to do it. But they are stopped. This forced such a devaluation of private property and has caused such a shortage of rental housing that the Government uses that as an excuse to take over housing completely. Instead of unshackling private enterprise incentives, our socialists finally succeeded in launching our Government into our own socializing of the housing business in a big way. Free enterprise in housing is dead. Millions of our families will soon owe their rent and votes to the party in power, thanks to the public housing law of the Eighty-first Congress.

There are a very few bright spots in the record. The labor Socialists failed by a few votes to repeal the Taft-Hartley provisions protecting workers from union bosses. The ridiculous collection of time and a half overtime on time and a half was prohibited. The Reorganization Act was passed. So far the administration has placed emphasis on bureaucratic entrenchment rather than economy. States and local communities were permitted to vote themselves out from under Federal rent controls.

Federal control of health and education has been delayed. Federal veteran employees have been given time off with pay to attend funerals for buddies brought home from overseas. No longer will such absence be charged against their month of vacation or their month of sick leave. Federal employees who want full pay and retirement privileges still have to work more than half the days in the year. But the American welfare state has been merely slowed up. It waits to know for sure whether the people will give up their liberties for good and put their faith in the Socialist welfare state.

[Copy for Dr. Rumely]

SEPTEMBER 9, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: You ask for criticisms of the small business action program. Here are a few:

It seems to me that the constitutional amendment mentioned in the first section should limit the total Federal tax rate on any individual to 25 percent for my study entitled *Income-Tax Rates and Revenues* seems to me to prove conclusively that rates higher than that figure do not bring in more money for the Government, but are merely punitive and, by cutting down production, are distinctly antisocial. Since there is now a tendency to have war nominally continue indefinitely, in times of piping peace, section 1 should make it clear that additional borrowing should be permitted solely during the time when hostilities are continuing. I believe, also, that the amendment should prohibit the Government from borrowing from the banks at any time. With modern tax devices, such borrowing is not essential but may readily destroy the Nation by surreptitiously confiscating the savings of the thrifty through dilution of the value of the dollar.

As regards section 3, it would be sounder, from the social viewpoint, to eliminate all taxation of corporate income and substitute, therefor, excise taxes. Corporate income taxes penalize efficiency. Excise taxes do not. Excise tax rates may be made higher on nonessentials than they are on essentials.

Regarding section 4, the logical point of view is to deduct all savings from individual incomes before arriving at the taxable income. When the individual is ready to spend his income for purposes of consumption is the time to levy the tax. Prof. Irving Fisher worked out a schedule for accomplishing this end. It is little more complex than the schedule now used by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Saving serves the general public and hence should not be penalized.

Section 5 tends to subsidize tenants even more than is now done. Such an exemption would greatly curtail Government revenues. I, therefore, believe that this section should be stricken out.

In my opinion, excise and sales taxes are the fairest kind of levies that we have, therefore nothing should be done to them until we have reduced income taxes to a fair and reasonable basis.

Trusting that these suggestions may be of some slight assistance, I remain
Cordially yours,

W. I. KING.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: E. S. Hall, of the All American Foundation, Box 1610, Washington, D. C., was in, asking contact with Dr. King for his fantastic bill H. R. 6135.

He mentioned your name and said he has been doing research work for you and your statements.

His bill has some fantastic ideas in it. Our size-up of him is a well-meaning but completely misguided fanatic.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., September 15, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DOCTOR RUMELY: Attached is a list of the distribution that was made from here of Public Housing, Disastrous Here and Abroad. I have not listed the requests for less than 100 copies. Mr. Nelson's organization took 3,000 copies but we have no information as to whom they were sent.

Sincerely yours,

BARB C. MILLER, Secretary to
Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn.

PUBLIC HOUSING—DISASTROUS HERE AND ABROAD

	Copies
Frederic R. Briggs, Communities Redevelopment Corp., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York, N. Y.	100
Charles E. Mendinhall, realtor, 1016 Washington St., Wilmington, Del.	1, 100
Charles R. Ross, secretary, Bakersfield Realty Board, 1818 M St., Bakersfield, Calif.	500
John B. Kinter, 512 East Ave., Elyria, Ohio	100
John F. Leonard, Leonard Real Estate and Insurance Agency, 51 Highwood Ave., Highwood, Ill.	100
Ray Hofford, executive vice president, Boston Real Estate Board, 7 Water St., Boston, Mass.	200
Thomas J. Canning, executive secretary, Real Estate Board of the Bronx, Inc., 861 East 149th St., Bronx, N. Y.	200
T. T. Hatton, executive vice president, Florida Association of Realtors, Orlando, Fla.	100
H. D. Hood, secretary-treasurer, Ontario Association of Real Estate Boards, 92 Adelaide St. West, Toronto, Canada	1, 000
L. J. Efferth, secretary, Apartment House Owners Association of Cleveland, 108 the Arcade, Cleveland, Ohio	200
Clarence C. Lang, executive secretary, St. Louis Real Estate Board, 100 Missouri Insurance Building, 705 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.	3, 000
Earl M. Wing, secretary, Dakota County Board of Realtors, Anderson Building, 145 North Concord St., South St. Paul, Minn.	100
Arthur E. Marsters, Inc., P. O. Box 63, Bloomfield, N. J.	100
F. E. Kossleck, secretary, Decatur Board of Realtors, 202 Standard Office Building, Decatur, Ill.	200
Dick Racine, realtor, 1029 East Broadway, Long Beach, Calif.	100
Warren E. Sweetser, secretary-treasurer, Second Federal Savings and Loan Association of Boston, 7 Water St., Boston, Mass.	100
N. J. Dresher, executive secretary, Reading Real Estate Board, 223 North Sixth St., Reading, Pa.	100

PUBLIC HOUSING—DISASTROUS HERE AND ABROAD—Continued

	<i>Copies</i>
Charles W. Parsons, Parsons & Harris Agency, Boulder Theater Building, Boulder, Colo.....	100
Joe Lucchese, realtor, 330 West Commerce St., San Antonio, Tex.....	100
Foster Bryant, P. O. Box 232, Coronado, Calif.....	100
John H. Hellrung Agency, 615 East Broadway, Alton, Ill.....	100
St. Paul Real Estate Board, 720 Guardian Building, St. Paul, Minn.....	200
Richard C. Cadwallader, Louisiana National Bank Building, Baton Rouge, La.....	200
John D. Tighe, executive secretary, 603 Monroe Building, 25 Exchange St., Rochester, N. Y.....	300
Hon. Fred M. Busbey.....	1,000
W. J. Kellar, 725 Broadway, McKees Rocks, Pa.....	1,000
Frank B. Clarkson, Clarkson-Giffin Realty Corp., 2 Wild Rose Ave., Worcester, Mass.....	100
H. C. Edwards, Ozark Building, Kansas City, Mo.....	100
Fred M. Greenstreet, 410 West Michigan Ave., Ypsilanti, Mich.....	100
Candida A. Orochl, executive secretary, Jersey City Real Estate Board, Inc., 921 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J.....	100
Henry J. Parfitt, executive secretary, Lansing Board of Realtors, 332 Townsend St., Lansing, Mich.....	250
Real Estate Board.....	3,000
Home Builders Association.....	500
Prefabricated Home Manufacturing Institute.....	50
Mon. Charles Fletcher.....	2,000

SEPTEMBER 19, 1949.

Mr. DWIGHT ANDERSON,
Medical Society of the State of New York,
 292 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. ANDERSON: I am placing your name to receive the literature of the Fighters for Freedom.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
 New York, N. Y., September 14, 1949.

Mr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: We are informed by Whittaker & Baxter that you ordered supplies of material from them in connection with the campaign to defeat compulsory health insurance.

May we call to your attention that the Public Relations Bureau of the Medical Society of the State of New York is fully staffed and able to supply your needs immediately if you will send your orders here. Perhaps you were unaware that this service is available.

We are, of course, pleased at the efforts being made by various people throughout the State to help us win this important battle.

If at any time you have any questions or any special needs in which we could be of assistance, please let me know.

Cordially yours,

DWIGHT ANDERSON, *Executive Secretary.*

FOSS LAUNCH & TUG CO.,
 Seattle 99, Wash., September 21, 1949.

RALPH W. GWINN,
Post Office Building, Yonkers, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Have your letter of September 7, which was mailed to us through Sumner Gerard, of New York.

I appreciate the Gerard people are trying to put over conservative policies for the voter. However, I think most of this literature that is sent out is all wrong. In other words, I don't think you are reaching the man that has to be converted.

Personally, I am a Republican, and I will be damned if I can find any Democrat or New Dealer in my travels, and all my energies in talking good government or a conservative government, go to the people who have the same line of thought that I have, so, as far as I can see, I am not convincing anyone of anything.

In this connection wish to state I have recently been in contact with a group of railroad employees and find to the person they are all against the railroad, and fathoming their argument, I find they are talking about a lot of things they don't know anything about, but evidently someone at the head of their union sends out a lot of unfavorable propaganda for the railroads, and, therefore, I am suggesting to you to give some thought to the idea of counteracting the misinformation that goes out through the unions against the employers.

Just as one item that seems to stick in each railroad man's craw is that the railroad employees do not understand the simple way that a railroad has in financing the purchasing of new equipment. When they see a plate on the side of a car or locomotive that the locomotive or cars belong to such and such trusts in New York, they are educated to believe this is one way of diverting profits out of the railroad company by creating unnecessary expense, when as a matter of fact, you know as well as anybody who deals in heavy purchases, that this is really an installment plan purchase by corporations and is not creating any additional expenses for the company.

As long as the heads of the union are turning down the character and veracity of the officers and the corporations, the line of publicity your friends are sending out is not doing any good. You have to do something to create confidence between employer and employee.

Yours very truly,

C. A. Foss.

OCTOBER 3, 1949.

Mr. ANDROSE BENKERT,
70 Pine Street, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. BENKERT: Attached hereto photostat of a letter to Ralph Gwinn which shows how union propaganda distorts the thinking of railroad employees. It is tragic that with the committee's very heavy investment in your talk we have not been able to interest railroad executives to help adequately in its distribution.

Forty years ago John M. Barker, a car manufacturer at Michigan City, an old family friend, told me that he was lending railroads millions of dollars so that they might pay off the freight cars they purchased from him on the installment plan. The interest rates on equipment notes are not high. It should be an easy matter for railroad management to explain the ABC's of railroad finance to the employees. If they would tell them how a \$28,000,000,000 investment is now represented by \$10,000,000,000 securities, half bonds and half notes, and how these securities again are under par, the average American who wants to do the fair things cannot unless the facts are known. The case of the stockholders is going by default.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

OCTOBER 5, 1949.

INSIDE YOUR CONGRESS

(By Ralph W. Gwinn, Twenty-seventh District, New York)

COMMUNIST RED GUARDS INVADE PEEKSKILL

Peekskill, N. Y., a typical American village in my district, was invaded on a quiet Sunday afternoon by 15,000 Communist sympathizers who rolled up in busses from New York City and New Jersey. These people did not travel 50 miles in a organized cavalcade to hear Paul Robeson sing. They could hear him any time in New York City. There was another reason.

The caravan was accompanied by an armed force of 2,500 men operating in military formation under military orders. Those who planned this "concert"

chose a wooded hollow with only two narrow exits. They arranged their armed men in an outer and an inner "skirmish line." The invading crowd was herded between the two rings, to give them a nervous sense of being hemmed in.

The "guards" were armed with baseball bats, tire irons, and pop bottles, but pop bottles are dangerous weapons in the hands of men trained in Moscow to incite to violence. A pop bottle can be broken down on a man's head and the broken end used to cut his throat.

There was no excuse for a single guard. State and local authorities had 900 police there. Only 400 people were present from Peekskill. All threat of violence came from the Communists who as usual were working both sides of the street.

One paper stated calmly, "The crowd was strictly disciplined, and obeyed * * * their committeemen, who ran the encampment as if they were setting up a headquarters post in an enemy area." We know Hitler and Stalin ordered this sort of thing in Europe but this is America. We are face to face with a private army operating on American soil.

A nation cannot have two sovereigns. If our city and State governments are sovereign, they alone engage in police or military action. Whoever challenges this is embarked on military insurrection.

The military commander in Peekskill was Leon Strauss whose well-known record includes years of military training. He is now a member of the national veterans committee of the Communist Party. Many of his men in the skirmish line wore overseas caps.

The pattern of violence is larger still. Mr. Strauss is an officer of the fur workers union, which has long been a training school for red guards. Ben Gitlow tells us how the Communists organized armed mobs for the great fur strike of 1926 in New York City. The backbone of the strike, he said, was "fearless and able fighters, who were exemplary in wielding the knife, the blackjack, and other weapons." They "went into action like wild beasts."

Twenty years ago these men were merely "guerrillas," trained for union wars. Today they are war veterans led by plotters who have grown skilled in hidden insurrection.

The Putnam County News and Recorder said recently, "Mr. Truman * * * made the statement, 'Laugh the Communists out of existence' * * *."

"Do we, Mr. President, continue to protect and aid these foreign ideologies by our laws and our sense of humor?"

"Do we develop into a Nation of laughing hyenas chuckling our way into oblivion?"

The Peekskill plot failed because of the careful work of our officials. The Communists could not carry off any of their martyred dead to make propaganda for them. But this is no local issue. The men who planned this meeting are planning "concerts" in communities over the country, drilling their Red guards in quiet woodland settings. They will climax their campaign with a meeting in Washington, D. C., with every incitement to violence they can devise. If these political booby traps explode, the publicity will spread round the world.

Our officials know how to preserve the peace. But that is not enough. Our communities do not want to send 900 policemen out on a quiet Sunday to keep the peace. We must go further and put an end once and for all to Communist military action on American soil.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., October 7, 1949.

DR. E. A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I am going to Oregon on the 13th to address the Medical Association.

Will you let me know if there are any meetings that you think should be attended either going or coming?

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

(Copy of telegram sent to you and others:)

WILMINGTON, DEL., October 10, 1949.

Last year we and other Delaware citizens helped finance America's Future. Its program now on over 100 stations including WDEL can be extended to 300 or

more if adequately financed. You get high leverage through your dollars being matched severalfold by local sponsors paying for radio time, speakers donating their talent, and America's Future distributing printed texts; also Constitution books and prizes for best letters from listeners. This constructive work needs immediate help of additional supporters. Treasury ruled gifts deductible. Please make your or your company's check payable America's Future, Inc., and send to Walter J. Laird, Wilmington Trust Co.

LAMMOT DU PONT.
J. WARREN MARSHALL.

OCTOBER 11, 1949.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT,
*American Magazine, 250 Park Avenue,
New York City.*

GENTLEMEN: The reaction from members of the committee to the post card announcing the Willford I. King article, U. S. at the Crossroads, indicates that a very large percentage of those reached by the post card, who are not regular readers of the magazine, will move to get this article.

If you have any unused cards, we still have 10,000 to 15,000 top names of individuals who contribute to the committee of which Dr. King is chairman, and who read his Paul Revere Messages regularly. These would find the article very interesting. From your standpoint, it might be very well worth while to put out another 10,000 cards. If you have them, we should be glad to mail them immediately.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

(Copy for Dr. Rumely)

OCTOBER 17, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: I am glad to see you taking a swat at the Government's farm price support program. It is attaining such magnitude that it is becoming serious.

Cordially yours,

W. I. KING.

OCTOBER 10, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: In reply to your letter of September 21, will you send us another copy of the release that goes to your district?

We could easily put whatever heading you wish upon the release.

How often are you sending them to the district?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

RALPH W. GWINN

TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

SEPTEMBER 21, 1949.

DR. E. S. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR DOCTOR: Would it be possible for the Committee to send out my releases to my own mailing list which consists primarily of constituents. There are approximately 8,000 names on the list.

I am wondering if it would be too much trouble for the release which goes to my list to have the heading which I now use instead of the Features for America heading which you use. Enclosed is a sample of the release as it goes to my district.

I am also sending you a letter signed "A Union Man With Three Union Sons" that may be more typical of the thinking of the rank-and-file union man than we think. We can understand why they sign their letters anonymously. If big business executives are afraid to take positions why should not the workers be afraid with real reason.

Sincerely yours,

R. W. GWINN.

OCTOBER 20, 1949.

Hon. R. W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: This week's column on John Flynn's book is great. Here is the most important mailing the committee has ever sent out. We have developed the formula that can win.

I want to talk to you.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

(Copy for Dr. Rumely)

OCTOBER 31, 1949.

Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR TAFT: I was delighted to learn, from the New York Times of October 25 that, in your address before the Toledo United Nations Association, you denounced the policy of appeasing Russia which was followed by our State Department, and advocate revising the Charter of the United Nations in order to secure international organization which will effectively preserve the peace of the world. Without such an organization there seems to be grave danger that civilization may perish.

Very sincerely yours,

W. I. KING, Chairman.

NOVEMBER 8, 1949.

Mr. FRANK A. HARPER,
Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.,
Irvington on Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARPER: For your personal information here is the suggested platform drawn up by Mr. Fred H. Sexauer, after the discussion last week.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, Executive Secretary.

[Telegram]

NEW YORK, N. Y., November 9, 1949.

LESLIE HARROP,
Counsel, the Upjohn Co., 301 Henriette Street, Kalamazoo, Mich.:

We are clearly moving into socialism, American variety, as described in John T. Flynn's book, the Road Ahead.

Already the Senate has passed the first part of the Murray-Dingell bill for socialized medicine. Only Nation-wide dissemination of the truth and organization at grass-roots level can check and reverse the drift into socialism.

This is not a party matter. Both constitutional Republicans and Jeffersonian Democrats everywhere must be supported by an aroused citizenship. Nothing that I have seen can do this job of education so effectively as Flynn's book if distributed widely and quickly enough. I know from the mails reaching me as a Congressman that the country will respond to sound leadership.

RALPH W. GWINN, Member of Congress.

NOVEMBER 9, 1940.

Senator GEORGE W. MALONE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MALONE: I wish you might have been present last evening when Brig. Gen. Brice P. Disque, one of the ablest, wisest, and most experienced men, in a discussion meeting about the Flynn book, suddenly asked, "What do you think of Senator Malone? He sounds like Presidential timber to me on the air."

Note the mater al enclosed herewith. I am sending you under separate cover a copy of John T. Flynn's great book, *The Road Ahead*.

When you come to New York, we want very much to bring about a meeting of our group with you. If you can set aside an evening, I will invite Dr. King, Brigadier General Disque, Sumner Gerard, and others.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary*.

(Copy for Dr. Rumely)

NOVEMBER 15, 1940.

Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR TAFT: I am glad indeed to note that you are considering the possibility and desirability of outlawing Nation-wide bargaining by labor and writing a Sherman Act for labor. It seems to me that all bargaining should be between the employer and his own employees, no outside unions being allowed to enter the picture, whether these employees be located in the same vicinity or elsewhere.

Of course, it is easier to make regulations than to enforce them against employees. That is why I have suggested placing the responsibility for penalizing employees who violate the law by forbidding the employer who rehires such strikers from paying them, within the next 2 years, more than 85 percent of the rates of pay which he had been paying them when they quit work. Such a provision would put real teeth in the law, and if the statute were so written I believe that strikes in violation of law would be rare.

Wishing you success in your endeavor to improve our labor legislation, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

W. I. KING, *Chairman*.

NOVEMBER 18, 1940.

Dr. DWIGHT ANDERSON,
Care of Public Relations Bureau, New York Medical Society,
202 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

MY DEAR DR. ANDERSON: My secretaries are overloaded so to save time I am sending you, with the name removed, copy of a letter that tells the story. Also the enclosure.

Separately I am sending you 10 sets with the thought that you may want to use them with some of your associates for quick action.

We thoroughly enjoyed the visit of your associate and his charming wife while Dr. Buckley was here. He no doubt gave you a report. It would be tremendously helpful if your society could enter an order for from three to five thousand copies, paying cash immediately. Also if, having done that, you would let Chicago know what you have done.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary*.

ARCHER'S BLUEBERRY NURSERY,
OLD WASHINGTON AND HIGH STREETS,
Post Office Box 55, Pembroke, Mass.,

November 22, 1940.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I certainly congratulate you upon getting the right to reprint and circulate John T. Flynn's new book. The letter from National Steel

ordering 5,000 copies of the forthcoming edition is an outstanding endorsement that should greatly influence a wide circulation. Please send me 100 copies of the letter for circulation in my personal mail.

Since I am a victim of the New Deal "gestapo," I am too busy trying to rebuild my personal future and too restricted financially to aid your committee as I would like. My sympathy is strongly with you, as ever.

Cordially yours,

GLEASON L. ARCHER,

NOVEMBER 25, 1940.

Mr. GLEASON L. ARCHER,
*Archer's Blueberry Nursery,
Old Washington and High Streets,
Pembroke, Mass.*

MY DEAR MR. ARCHER: Thanks for your letter.

We are sending you 100 copies of the folder describing the Road Ahead.

You have done so much by lending your name and advice that under the circumstances no one should expect further financial support. The best wishes of all go with you in your new undertaking.

Incidentally, we are having a run-away market on the book. A 15,000 mailing Friday a week ago sold 12,000 copies on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; and to date we have sold 40,000.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

NOVEMBER 28, 1940.

The Honorable R. W. GWINN,
Pawling, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GWINN: We had 500 copies of the enclosed envelope left.

All have been destroyed and no similar envelope will be used hereafter, as per your request.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

NOVEMBER 28, 1940.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
*541 Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR GWINN: I hand you herewith photostat of Political Action of the Week of November 21. Note on page 2 the marked paragraph. Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, Surgeon General, has promised that socialized housing will wipe out tuberculosis, naming six cities. Has he spotlighted the areas where more housing will keep the States in the New Deal column? Is not the Surgeon General playing politics by his assumption that socialized housing will do more than private enterprise has done?

I am sending this to your Pawling address also.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NOVEMBER 28, 1940.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Your memorandum to the trustees indicates a remarkable response on the Flynn book, and the printed matter concerning it which I have received is highly persuasive. I agree that the utilities should be much interested in widening the distribution. I believe a direct-mail campaign to the special list of the members of the National Association of Electric Companies

which I sent you would bring a response; and then, of course, there is the entire field of all sorts of utilities listed in the McGraw-Hill Directory of Utilities.

I would be glad to receive a copy of the book if you have a spare one.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE.

(Typewritten: This list is in listing room on stencils.—H. G.)

Ralph W. Gwinn, Twenty-seventh District, New York, Washington address:
Room 541, Old House Office Building.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., November 30, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Mr. Gwinn recently sent me copies of some correspondence you had with Mr. E. B. Gallaher, Clover Manufacturing Co., Norwalk, Conn. You may recall that Mr. Gallaher is interested in obtaining through the committee the voting record of the various Members of Congress, which he in turn could pass on to the readers of his business letters.

The Congressman asked me to find out about the work being done along this line here and to advise you the results of my findings. I have made numerous inquiries, and the most reliable service I can find is that of the Congressional Quarterly, 732 Seventeenth Street NW. Their subscription rate varies, depending upon the nature of the organization served. For purely reference purposes it is \$1 a week. For circulation or editorial use the scale is as follows:

	Per week
0 to 10,000.....	\$2
10,000 to 25,000.....	3
25,000 to 50,000.....	4
50,000 to 100,000.....	6
100,000 to 200,000.....	8
200,000 up.....	10

This includes service three times a week as well as a file copy and includes most of the votes on major issues.

There are numerous other organizations but none whose service seems to fit the need as well as Congressional Quarterly. Practically all are left-wing outfits. Even the one recommended I have been told may have leftish leanings as most of their subscribers are of that category, but I understand that this organization's material is mostly factual with little editorial comment.

I hope this information will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

FLORENCE L. SMITH,
Secretary to Mr. Gwinn.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
RALPH W. GWINN, TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT, NEW YORK,
541 Old House Office Building, November 30, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

MY DEAR DR. RUMELY: Mr. Gwinn recently sent me copies of some correspondence you had with Mr. E. B. Gallaher, Clover Manufacturing Co., Norwalk, Conn. You may recall that Mr. Gallaher is interested in obtaining through the committee the voting record of the various Members of Congress, which he in turn could pass on to the readers of his business letters.

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200,000 and up.....	10

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I hope this information will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

FLORENCE L. SMITH, *Secretary to Mr. Gwinn.*

(Copy for Dr. Rumely)

DECEMBER 9, 1949.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GWINN: I am not sure that I have written anything which answers your question directly. It seems to me that any program which tries to fix either prices or incomes of any class of the population is, clearly, antisocial, and tends to make either overproduction or underproduction certain. Moreover, it merely robs one class of the population for the benefit of some other class. Free competitive prices should determine how much of each crop should be produced and, therefore, how many farmers should engage in producing these crops.

Up to date, the farmers have had one genuine grievance against which they can legitimately complain. This arises from the fact that when the price level falls, prices of agricultural products tend to decline by a percentage two or three times as large as the decline in the price of other products. This differential puts the farmers at a great disadvantage. The correct remedy is not special legislation on their behalf, but, instead, stabilization of the general price level and of the volume of employment. With these two stabilized, there would be no repetition of the decline in farm prices to absurdly low levels.

As you are well aware, I have pointed out, in my book *the Keys to Prosperity*, the necessity of stabilizing both the price level and the volume of employment and have shown how these ends can be accomplished without any noticeable interference in our competitive system of enterprise.

Cordially yours,

WILLFORD I. KING.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 10, 1949.

Dr. E. A. RUMELY,

Committee for Constitutional Government,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DOCTOR: Here is further evidence that people are greatly concerned and hope desperately for leadership to indicate the way.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

DECEMBER 13, 1940.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
Pasadena, N. Y.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GWINN: I just met Mr. Harvey Conover, the principal owner of the Conover-Mast Publications. He gave me the enclosed reprints of articles which appear in *Mill and Factory* and *Purchasing*.

Carl C. Harrington, editor of *Mill and Factory*, and Stuart F. Helbrantz, editor of *Purchasing*, have just returned from England. Mr. Conover gave permission to use this material in any way we see fit if you give credit to the editor of *Mill and Factory* and mention that they have just returned from a month's study in Great Britain. It would give background for any material that you use from this column.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

DECEMBER 14, 1940.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR GWINN: Having secured tax deductibility for \$5-600,000,000 paid in union dues and special assessments, the Socialists now want to repeat the punitive methods taken in Great Britain by decree against advertisers who oppose destruction of free enterprise! I doubt very much whether they get far, but it is an interesting straw in the wind.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 21, 1940.

When we celebrate around the Christmas tree this year may we think of it as a symbol of our national liberty which it is. The birth of Christ brought, in truth, the birth of liberty among men. The tree symbolizes the fact that it is heaven sent.

Since then we have maintained the hope as a people that we might, by living according to the teachings of Christ, preserve this liberty, this personal responsibility under the higher law, which alone provides what we want most in our lives. It provides, as well, very practical things like food and shelter.

For a Christmas gift to you this year I have been trying, as a fellow worker with you and many others of our political faith, to get a National Government that will again function within its definite constitutional limitations and take away from you much less in taxes, high prices, and devalued money. In that way you could, out of your own income and production, provide not only the bare necessities but the good life besides.

To bring all this about, as it once was in our country, it is necessary for us to persuade others to our faith. So I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of a new best seller, *The Road Ahead*, by John T. Flynn. This you may consider, as I believe you will, the year's most important book.

Christmas brings us the promise of a rebirth of freedom for our minds and our spirits.

Let us make it a joyous one.

Cordially yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 27, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Mr. Gwinn would like for you to send 50 copies of Mr. Pettengill's release to the office here in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

BARR C. MILLER, *Secretary.*

DECEMBER 28, 1949.

Mr. BARR C. MILLER,
*Care of the Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn,
541 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MILLER: We are sending you under separate cover 50 copies of the Pettengill release entitled "The Grand Stragery of Freedom"—sample enclosed herewith.

If this is not the piece you wanted, please give us name of the required release and we will forward as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

IRENE E. SPINDLER, *Secretary to Dr. Rumely.*

DECEMBER 29, 1949.

Mr. M. J. ALLEN,
*American Steel Foundries,
400 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Ill.*

MY DEAR MR. ALLEN: Your telegram addressed to Devin-Adair, "Understand John T. Flynn's The Road Ahead now available in paper-bound edition at \$1. Would like 100 copies. Can you send them?" has been referred to us.

The attached confidential memorandum tells the story of our plan. The first 150,000 will have gone out during the first 15 days of our distribution.

The introductory price is 50 cents per copy and this price will be open to you.

We are entering shipping order today.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 5, 1950.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York City.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Will you please send to Mrs. George E. Stringfellow, president, New Jersey chapter of Pro America, Inc., 75 Prospect Street, East Orange, N. J., 500 copies of Christ and Liberty. Will you also please send 500 of my white franked envelopes as well.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

P. S. The above reprints are to be charged.

Dayletter to following names, all at House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:
 Hon. Adolph J. Sabath, Hon. E. E. Cox, Hon. Howard W. Smith, Hon. William M. Colmer, Hon. Ray J. Madden, Hon. John E. Lyle, Jr., Hon. John McSweeney, Hon. James J. Delaney, Hon. Leo E. Allen, Hon. Clarence J. Brown, Hon. James W. Wadsworth, Hon. Christian A. Herter.

JANUARY 12, 1950.

We urge you to delay giving a rule to any bill dealing with the extension of Federal aid to or control of medical care. There will be available in a few weeks in book form a report on the most exhaustive study ever made of compulsory medical care in England and the various European countries showing the effect of government intervention upon the quality of medical care for the patient and the degradation of the standards and effectiveness of the medical profession.

This historic study furnishes the background for appraising the probable effects of such legislation now before your Rules Committee and Congress for action. It will be available in less than 6 weeks and copies will be supplied to the Members of Congress immediately.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
 WILLFORD I. KING, *Chairman*.

Above telegram sent day before meeting scheduled for 10 a. m. Following telegram received after meeting.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
 205 East Forty-second Street;

Action on medical bill indefinitely postponed.

HOMER DODGE.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
 Washington, D. C., January 13, 1950.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RUMELY: Thank you sincerely for your good letter of January 9 and for your helpful cooperation in sending me a couple dozen extra copies of *The Road Ahead* together with the envelopes in which to mail them. These will be sent to people around the country who I know are interested in doing something at the grass-roots levels and in organized fashion to help preserve the formula for freedom in our country.

In answer to the inquiry in your third paragraph, I could certainly put to mighty effective use an additional hundred copies of this very important book in the event you care to supply them to me.

I read with a great deal of interest your folder, *You Have a Job to Do* and I like the practical manner in which it gets down to the grass roots and proposes to recruit the common ordinary everyday garden variety of citizen in your movement. I think that this can become by far the most effective activity in which the Committee for Constitutional Government can engage. By keeping the emphasis on the ordinary man and the little fellow and not letting the fight for freedom movement progress on the aspect of another Liberty League, I believe it can render a tremendous service in helping to preserve the political independence and economic freedoms of our country. Congratulations on a job well begun.

I recently suggested to several audiences that one thing every employer could do to help preserve his freedom would be to buy some extra copies of *The Road Ahead* to hand out to the working people of his community and to his friends in general. I was greatly encouraged this afternoon, for example, by several letters coming in from people who have heard recent addresses of mine indicating that they were going to do exactly that. For example, a letter came in today from the president of the Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. who heard me talk to the Associated Club of Cincinnati on Monday of this week; he told me that his company is sending 800 copies of *The Road Ahead* to every employee in the Cincinnati area.

That thing has great possibilities, Mr. Rumely. The thing we must continue to work on and perfect is to find a definite device for recruiting those in every

walk of life who believe in our American creed so that they will become an effective, organized, working unit to help revise political inroads upon our freedoms from every angle and from every source. We still have not been able to develop the closely knit and effective type of organization on our side of this fight for freedom that the CIO-PAC and Americans for Democratic Action have been able to develop for their side of the controversy, which, of course, is the side favoring big government. I think we should stay with this task until we are positive that we have just as many doorbell ringers and vote getters in our organization as they have in theirs.

Cordially yours,

KARL M. MUNDT,
United States Senator.

JANUARY 10, 1950.

HON. HARRY P. CAIN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CAIN: I am delighted to note that you are standing firmly against an extension of Federal rent-control laws. Obviously, with the price level approximately doubled since 1939, landlords are justified in charging, on the average, approximately twice as many dollars for rental property as they received before World War II. Preventing them from getting an adequate rent is simply robbery.

I hope you will stand strongly on the position which you have taken.

Very respectfully,

W. I. KING,
Chairman.

UNION STEEL CO.,
7301 Telegraph Road, Los Angeles, Calif., January 21, 1950.

To you as a member of the great American Contributors Society.

DEAR EMPLOYEE: During the year of 1949 you actually earned \$-----, of which this company was forced to withhold for Federal income taxes \$-----. You might like to know that these deductions for all of us who worked for the company amounted to \$69,449.06, and in addition we were forced to withhold from all employees \$14,000.72, representing their portion of payroll taxes. While these taxes were being taken off your pay check, the company as a corporation contributed to the county of Los Angeles, State of California, and the Federal Government \$167,318.15, which represented property taxes, income taxes, and pay-roll taxes. This makes a total figure of \$250,803.93 direct taxes which had to come out of the labor of all of us who make up the Union Steel Co.'s organization. That is \$1,140 for each employee of the company, or approximately \$95 per month per employee.

But this was not the whole story by any means. Every time we paid the telephone bill, 25 percent of it was Federal tax. Every time we paid a transportation bill, 8 percent was tax. Every time we bought anything for the use of the company, we always paid one and sometimes two sales taxes. Every time we sneezed or blew our nose or wrote a letter to somebody, we paid a tax, all of which were too numerous to set forth in detail, but which is estimated roughly as \$25,000 more, bringing the total up to approximately \$276,000. That's a lot of money for a group of 220 people to have to create in 1 year through their own personal efforts for the benefit of a tax-hungry Government, but that was not the whole story. Every time any one of us as an individual bought a loaf of bread, a suit of clothes, or any other item of any description, there was included in the price of that item from 20 to 60 percent for taxes that somebody else remitted to the Government directly and then tacked on to the price of the merchandise. If we bought a package of cigarettes, we paid 17½ cents per package; 10 cents represented taxes, 7½ cents represented tobacco, package, advertising, radio programs, profit to the factory, profit to the wholesaler and retailer. If we take the National Tax Foundation's estimate of all of these concealed taxes that were paid out of the money which the company distributed as wages, the amount would be \$216,000 more, bringing the total tax burden that had to be assumed by this little organization of 220 people to a total of \$492,000, or approximately \$2,236 per person for the year of 1949.

Is it any wonder that your wife has trouble stretching the household money to cover home expenses? Is it any wonder you don't have any money left over

in your pocket at the end of the month? Is it any wonder that us fellows, who have to try and figure out some way that this company can have a few dollars left over at the end of the year to provide for the security and growth of our business, often wonder why anybody is in business in the United States at all?

On top of all this, the President of the United States and his hand-picked confidential advisers are trying to bulldoze, intimidate, and maneuver Congress into increasing Federal taxes in the next 8 years somewhere between 15 and 25 percent more. Truly you and every person who works for a living in this country are going to be pauperized in the next 5 years, no matter what your ability, your line of work, or your effort, unless this wholesale confiscation of income is stopped.

We urge that you express your views in your own words to your congressional Representatives and Senators immediately by letter or telegram. If you wire them, use the enclosed telegram blank, and we will be very happy to reimburse you for the cost of these telegrams if they are "night letters" not exceeding 50 words.

The only people in this country who can stop this parade to the poorhouse are the millions of people who work for a living, of which you are one. If every employer, every business executive, and every small independent businessman voted 100 percent for economy in Government, it would probably not represent over 15 or 20 percent of the votes necessary to stop this joy-ride. It can only be done if you and the millions like you demand the right to spend a reasonable amount of your income yourselves instead of having some power-hungry and wasteful public officials spend it for you.

If you do not help to do the job, you have no right to complain because you are short of money today and likely to be far shorter of money as this confiscation of income goes merrily on.

Very truly yours,

UNION STEEL CO.
A. W. LEWIS, President.

FRUEHAUF TRAILER CO.,
Detroit, Mich., February 3, 1950.

DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: When I received a copy of *The Road Ahead* from Mr. Frank E. Gannett, with the message "This book can change the Nation's thinking; it deserves the widest possible distribution," I was much impressed, because Mr. Gannett knows the technique of informing public opinion. In the course of building and directing his chain of 22 newspapers and radio stations, Mr. Gannett has had an opportunity to watch the flow of ideas in public life such as few men have had. He is an expert in being able to sense what will "take" with the public.

So, when he gives *The Road Ahead* such enthusiastic endorsement, it is something for you and me and all businessmen to think about and do something about.

I have already distributed it to our key people and to other business associates. Gen. R. E. Wood bought and distributed copies to hundreds of personal friends with the following message: "I believe this book can do a most important job if distributed widely."

Mr. Henning W. Prentiss, Jr., president of the Armstrong Cork Co., has furnished copies to his foremen and key workers. Mr. Ernest T. Weir, chairman of National Steel, has handed out 5,000 copies.

Won't you help get this timely and patriotic document (Reader's Digest printed a 20-page condensation in its February issue) widely read in its entirety by distributing copies to your foremen, department heads, and others?

This book, widely enough distributed, can become the Uncle Tom's Cabin of the twentieth century from the standpoint of public impact.

In addition to ordering a supply of the book to distribute, you can help the cause of Americanism by immediately agreeing to send the enclosed post card to your stockholders. More than 1,300,000 of these cards have already gone out and have resulted in an astonishing number of orders for the books. To be most effective, these cards to stockholders must go out immediately.

The need is urgent, and the time for action is today.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y., FEBRUARY 9, 1950.

To All Dentists—A Call for Action Now.

MY DEAR DOCTOR AND FELLOW AMERICAN: If you and others in the dental profession will join in prompt action with physicians, lawyers, educators, clergymen, and businessmen, the movement into socialism in the United States of America, with its threat of control by bureaucrats, of the medical and dental professions, can be stopped and reversed this year. Dentists have unique opportunities for planting the seed of interest with their friends and patients. Your help, therefore, will be especially valuable in the immediate, Nation-wide distribution of John T. Flynn's eye-opening book which makes abundantly clear the perils on our doorstep.

Please read the attached post card, If You Want To Stop Socialism, and immediately distribute the enclosed five copies to patients and friends likely to be interested.

We selected physicians as the first professional group to appeal to. They have responded far beyond our expectations. Many thousands have purchased from 2 to 10 copies of the book; hundreds have purchased 25, 50, 100 copies; some, 500 copies. One Indiana surgeon bought 1,100 copies. Dr. Blinchart, of Wheeler, Oreg., bought 3,000 copies and wrote a letter (copy enclosed) to thousands of present and former patients, offering each a free copy of the book.

The Oregon State Medical Association purchased 8,000 copies for distribution to individuals across the State, then bought 6,000 copies to go, in packages of four each to the 1,500 physicians in the State. This distribution of more than 17,000 copies in Oregon has had an amazing result.

Within a few weeks hundreds of Oregon men and women in all walks—farmers, civic leaders, educators, clergymen, businessmen—who have received a copy from their physician, are now buying in quantities to distribute to friends. Thus, an almost endless chain reaction has been started by Oregon physicians.

If you and members of the dental profession will now cooperate, an additional great sector of our population can be quickly informed and aroused. You will be joining hands with leaders of many other groups. See, on the back of this letter, copy of what Harvey C. Fruehauf has written to 100,000 business leaders.

How many copies of the post card will you distribute from your reception room? How many copies of the book will you issue with your personal card attached? Every day counts.

SUMNER GERARD, *Trustee.*

CHARLES HALL DAVIS, ATTORNEY AT LAW,

310 South Jefferson Street, Petersburg, Va., February 4, 1950.

Hon. HARRY FLOOD BYRD,

Hon. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON,

United States Senate,

Hon. WATKINS M. ABBITT,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: May I congratulate both of the Virginia Senators on voting against the amendment in regard to the electoral college; and may I express the hope that Mr. Abbitt will similarly vote against it when it comes up in the House.

This is another step toward depriving the States as political entities, and as one of the parties to our Union, or any voice in choosing the President and Vice President; and toward vesting all power possible in the people as individual voters. A similar movement occurred when the seventeenth amendment was defeated, making the Senators elective by the people directly, instead of by the State legislatures, and its consequences have been most hurtful in practically depriving the States as political entities of any voice in the legislative department of the Government.

As the number of electors is made equal in each State of the Members of the Senate and House from the State, and as at the adoption of the Constitution, as well as at the time of the adoption of the twelfth amendment, the Senate was recognized as acting in the capacity of ambassadors from the several States,

and this upper House was intended to safeguard the rights and powers of the States against Federal aggression, it seems obvious that the purpose was that the State electors were designed to represent both the States and the people—two from each State representing the State as a political entity, and the remainder representing the individual voters.

Hence, it has seemed to me for a long period that the electoral vote in each State should be counted by the Congress, so that two votes from each State should be counted for the candidate receiving a majority of the popular vote cast in the State, on the theory that such majority spoke for the State as a political unit; and the remaining electoral votes should be apportioned among candidates in proportion to the popular State vote cast for each. In case no candidate received a majority, then the entire State electoral vote should be apportioned among the candidates in proportion to the popular vote cast for each.

To accomplish this (or even to accomplish what the amendment provides for) there would seem to be no need for a constitutional amendment, as I am strongly persuaded that the same result would be attained through an act of Congress specifying how the Congress should count the votes. Under amendment 12 the Congress is directed to count the electoral votes from all the States; and, in my judgment, the express power to count carries with it the implied power to determine the value of each element of what is to be counted. The Congress substantially does this today under the procedure now followed. It counts each electoral vote as a complete unit; though the Constitution does not provide that each elector shall have one vote; as it does in regard to the Members of the Senate (though not in regard to the Members of the House.)

This view was presented to the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate in hearings held on February 23, March 5, April 14 and 21, and May 3, 1949, in reference to Senate Joint Resolution 2 in the shape of a letter to Senator Ferguson, which appears at pages 196-8 of the record of those committee hearings. On pages 198-9 there is set forth a suggested act of Congress for accomplishing this purpose, and my feeling is strong that the courts would uphold the authority of Congress to specify how the electoral vote shall be counted under amendment 12. Apparently the suggestion received no serious consideration by the committee. I should hate to see the suggested amendment actually proposed by the requisite two-thirds of the two Houses of the Congress and then submitted to the respective State legislatures when there seems a simpler way to remedy the ills incident to present practices and to assure that both States and people shall have a voice in choosing the President and Vice President.

May I take the liberty of further suggesting that each of you oppose the passage of the bills now pending before the Congress in the shape of H. R. 378, and S. 238, providing for further regulation of the railroads so as to secure greater safety and efficiency.

The railroads seem today to be suffering greatly under the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the State corporation commissions, and the labor unions, not to mention any number of other regulatory bodies created for various purposes by the Congress, with their orders given the force of law. I suppose that, if these bills can be enacted, there will be some thousands of additional national officials, who will operate the railroads from Washington, and who generally will know about as much about operating a railroad as I know about the atom bombs. But these additional Federal officials will doubtless provide a further support and bulwark for the administration in power in Washington. And the railroad officers will have to employ an army of lawyers, experts, accountants, and advisers to inform them as to the latest laws promulgated by the Washington bureaucrats. One cannot hardly refrain from laughter at the suggestion that through governmental regulation of the railroads in such a manner we will attain greater safety and efficiency. The railroads are performing a gigantic task in a marvelous manner, and what they need is to have the labor unions taken off their necks, and similarly to have some of the national and State regulators retired to private life. If such an act is enacted, it would seem probably that shortly we may expect that in the cause of safety and efficiency the Washington bureaucracy will require visas and passports for all interstate travel, and that accountants and paper manufacturers will enjoy a great increase of business, due to the tons of special reports called for by Washington.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES HALL DAVIS.

FEBRUARY 10, 1950.

Mr. E. M. BIGGERS,
Biggers Printing Co.,
100 Sabine Street, Houston, Tex.

MY DEAR MR. BIGGERS: I have just had an amazing experience with the selling power of post cards. We have printed $3\frac{1}{2}$ million, 1,000,000 on penny Government post cards and the additional quantities for friends to distribute for us. See the enclosed dentist's letter, which tells the story.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

BIGGERS PRINTING CO.,
100 Sabine Street, Houston, Tex., February 10, 1950.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Yours of 2d before me, and I have run out of the postal cards, but will print another lot Monday and will send you 100.

So many calls came for them, I run off a supply on plain white cards, but it lacked the kick the 1 cent postals carried; so, threw them away.

I sent one to each Senator and each Congressman, and they reached them most timely; am sure it did a lot of good, so many wrote and thanked me for sending. The AP took up, and it appeared in papers over the Nation.

The Taft-Hartley letter was also well timed and did good service, but Eleanor ignored me.

Truly,

(Signed) E. M. B.
 (Typed) E. M. BIGGERS.

100 SABINE STREET, HOUSTON, TEX., April 3, 1949.

DEAR SENATOR: Please do not vote to destroy or to weaken the Taft-Hartley Act.

It is the best labor law that has been enacted in a generation, for labor, for industry, and for the public.

Industry does not want labor organizations destroyed. It would be a national calamity. But labor organizations should not be licensed to throttle industry. Both should be regulated in a manner fair to each, and to the public.

Our laws should protect the rights of labor; protect members from overzealous labor bosses; protect the public from whims of labor controversies. Taft-Hartley Act does that.

Laws enacted for any special class or group, or through fear of political reprisals, are never in the interest of the people.

Labor is big business—the biggest in the Nation. The political power it so ruthlessly wields has grown into a national menace, and needs to be curbed. Labor leaders have grown so bold they thumb their noses at the very government that gave them so many favorable laws—which labor has often abused. They refused to be regulated save in such manner as they dictate.

Too often foreigners come to America to enjoy our opportunities, and go hog-wild with the new-found freedom; grab control of some labor group, and put into practice the things from which they fled.

Something is wrong with laws that make these things permissible:

One man can prevent American ships from sailing.

One man can stop transit and paralyze a city like Philadelphia.

One man can stop production of fuel, causing all to suffer.

One man can stop the music of the Nation.

One group can strangle the Nation's communications.

One group can stop all rail and truck transportation.

One group so far forgot the sacredness of its work that it stopped the funerals of a large city, while 1,200 bodies accumulated, refusing to bury the dead, or allow others to dig graves.

But there's a lesson in that last paragraph: A priest took up the challenge, and with the help of his students, rendered last rites to the departed, while being called vile names.

Our lawmakers ought to show the same courage that priest did, and render their full public duty, instead of cringing before selfish, political pressure groups. Then labor troubles in America would soon fade away.

Your truly,

E. M. BIGGERS.

FEBRUARY 18, 1950.

Mr. GEORGE J. EARL,
*National Metal Trades Association,
 122 South Michigan, Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR MR. EARL: We tried to reach you on the telephone, but in your absence had a very satisfactory talk with Mr. Blatchford, who suggested that we write you.

One of our field men phoned me that he had contacted a member of your organization and that the organization had voted to bulletin its membership on the book, *The Road Ahead*, which we are putting out in a low-cost edition.

We would like very much to place with your mailing the little promotion folder, of which we enclose five copies, also the post card, *If You Want To Stop Socialism*, at least one and possibly two of these pieces.

Never in its 13 years has the committee put out anything which has received the response that *The Road Ahead* is receiving. Men and women in all walks are buying quantities. Last Tuesday we had orders for \$9,000 worth of the book from 2,500 individuals—farmers, clergymen, educators, physicians, women in service clubs.

The advantage of this book lies in the fact that it so arouses its readers as to cause them to buy copies to pass on to friends and thus broadcast its message further. For the first time there is an opportunity to make working allies of others—hundreds of thousands—provided the promotion of the book is carried through to adequate numbers.

Our print order is for 550,000. We have ordered paper for another 200,000, and if we get proper help from everyone, it looks as if we may reach the 1,000,000 mark by May 1 or before.

Please see in the enclosed letter to dentists what we are sending to other groups.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

Interoffice correspondence, date, February 20, 1950.

To: E. A. Rumely.

From: _____

Subject: Names mentioned in telephone conversation with Dr. Buckley Friday, February 17, 1950.

The Savings & Loan Institute Conference is to be held in Chicago from February 22 to February 27.

Morton Bodfish, Palmer House, Chicago, February 22.

Carl Br'stlehorst, 221 North LaSalle, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. R. B. Robbins, Camden, Ark.

Harry Northam, Association American Physicians & Surgeons, Chicago, Ill.

(Robert Berger, contact man in Washington.)

FEBRUARY 21, 1950.

The Honorable RALPH W. GWINN,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Attached herewith are copies of letters we have written to Hugh R. Cullen, urging him to finance the distribution of 100,000 copies of *The Road Ahead*, to clergymen and educators, and naming the special price of 30 cents per copy, our bare cost.

A letter from you to him, emphasizing the importance of this distribution, might be extremely helpful. If you are willing to write him, let us know.

Also, please write to Dr. Elmer L. Henderson, president-elect of AMA, 606 South Fourth Street, Louisville 2, Ky., and Dr. E. E. Irons, 122 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill., telling the story of the response that you received to *The Road Ahead*, and the importance of its mass distribution. In a letter which you wrote to the committee some time ago, you stated that a large portion of the mail coming into Congress from citizens over the country was in response to material distributed by the committee, such as the franked releases.

If you write, would you please send Dr. James E. Buckley, president, Oregon State Medical Society, Medical Dentists Building, Portland, Oreg., who would be as interested as we are, to see them.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

FEBRUARY 23, 1950.

Dr. JOHN W. CLINE,
400 Post Street, San Francisco 2, Calif.

MY DEAR DR. CLINE: With further reference to this committee's offer, we send you herewith in confidence, a copy of three of the 114 pages required to list the 2,171 purchase orders that were received here on February 14th.

Because we had mailed to physicians before going to other lists, there was an unduly large representation of physicians amongst those replying on February 14. Dentists, automobiles dealers, farm leaders, small-business men, and citizens in all walks comprise an increasing percentage of the number of purchasers.

These typical daily cash remittance sheets, however, show the wide geographical distribution and the potential of enlisting in a fighting army of hundreds of thousands. Each of these can be kept informed as critical issues arise, and supplied with additional guidance, literature, and material for effective work.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., February 24, 1950.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Committee for Constitutional Government,
New York City.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: I have received another request for material from the Legislative Reference Service and have had a talk with the librarian there. This office was established for the particular use of Congress and is the office to which Members refer for quick information on any subject. It seems to me that an additional way of always having this committee's messages before Members of Congress would be to keep the Legislative Reference Service well supplied. Not only should the committee mailings be sent but also the Revere Letters and the Fighters for Freedom and anything else. If the LRS could be placed on your permanent lists for at least three sets of everything, I believe it would be fruitful. Multiple sets are desirable because often there are several requests for material from Members at the same time. Also, some times the matter is not returned by the Member. There is a still further value in having all our material there as often members ask for "anything you have on" such and such a subject. If our material became increasingly familiar, it would be turned to in such cases. All matter should be addressed: Mrs. Jean Donnelly, Librarian, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Very truly,

HOMER DODGE,

COLUMBIA PARK BOYS' CLUB, INC.,
458 Guerrero Street, San Francisco 10, Calif., February 24, 1950.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Recently we received several copies of the Constitution of the United States which gift was made possible by your organization through the Boys' Clubs of America in New York.

We have placed these booklets in our library to be used by the boy members of the Columbia Park Boys' Club. We wish to thank you for your interest in the boys' clubs and your generous contribution.

Gratefully yours,

JULIAN P. HARGROVE,
Executive Director.

FEBRUARY 25, 1950.

Mr. H. C. BEEKES,
Secretary, Southern Pine Industry Committee,
520 Canal Building, New Orleans 4, La.

MY DEAR MR. BEEKES: Attached hereto are two copies of release we have just sent out to editors, publishers, top-level opinion molding Members of Congress.

If you can use any copies of this release and will air mail gummed label addresses to us, we will get them in the mail at once.

This is a scholarly study. What should be done is to drive home its message to lawyers and clergymen. The cost is not great—about 0.6 of a cent per name, plus addressing, which would cost about \$4 per thousand names.

If you have any funds available, why not pitch in?

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

MARCH 13, 1950.

HON. HARRY F. BYRD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: The speech made by John Temple Graves which you were wise enough to have entered in the Congressional Record of March 4, is certainly not only clever but much to the point. I feel that you have done a real service by thus perpetuating Mr. Graves' remarks. Of course, you have a special penchant for doing the right thing.

Cordially yours,

W. J. KING, *Chairman.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 17, 1950.

MR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
*Executive Secretary, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The release under the frank of Congressman Gwinn, which accompanied your letter of March 14 is most timely, and I wish I had a suitable list of names to send you to send copies to.

However, I should be happy to insert copies in our outgoing mail if you will be so kind as to send me several hundred.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT F. RICH.

MARCH 25, 1950.

MRS. B. L. COLE,
*Cole Chemical Co.,
3721-27 Laclède Avenue, St. Louis 8, Mo.*

MY DEAR MRS. COLE: Thank you for your letter of March 20. Mr. Brockman has a splendid background. We are asking our Washington representative, Mr. Homer Dodge, to talk with him and let us have a report of his findings. At present we have no opening in this office.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

COLUMBUS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Columbus, Ga., March 20, 1950.

MR. I. RUMELY,
*Sales Manager, America's Future, Inc.,
210 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. RUMELY: As you know, we started sponsoring your weekly program, "Americans, Speak Up" in June 1949.

It has occurred to us that you might be interested in receiving our reaction to the program. We are highly pleased over the splendid response which the program has received in the Columbus area. The programs are well produced, the speakers have been carefully chosen, and have proved to be most capable. The philosophies presented have been consistently sound. The educational feature of the program has also been significant.

In short, we feel the program has accomplished a good public relations job for our organization, and it is our opinion that it has also succeeded in awakening many people to the dangers facing our way of life.

Sincerely yours,

CLAYTON D. MCLENDON, *Executive Director.*

SPEAKERS AND TITLES OF THEIR BROADCASTS

1. Maj. Benjamin H. Namm, *Survival of American Industry.*
2. Samuel B. Pettengill, *The Customers' Profit in Free Enterprise.*
3. Wallace F. Bennett, *Real Security.*
4. Cecil Palmer, *How State Socialism in England Affects Industry and Medicine.*
5. Gene Tunney, *Playing the Game—The American Way.*
6. William C. Mullendore, *Responsibilities of Leadership.*
7. E. V. Rickenbucker, *World Security.*
8. Nathan W. Shefferman, *Industrial Peace.*
9. Eugene Lyons, *Stalin's Stooges.*
10. Noah Dietrich, *The Great Adventure.*
11. Roland Hayes, *A Problem of People.*
12. Emil Schram, *Investors' Market Place.*
13. Dr. Ruth Alexander, *Capitalism.*
14. Charles Sawyer, *The Future of Capitalism.*
15. Carl C. Conway, *The America of Opportunity.*
16. Clarence Birdseye, *From a Baby's Bath tub.*
17. Rev. Robert I. Gannon, *The Fight for Men's Minds.*
18. Carleton B. Tibbetts, *Blueberry Pie . . . m-m-m!*
19. Wheeler McMillen, *An Unlimited Frontier.*
20. DeWitt Emery, *Are We Destroying Ourselves From Within?*
21. Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, *Perils to Freedom.*
22. Edward B. Gallaher, *What a Free America Has Done for Me.*
23. Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, *World's Greatest Force.*
24. Dr. George S. Benson, *The World's Greatest Asset.*
25. Betty Betz, *Teen-Agers—And Parents, Listen!*
26. Henning W. Prentiss, Jr., *The Point of No Return.*
27. Aaron M. Sargent, *Overthrowing the Constitution With Propaganda.*
28. Lew Hahn, *Opportunity Unlimited.*
29. Ernest T. Weir, *Welfare State.*
30. Robert L. Lund, *Americans Are Speaking Up.*
31. William Glue Paul, *Bloodstream of Jobs.*
32. Nathan W. Shefferman, *Report on British Socialism.*
33. Lawrence W. Horning, *Transportation—Everybody's Problem.*
34. Eugene L. Garey, *World's Hope—America.*
35. O. Glenn Saxon, *Your Taxes Can Be Cut.*
36. Dr. Ruth Alexander, *Socialism.*
37. Lewis H. Brown, *Our "Secret" Tax Load.*
38. Wade Fetzer, Jr., *Twisted Labels.*
39. Charles R. Hook, *What the American Worker Wants.*
40. John C. Brennan, *Your Right To Grow.*
41. Lansing P. Shield, *Rainbow Security.*
42. Senator Harry F. Byrd, *Don't Spend Us Into Socialism.*
43. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, *Real Happiness—How To Find It.*
44. William Frank Buckley, Jr., *Youth Speaks Up to Educators.*
45. Robert C. Downie, *United States Debt Perils Your Freedom.*
46. Aaron M. Sargent, *Communists Plan To Overthrow Our Courts.*
47. Henry J. Taylor, *Looking Ahead at Home and Abroad.*
48. Cecil Palmer, *How State Socialism in England Affects Industry and Medicine.*
49. Herman W. Steinkraus, *Your Job and Our Country.*
50. Mrs. Lorraine L. Blair, *Are Women Important?*
51. Fred H. Sexauer, *Only Free Men Can Eat Well.*
52. Wallace F. Bennett, *Real Security.*
53. Elmer L. Lindseth, *Who Wants Socialized Power?*

HOW AND WHY YOUR HELP NEEDED TO ORGANIZE THE GRASSROOTS FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN YOUR CITY, YOUR CIRCLES

Take these steps: First, start an enlistment drive among your fellow-employees, fellow-stockholders, members of service clubs, physicians, dentists, insurance agents, and other local community leaders. Enlist yourself and resolve firmly to enlist as many additional Fighters as you can immediately. We shall then ask you to make a firm resolve to enlist one additional Fighter each month. Thus you carry your share of a Nation-wide movement that will pyramid itself in the next 20 months to dominant position. Your children and grandchildren will bless you for your sacrifice of time and money to help safeguard their greatest heritage—our constitutional Republic.

Second, help lay the foundation for a community-wide drive, using the two ads reprinted herewith. This community-wide organization must be sponsored locally by a committee of individuals who will lend their help in the ad and will undertake to assist in guiding community effort after the ad has been published.

To be highly effective the ad must be accompanied by a direct mail campaign reaching a substantial number of community leaders by telegraph, letter, postcard, asking each to read the ad and to induce five others to do likewise. Also, to help enlist with blanks that will be carried by the letters to the effective leaders of the community. This advance effort in support of the ad generally costs as much as the ad itself. It is extremely helpful to the committee if the advance funds provided from \$50 in small communities to \$500 or \$1,000 in larger communities to speed up the Nation-wide organization drive in thousands of communities across the country.

Think what it will mean in stabilizing the sound thinking in your community, when 1 percent of the population is enlisted as Fighters For Freedom. One percent of the population equals 1.6 percent of those eligible to vote and 3 percent of those who, on the average across the Nation, actually do vote. Each enlisted Fighter will be reached every 2 weeks by direct mail, supplied with an analysis of current problems before the Nation, with material to distribute to others, with leadership and an opportunity to speak up to Congress when critical decisions are being made. Some will distribute only a few in their immediate circles; others will distribute a dozen of the pieces supplied free to those with whom they are in contact; many will become interested in other places and order 100 or 1,000 for wider distribution. Each enlisted Fighter can thus radiate his influence. The Fighter will thus reach 15 percent to 24 percent of those who actually do vote. A bloc so strong at the bar of public opinion to win adherents to the platform of the Fighters and to dominate the combined power of the selfish pressure groups now pushing America down the road to socialism as the British trades unions did England.

APRIL 7, 1950.

J. E. BUCKLEY, M. D.,
218 Medical-Dental Building,
Portland, Oreg.

DEAR DR. BUCKLEY: We hand you herewith proof of "rent-control plunder-bund."

Your friends interested in housing and rent control could find it advantageous to include copy of this with every copy of The Road Ahead that they may decide to distribute.

If there is anything possible we can do to facilitate the 50,000-copies deal about which you telephoned, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1950.

On April 18 House of Representatives will take up omnibus appropriation bill. Vitally important those interested in retrenchment communicate with House Members. Would it be possible for you to communicate with your membership

suggesting wires be sent sounding following slogan: "Balance the budget. Do not vote for deficit spending." Writing.

HARRY F. BYRD.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC., HELD AT THE CORPORATION'S NEW YORK CITY OFFICES, THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1950

Mr. Lund, the president, presided and called the roll:

Present: Em. rson, employer; Harding, employer; Lund; Pope, employer.

Absent: Benkert, Fleming, Gannett, Gerard, Hook, King, McLean, Pinchot, Wason, Wiegand, Wood.

Proof of due notice of meeting was presented, and reading of the minutes of the last meeting was postponed to the next meeting.

Colonel Emerson presented the report of the budget committee in memorandum form, copy attached hereto, and commented on the problems involved. He discussed in some detail the four divisions into which it seemed desirable to separate the budgeted costs. In like manner, Dr. Rumely, assisted by Miss Rumely, would be responsible for expense control as related to money raising. And Miss Rumely would also be responsible for control of program sales expenses.

Colonel Emerson pointed to the necessity for setting up a reserve, and also the desirability of making some fourth member of the staff responsible for control of office and overhead expenses. It had been decided not to change the present procedure regarding the identity of the person who both spends the money and signs the checks. The present system should be maintained for the present, at least, because of the physical difficulties involved, and the inefficiency which would result if signature of a treasurer outside the office were required.

America's Future ought not to spend more than 25 percent of the money raised over all, preferably less. The only department which can show profit over expenses is the fund raising. Last year, America's Future received, roughly, \$225,000 from contributions and only \$20,000 from other sources. If \$80,000 were allocated to the expenses of fund raising, we should get \$320,000 of funds, exclusive of \$40,000 contributed by or through trustees.

By March 31, America's Future had again reached 104 stations: 35 new stations, and 16 which had canceled had renewed. In relation to the expansion of the number of stations, it was agreed that the maximum budget, which must be adjusted to the money which America's Future receives, could be applied to 125 stations instead of 100. The fundamental costs of producing the programs don't change too much. Cost increases would be relatively moderate in the production division but could go up sharply with expansion of stations.

The number of stations is not, necessarily, the controlling factor in expense, but the kilowatt—the field men get higher commissions on the higher-kilowatt station contracts, and commitments for distribution of literature would be larger. We should take the 11 cities which John Price Jones says are the best for fund raising, and approach the stations in those cities.

Colonel Emerson stated that according to him (and to Mr. Benkert), pledges are contingent assets—not current assets. America's Future ought to have a surplus, by the end of June, of \$60,000, to help carry through July and August which are not productive months. And it would be best to endeavor, without spending much money, to encourage orders for platters already produced, and to supply, without reprinting, copies that we have of the program for people to distribute. It is possible that in the future America's Future might make income through greater sales of platters, though we cannot now spend much money at this time to develop the possibilities.

America's Future should consider the feasibility of changing contracts to new people—of charging more for the platters. The charge could be related to the wattage of the station.

The currently low cash and working capital position was emphasized, and the necessity to keep costs down until cash is built up. Further, it was agreed that Miss Rumely will instruct field men to devote the major portion of their time to fund raising. Dr. Rumely and Mr. Lund stated that a campaign will start shortly in Philadelphia, with the cooperation of the John Price Jones organization. This will be studied carefully for possible use in other cities. Furthermore, the contract with John Price Jones at \$750 weekly can be canceled at 2 weeks' notice and will be discontinued if results are not satisfactory.

Next, Colonel Emerson presented to the trustees the attached suggested resolutions to be acted upon by the board of trustees of America's Future, Inc., at

April 14 meeting. Colonel Emerson then moved that these resolutions be adopted, subject to further approval by the majority of the trustees, and that a copy of these proposed resolutions be submitted to each trustee with a request that he express approval.

The four trustees present, Mr. Robert Lund, president; Mrs. Allen Pope, Jr.; Messrs. Earl Harding, treasurer; and Willard I. Emerson, secretary, unanimously approved these resolutions.

The following were suggested as members of the new budget control committee; Messrs. Benkert, Emerson, Harding, Lund, Wason, Dr. Rumely, and Miss Rumely, and that Colonel Emerson act as chairman, which he agreed to do temporarily. And May 8 was suggested as the date for the next meeting of said committee.

Those present expressed their appreciation of the thorough and competent analysis of America's Future's budgetary problems presented by Colonel Emerson.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was voted adjourned.

APRIL 17, 1950.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR HOMER: Please work up for Mr. A. E. R. Schneider a reply that he can send to Congressman Young.

Taft quoted Mr. Hoover that plan No. 12 had no relation to the Hoover reorganization plan. Send me copies of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY, *Executive Secretary.*

APRIL 25, 1947.

Mr. HOMER DODGE,
1244 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

On advice from Senator friends believe best cancel dinner. Please withdraw reservation.

(Signed) EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Charge: Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Washington headquarters: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.)

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: Dr. Willford I. King, former president of the American Statistical Association, and for years in Government service, as is his usual custom, has made a careful study of the problem of decontrolling rents. He submitted his conclusions, based upon Government figures, to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

This statement should become part of the permanent records of the hearings on this problem. It has such immediate importance that we are supplying a copy to all Members of Congress, governors, and some members of the press.

If you have use for a few additional copies, we shall be glad to supply them with our compliments, upon request.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER GERARD, *Trustee.*

STATEMENT TO THE SENATE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE---HEARINGS ON
RENT CONTROL

(By Willford I. King, economics professor emeritus, New York University, and
chairman, Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.)

APRIL 28, 1950.

DECONTROL OF RENTS

PROSPERITY DEPENDS UPON ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Other things being equal, a nation's prosperity tends to vary directly with its degree of economic freedom. Freedom was the keynote of the Declaration of Independence. One of the prime reasons why our country has grown great, one of the main reasons why it now is so much more prosperous than most of the other nations of the world, is that we have largely retained our freedom while other nations have lost much of theirs.

OUR BASIC ECONOMIC FREEDOMS

The basic economic freedoms responsible for America's progress and strength consist of the following:

1. Freedom to move from place to place.
2. Freedom to acquire, hold, and dispose of private property, either by lease, barter, sale, or bequest. This includes freedom from governmental confiscation of property by taxation or otherwise.
3. Freedom of contract. This concept includes the right to buy labor and other goods at the lowest prices obtainable, and freedom to sell one's services or other goods at the highest prices which can be secured.
4. Freedom to engage in whatever enterprise seems to offer the best opportunity for profit, and to be protected rather than hampered by Government in the operation of such enterprise.
5. Freedom from oppression by governmentally sponsored monopolies.

These freedoms constitute the foundation stones of the free market and the competitive capitalistic free-enterprise system.

AMAZING EFFECTIVENESS OF COMPETITION

The free competitive market is a marvelous mechanism. It stimulates the production of all those things for which demands exceed supplies. It puts a damper on the production of each and every article in which the supply is in excess of demand. It assigns to those specializing in each segment of industry or business the planning of the production of each wanted good. And, amazingly enough, it adjusts the price of each article in such a way that supply and demand are always kept in almost perfect balance. As long as freedom of contract and free competition are maintained, there is never any trouble with either surpluses or shortages. All the experts in the world, even if they worked together diligently and harmoniously, could not secure that equality of supply and demand, that fairness and equity, and that efficiency of production which really free competition brings about automatically, without fuss or friction.

SOUND GOVERNMENT BASED UPON INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

It was in 1776, the year of our Declaration of Independence, that Adam Smith published his monumental treatise, the *Wealth of Nations*. Its basic message echoes the same idea that Jefferson set forth in the immortal Declaration--namely, that individual liberty is the only sound foundation for a government. Adam Smith emphasized the fact that, when economic freedom is limited or destroyed by abolition of private property rights or by restricting freedom of trade, or freedom of contract, the whole economy suffers. The truth has since been elaborated by many other able economists.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF CIRCUMVENTING ECONOMIC LAWS

As a matter of fact, it is just as illogical to hope to evade the laws of supply and demand as it is to try to dodge the law of gravity. Both are laws of nature, for the laws of supply and demand merely reflect the normal responses of human beings to environmental conditions; and human beings are as much a part of nature as are air, water, or stone.

REGULATED PRICES ALWAYS UNFAIR

As previously stated, free competition always tends to establish for a good exactly the price which makes the supply of and the demand for that good equal. And the price established is that which gives the maximum of justice to all parties concerned. Prices determined in any other way are unfair to someone. Yet, despite the fact that this principle has been set forth clearly by many economists, governments persistently try to establish fairer prices by regulating them by law or by appointing commissions to do the job. Such an undertaking is almost as absurd as the proposed statute declaring that, hereafter, the circumference of a circle must equal exactly three times its diameter.

REGULATED PRICES BRING SURPLUSES OR SHORTAGES

Since no price set by any force other than unfettered supply and demand ever corresponds for any considerable period of time with the price which would prevail under free competition, the natural result of price fixing by any other method is either a surplus or a shortage of every price-regulated article. Recent experience has produced more than ample evidence of the validity of this statement. Labor monopolies habitually set the price of labor above the rates which would be fixed by free competition. By so doing, they make the supply of labor exceed the demand for it. From 1930 to 1940, their method of price fixing kept millions unemployed, and was the main reason why the great depression lasted for a decade. Between 1915 and 1935, railway labor monopolies, by setting their wage rates above competitive levels, reduced the volume of railway employment by one-half. Today, the United Mine Workers have set the wages of coal miners above the level which free competition would determine, and coal mines are closing down. Statistical investigation shows that the average hourly rate of compensation which at present would give full employment in the manufacturing field is around \$1.297. But the labor monopolies have forced the average hourly compensation up to \$1.475. The result is that millions are unemployed and Government is disbursing hundreds of millions of dollars for unemployment insurance, thus increasing the Treasury deficit and endangering the integrity of our money system.

During World War II and for 2 years thereafter, the Federal Office of Price Administration regulated prices of great numbers of commodities. Most of these prices were set below the levels which would have been established by competition. The natural outcome was that shortages developed everywhere. Millions of would-be buyers wasted immense amounts of time standing in line. War production was hampered. Apparently the only benefits from this price regulation accrued to the regulatory officials. However, the public was told that discontinuance of the OPA would produce dire results. Nevertheless, Congress abolished the organization. What happened? Almost overnight, shortages disappeared. Sharp price advances were rare. Retail meat prices dropped about 20 percent. Our economy once more began to function normally. Practically everyone except the OPA officials benefited.

HOUSING SHORTAGE THE RESULT OF RENT CONTROL

Since the OPA, by keeping down prices, produced shortages of hundreds of articles, it is by no means surprising to find that the holding down of rents produced a great apparent shortage of housing. It did this in two ways:

1. It made it unprofitable for owners of dilapidated buildings to repair their properties and thus make them habitable.
2. It also made unprofitable the construction of new buildings intended to be rented, for, with inflation progressing and rents fixed, such ventures seemed nearly certain to result in losses.
3. As the ratio of factory workers' weekly earnings to rents climbed skyward thus,

Base 1939	1939	1941	1943	1945	1947	1949
Weekly earnings index—manufacturing...	1.000	1.238	1.808	1.858	2.060	2.300
Rent index—United States.....	1.000	1.020	1.030	1.039	1.067	1.158
Ratio of weekly earning index to rent index.....	1.000	1.211	1.745	1.788	1.931	1.990

and as fuller employment made the income of working-class families rise even more sharply than this ratio indicates, tenants could afford, and hence occupied, more housing space. A study made by the United States Census Bureau shows that many a family which had been living in one room took two; families in two rooms occupied three; families in three rooms spread out to four; etc. Tenants already having leases could not be ousted. Therefore, although, on July 1, 1940, there were 289 occupied dwellings per thousand persons in the United States as compared to only 204.5 in April 1940, it appeared that, at the latter date, there was a great housing shortage, even though, in reality, the per capita supply of housing had increased slightly.

Apologists for rent control urge that it be continued until the housing shortage disappears. This argument is identical with that previously advanced by advocates of OPA extension. Both have ignored the fact that the only reason why there is a shortage is the presence of controls. Once the controls are removed, all shortages will disappear like snow before the summer sun.

RENT CONTROLS UNFAIR TO NEW FAMILIES

However, by stopping building construction and repairs, and by keeping tenants from releasing any apartments occupied, controls can make it very difficult for new families to secure rental housing. Thus, in the case of the veteran establishing a new family, after the war, the shortage was very real. He was just getting a start in the business world. He did not know where he would eventually settle down. He did not want to buy a dwelling. But, for years, rent controls had made it unprofitable to build houses to rent. Therefore, he was forced to invest in a home, and, in order to get a house, he was, as a rule, compelled to assume a burden of debt far larger than his income justified. Clearly, then, rent control has been grossly unfair to a very large proportion of the young couples married since World War II.

RENT CONTROL UNCONSTITUTIONAL—TRANSFER PRIVATE PROPERTY WITHOUT COMPENSATION

As previously noted, the right of private property is one of the foundation stones of our Nation's economic system. The fifth amendment to our Constitution forbids depriving any person of property "without due process of law." This last clause is usually understood to mean court procedure. This respect for private-property rights distinguishes our economy from a fascist, socialistic, or communist regime.

The value of a piece of real estate tends to equal the present worth of all anticipated future net-income receipts—the present worth being arrived at by discounting those receipts at the prevailing interest rate. It follows that, if all future anticipated net receipts are halved, the value of the property is likewise halved. Hence, when Government passes a law keeping rents below the level which would be established by competition in the open market, it is equivalent to confiscating part of the owner's property and seems to be an action definitely forbidden by amendment V to our Constitution.

Throughout the history of our Nation, the building and holding of dwellings for rent has been regarded as eminently respectable. Building such houses has, indeed, been looked upon with favor by Government and by people at large. Rental properties have long been considered suitable investments to furnish income to widows and elderly persons retired from business. Ethically, then, there is no better excuse for confiscating the property of landlords than for seizing that of any other class of citizens. Taking part of a landlord's property and giving it to a tenant—exactly what rent control does—clearly violates the eighth commandment—"Thou shalt not steal." This is still true, even if the transfer is sanctioned by Government.

EXTENT OF CONFISCATION OF LANDLORDS' PROPERTY

Since 1939, while rent has been held down, the expenses of operating rental property have advanced sharply. Furthermore, the prices of things which the landlord must purchase for personal use have also moved skyward. The

extent to which the landlord's rent dollar has shrunk since 1939 is indicated by the data in the following table:

Landlord's purchases	Index of specified articles on 1939 base		Rent index on 1939 base	Real rent in terms of 1939 values
	1939 A	1949 B	1949 C	(C+B) D
Average man's budget	1,000	1,704	1,158	0.670
All goods at retail	1,000	1,895	1,158	.610
Anthracite coal	1,000	1,888	1,158	.613
Bituminous coal	1,000	1,800	1,158	.643
Paint	1,000	1,826	1,158	.634
Construction labor per hour:				
Common	1,000	2,122	1,158	.544
Skilled	1,000	1,669	1,158	.693

The above figures, all computed from official data in the United States Survey of Current Business, indicate that in 1949, landlords were able to buy, with net rent received, only around five-eighths of the quantity of goods—for personal use and operation and upkeep of their property—obtainable in 1939. In other words, they are being robbed of approximately three-eighths of their purchasing power as individuals and as businessmen.

Defenders of rent control frequently contend that this loss to landlords is merely nominal, inasmuch as rental properties are now almost full occupied, while before World War II, there were many vacancies. But what those presenting this argument usually fail to mention is the fact that, during the depression, few landlords were securing anything approaching reasonable returns on their investments. In fact, many apartment owners could not pay the interest on their mortgages, and have lost their properties.

PROPERTY CONFISCATION CONTRARY TO AMERICAN STANDARDS

Of course, such facts do not interest those holding communistic or Robin Hood ideals, for they justify the present treatment of landlords on the ground that it is proper to steal from the rich to give to the poor. In fact, however, very many landlords are poorer than their tenants. But, granted that all were richer, it is doubtful that many Americans—even those who themselves are not entirely honest—believe in their hearts that theft is a sound principle upon which to base our social structure. After thousands of years of testing, the Ten Commandments are still revered as guides to social policy, and nearly all respected citizens hold with Benjamin Franklin that honesty is the best policy. By these standards of ethics, rent control cannot be justified.

THE PURCHASING POWER FALLACY

In view of the facts cited, are there any arguments left which proponents of rent control can set forth with the hope of getting them accepted by fair-minded people? One can scarcely take seriously the recently advanced contention that decontrol of rents would lower the total purchasing power of the people of the Nation. As we have seen, rent controls have been reducing the landlords' purchasing power by about three-eighths. But every dollar taken from the landlords adds to the purchasing power of the tenants. Aggregate purchasing power is not affected in the least. Similarly, transferring money from tenants to landlords will have no effect whatever upon the size of the national total. Clearly, therefore, the purchasing power argument is intended only to appeal to the unreasoning members of our population.

ABILITY OF TENANTS TO PAY INCREASED RENTS

But rent control proponents still have one argument remaining—and they consider it their strongest: Tenants just can't afford to pay any more rent. Does this contention fit the facts? Let us look at a few Government figures bearing on this question. According to a six-city survey made by the United States Bu-

reau of Labor Statistics for Housing Expediter Tighe B. Woods, here is what happened when rents were decontrolled:

City	Percent Increase
Dallas	35.4
Houston	41.3
Topeka	30.3
Knoxville	26.8
Salt Lake City	16.2
Jacksonville, Fla.	23.2
Average of percentages	29.4

But, as previously noted, between 1939 and 1949, house rents in the United States had, on the average, risen 15.8 percent. The relative increase in the six cities was probably not far from this average, 1.204 times 1.158 equals 1.50. Therefore, it appears that, in decontrolled areas, landlords have probably forced rents to a level approximately 50 percent higher than that of 1939. Can tenants stand such an increase?

The following figures, computed from official data, give a fair indication of what has probably happened since 1939 to the income of tenants.

	Percent Increase from 1939 to 1943
Average weekly wage of all factory wage workers	180
Average per capita personal income	152

In comparison to the mere 50 percent rent-level increase over 1939 which has taken place in decontrolled cities, the percentage increases in weekly earnings and personal incomes are certainly very large. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the figures on weekly earnings taken no account of the fuller employment prevailing in 1949 as compared to 1939. If this were counted in the actual percentage increases in incomes would be found to be much larger than is indicated by the figures here cited. All in all, therefore, it is difficult to find any ground for continuing to support the hypothesis that tenants in general cannot afford the advances in rent which experience indicates are likely to occur when rents are decontrolled.

DOES MIGHT MAKE RIGHT?

So far as can be discovered, proponents of rent control have remaining only one line of defense. It is: "There are more tenants than landlords. Might makes right."

Is Congress ready to throw justice overboard and let the law of the jungle rule? If not, it has no logical reason for continuing to keep rents below competitive levels.

CONCLUSIONS

It appears, therefore, that, on the basis of all available evidence, the following conclusions are justified:

1. A nation's prosperity tends to vary directly with its degree of economic freedom.
2. No other system of price fixing can possibly approximate the efficiency and precision of the uncontrolled, competitive market.
3. Prices fixed in free, competitive markets are the only ones which guide production in such a way as to meet the needs and desires of the public, and, at the same time, to make supply equal demand, with neither surpluses nor shortages developing.
4. The nation that tries to circumvent the laws of supply and demand always suffers severe penalties.
5. Price fixing by statute, by commission, or by monopoly, nearly always creates either shortages or surpluses.
6. Rent control has been the primary cause of the housing shortage.
7. The housing shortage induced by rent control has inflicted great hardship upon newly formed families, and has plunged them deeply into debt by compelling them to buy homes at higher prices.
8. Abolition of the OPA caused shortages to disappear almost immediately and produced no untoward effects. Discontinuance of rent control would result similarly.

9. Rent control has unjustly and unconstitutionally transferred the property of landlords to tenants without proper compensation. This process, even though legalized, is nonetheless robbery.

10. Transferring income from one class of the population to another has no effect upon the total of purchasing power in the Nation.

11. Rents, where decontrolled, are around 50 percent above the 1939 level. Incomes of tenants are from two to three times the 1939 level. Therefore, the claim that tenants cannot afford to have rents decontrolled is without foundation.

12. No sound reasons for continuing rent controls have been advanced. Controls are destructive of economic freedom, unfair, and injurious. Therefore they should be discontinued immediately.

MAY 2, 1950.

Mr. S. R. HURT,

*Regional Representative, Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.,
Toledo, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR: Since your work with this organization has not dealt specifically with legislative contacts, you may be somewhat unfamiliar with our constant endeavor to inspire State legislative action looking toward endorsement of a resolution memorializing Congress to propose a twenty-second amendment.

Purpose of the amendment would be to limit the taxing power of Congress to 25 percent, such limitation to relate directly to Federal income, inheritance, and gift taxes.

This phase of the committee's work was launched through action of our board of trustees endorsing a proposal by Mr. Robert Dresser, member of the board, that the committee approve and give active assistance to the movement for the amendment.

Robert Dresser had been associated with this movement since its inception and did, in fact, write all of the resolutions thus far adopted by the 17 States that have acted favorably. Those States, but not precisely in this order, follow:

Wyoming, Rhode Island, Mississippi, Maine, Michigan, Indiana, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Alabama, New Hampshire, Kentucky, New Jersey, Iowa, Arkansas, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

The twenty-second amendment project has been accepted and urged by many business leagues, chamber of commerce, tax associations, and other organizations. It did not originate with this committee, although our trustee, Mr. Dresser, has provided most of the literature current on the topic. His able briefs in defense of the proposal have been circulated throughout the Nation and he has been heard as a witness by various State legislative groups.

Through efforts of the Committee for Constitutional Government, the proposed resolution, as drawn by Mr. Dresser, has been offered in many State legislatures. It has twice been proposed in New York State, and twice it carried at least one house, but has not as yet prevailed in the Empire State.

It has been offered in Virginia, Florida, and Ohio in recent sessions but has not as yet been approved in those States.

In four States, after favorable action had been voted, subsequent legislatures have adopted rescinding resolutions, intended to nullify the favorable action. But the actual effect of such rescinding resolutions appears to be obscure; some legislative authorities point out that no legislature could actually wipe out or completely nullify the action of a previous State legislature. The four States referred to are: Iowa, Arkansas, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

While the wording of the resolutions as adopted has been altered to some extent, it is now felt by those most active in the campaign (including officials and representatives of many groups, organizations, leagues, etc.) that the resolution in its present form, merely memorializing Congress to act, is calculated to attract greatest support.

An article describing the need of a constitutional amendment limiting the taxing power of Congress appeared in the Congressional Record of the Seventy-ninth Congress and copy is furnished herewith. This article has been circulated widely by the committee.

While it is true that a great many other groups, societies, etc., have espoused the proposed twenty-second amendment, it has remained for this committee, with its Nation-wide machinery, to accomplish the greatest distribution of material

bearing upon the project. Inquiries from State legislators, lawyers, tax groups, business leagues, etc., come to us from all over the Nation. We continue to furnish copies of the resolution, various printed releases carrying arguments for the proposal, etc. In that fashion, we stimulate action in many States. We maintain current rosters of State legislators all over the Nation for that purpose.

Whenever State legislatures are in session, we seek to call attention to this project and invite study of the resolution and of the brief as prepared by Mr. Dresser by key members.

By direction of the committee,

Dic.: G. EDW. HANCOCK.

Dr. RUMELY. Is this the Steel piece you asked me to get out for you?

H. G.

Memo

Dr. Edward A. Rumely, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

MAY 8, 1950.

To Dr. King:

Your discussion of this Steel question should have wider distribution. Let me know your ideas and I will follow them.

UNITED STATES STEEL CORP.,
71 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y., May 4, 1950.

MR. WILLFORD I. KING,

Chairman, Committee for Constitutional Government,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. KING: Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter of April 27 and the heartening comments which you made concerning my recent address before the Baltimore Association of Commerce.

It seems to me that the time has come to speak out in the way in which I tried to do in Baltimore, and it is certainly encouraging to know that you agree with the thoughts which I expressed in *Detour Ahead*.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

BENJAMIN F. FAIRLESS.

SHOULD STEEL PRICES BE REGULATED BY GOVERNMENT?

(By Willford I. King)¹

Several weeks ago, by a vote of 8 to 6, the Joint Congressional Committee on the President's Economic Report recommended that, in the future, steel price increases be permitted only after public notice and public hearings. Perhaps this action was taken because the majority of the committee members wished to use governmental control of steel prices merely as an entering wedge leading to Federal control of prices in general. Ostensibly, however, their recommendation was based upon the premise that the steel industry is noncompetitive, and hence that governmental action is necessary in order to protect the public against extortion.

The strenuous efforts of the New Dealers and the Fair Dealers to extend the OPA and continue rent control testify to their faith in the theory that, for price-regulating purposes, legislators and commissions are superior to competition. But superabundant world-wide experience shows how fallacious this idea is, for, in reality, free and untrammelled competition supplies the only means yet discovered for arriving at exactly the right price for every service or material good. In fact, the intricacy and efficiency of the competitive mechanism is like the human nervous system, almost beyond belief. Thus, under free competition, the purchase of a single lead pencil generates through a maze of pressures orders to produce a little more graphite in Siberia, a little more cedar in Oregon, a little more rubber in Sumatra, and a little more tin in Bolivia. And the price set by

¹ Features for America, Inc., 210 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y., May 9, 1950.

free competition is the only one which, in the case of any article, makes the supply of it equal to the demand for it. So, when competition is free, surpluses or shortages are practically unknown.

To propose substituting for this marvellous mechanism the crude, bungling actions of price-fixing bodies is obviously like trying to repair a watch by using a sledge hammer. How it works in practice is illustrated by the shortages which the OPA inflicted upon us for years, by the surpluses brought about by our agricultural price supports, and by the world-wide, partial paralysis of production and trade being currently generated by governmental price fixers and regulators.

It follows that governmental interference with the price of steel, or of any other useful commodity, cannot be justified unless it can be demonstrated that steel, steel products, or both, are monopolized, and that the monopoly has forced up prices to unreasonable heights and thus seriously injured consumers. If the steel business is really competitive, the fact that the United States Steel Corp. advances the price of steel 10 or 20 percent, or even 100 percent, furnishes no warrant whatsoever for governmental inquiry or interference, for, if the price is too high, that corporation's potential customers will buy from other concerns.

But does competition really exist in the steel industry? Statistics show that, in the United States, each of 82 different companies carries on the complete process of steel manufacture from the ore to the finished product, and 135 other steel companies perform part of these steps of production. Various steel company executives testifying under oath before congressional committees, all assert that, in the steel industry, competition is extremely keen. Are they all perjurers? Is it probable that representatives of 82 corporations secretly meet, agree on prices, and maintain these agreements (all in violation of the Sherman Act), and yet escape detection or prosecution? Disregarding their statements, is there any evidence indicating that they have conspired and fixed prices to the detriment of the public?

Their accusers say that conspiracy is proven by the fact that all the companies charge almost identical prices for the same grade of steel at the same location. Granted that this is true, does this prove collusion?

Not at all. One of the principles enunciated in economics textbooks is: "One price in one market." This rule is found to be applicable in markets for wheat or corn or cotton or stocks—markets where there are thousands of competitors—just as it is in the case of steel. Uniform price is, therefore, no proof of monopoly.

The best evidence of the existence of an effective monopoly in a good is the fact that its price is pushed up to unreasonable levels. Have steel prices, during the last decade, been advanced to such a degree as to justify governmental intervention on behalf of steel users? How do steel-price increases since 1939 compare with the advances in other prices? Let us look at the official Government figures:

Object priced:	Percent increase since 1939
Finished steel (composite).....	66
Bituminous coal (mine run).....	103
Average hourly wages in the blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills.....	98
All semimanufactured goods.....	88

The above figures indicate that, if the steel magnates have been plotting, the purpose of their conspiracy must have been to reduce prices to the consumer. Keeping the price rise down to 66 percent is a great tribute to steel-industry efficiency.

In view of the facts as they exist, is it not evident that the Joint Committee on the Economic Report has been influenced, probably unwittingly, by collectivists who detest big business, hate success in private undertakings, and wish to see all industry nationalized? Like the English Fabians, they hope to reach their goal by taking over industry a little at a time. Intelligent Congressmen should take care to prevent the camel from getting its nose into the tent.

DONOR PLAN FOR GIFTS TO COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES, AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, OF NORTON'S "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES; ITS SOURCES AND APPLICATION"

The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., and America's Future, Inc., both nonprofit, nonpartisan, educational organizations, have each, as separate organizations, published a special edition of Thomas James Norton's great

book, *The Constitution of the United States; Its Sources and Application*, to further their educational goal—a better understanding of our form of government. The Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., a nonprofit, non-partisan, educational organization helps cooperate in the distribution.

Public-spirited citizens everywhere have cooperated in this patriotic, educational work, by purchasing Constitution books for free distribution by the Committee for Constitutional Government of America's Future to institutions they designate or to applicants who have made known their requirements to these distributing organizations.

The religious outlook of the western world has been transmitted through the centuries and spread throughout the world, mainly through the mass distribution of a book—the Bible, of which 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 copies go each year into distribution in the United States. Most of these copies are bought and presented to others, especially to youth, by organizations and individuals who have zeal to spread the truths of the Bible.

Collectivists from abroad and at home are seeking to undermine our Constitution and its free-enterprise system. Now is the time to fortify American thinking on the constitutional and economic principles which made America the most productive and the freest society in history.

Successful, large-scale tests, with hundreds of thousand of copies, during the past 7 years, have shown that one of the most effective means for creating better understanding of and intensifying loyalty to our form of government is wide distribution of the Norton book to students, with the sanction of schools, colleges, universities and churches. The book then becomes more impressive, reaching young people at the time when indoctrination in our form of government is most important.

The president or directing head of the college or educational institution ascertains, and applies for, the number of copies that can be used advantageously for any or all of the following purposes:

- A. To stock library shelves.
- B. For the personal libraries for teachers and school staffs.
- C. For all students who can use the book to advantage.
- D. For distribution to alumni or former GI students, to whom special reference is made in the preface.
- E. For distribution by churches; for use in men's or women's clubs or any parish organizations.

Here are a few (only one-tenth) of the colleges, universities, religious and other institutions, which, during the past 2 years, have received and distributed 179,600 free copies of the Norton book on the Constitution:

Suffolk University, Massachusetts.....	1,800
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Gila Junior College, Arizona.....	87
Bemidji State Teachers College, Minnesota.....	1,200
State College for Colored Students, Delaware.....	400
Canal Zone Junior College.....	250
Michigan College of Mining.....	2,000
Texas State College for Women.....	2,400
Church of the Messiah, Maryland.....	800
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Eastern New Mexico College.....	100
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Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.....	1,600
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(Tear off here)

To: The Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc. and/or
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The undersigned educational or religious institution desires to
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A FEW TYPICAL COMMENTS FROM EDUCATORS AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS, EXPRESS-
ING GRATITUDE TO DONORS AND DESCRIBING THE GREAT VALUE OF THE NORTON
BOOK DISTRIBUTION PLAN SPONSORED BY AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC., AND/OR THE
COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

*Mississippi State College for Women, Columbus, Miss.—B. L. Parkinson, presi-
dent*

Enclosed is a newspaper clipping which shows the background we gave to the
presentation of these books. I think this is a real contribution to citizenship in
our student body and we appreciate very much the donor's generous gift.

Loyola University of Los Angeles, Calif.—Edward J. Whelan, S. J., president

Your association is doing a remarkable service to our country and to its in-
stitutions by its efforts to make known and to circularize Mr. Thomas James
Norton's work, The Constitution of the United States—Its Sources and Applica-
tion. The book is intensely interesting, one of the very finest things written on
the subject; both scholarly and readable. * * * Here at Loyola University
we have hundreds of veterans and we have found that we can do a great deal of
good by means of this book in educating them according to the true principles
of our Republic. We appreciate so much the donor's generous gift.

Bishop of Springfield (Episcopal), Springfield, Ill.—John C. White

I have received a copy of The Constitution of the United States. * * * I became so interested in it that I spent half the night in reading it. * * * It is absorbingly interesting as well as authentic and authoritative. I am expecting to use many copies of it for distribution among my people. * * *

Pacific Union College, Angwin, Calif.—P. W. Christian, president

The books (200) have now arrived and are being distributed to our students this week. They come at a particularly appropriate time, for we have many elementary and secondary school teachers in our student body during the summer session. Thanking the donor again for making these books available to us, and assuring that they will be placed in the hands of those who can make maximum use of them. * * *

Harding College, Searcy, Ark.—George S. Benson, president

We have been using this book in small quantities for several years. We will use this larger number as follows: First, we will give one to each student now present with a request that he read it and keep it in his permanent personal library; second, we will mail out a copy to a chosen list of 1,000 of our former students with a request that each read it, discuss it with his friends and keep it as a permanent reference book on the Constitution.

Fordham University, New York—Robert I. Gannon, S. J., president

The books (10,000) already distributed have been well received, but the amount of good accomplished will be known only after a passage of years. With the thanks of the university for the donor's part in this benefaction. * * *

Parochial schools, Archdiocese of Detroit, Mich.—Joseph E. Conen, secretary of curriculum research

(After distributing 5,000 copies.) May we assure you again that we feel this project is most worth while, and we sincerely hope that it will spread throughout all the educational institutions in our country.

University of Tennessee, Junior College, Martin, Tenn.—Paul Meek, executive officer

We have received and distributed 1,500 copies of Nortons' Constitution of the United States * * * to our students and to members of the senior classes in high schools near the junior college. We appreciate immensely this opportunity the donor has afforded for our Constitution to be made known to our young citizens. It was a distinct pleasure to us to have been provided this opportunity resulting directly from the donor's patriotism and generosity.

Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn.—John B. Clark, head, Department of History and Citizenship

Each student in my Government classes has used the text and no book has been of greater service. I hope that every student may have access to a copy. (Later.) We are planning a wide distribution of the books (an additional 1,000) and wish we had twice that number. We shall hold a Constitution day with elaborate program and shall give each student a copy. We are also planning to tie the juniors and seniors in all county high schools into our school of citizenship. * * * We have many plans for the development of good citizenship in this county and university and again thank the donor for this aid.

Pembroke State College, Pembroke, N. C.—R. D. Wellons, president

Let me thank the donor for the shipment of 500 copies of the Norton book on the Constitution of the United States. We plan to use these books in connection with our citizenship institute during the year 1947-48. This contribution toward the effectiveness of the institute which is now in its fifth year is greatly appreciated.

Louisiana College, Pineville, La.—Edgar Godbold, president

Thank you sincerely for the 650 copies of the Norton book on the Constitution. * * * We deeply appreciate the donor's helpfulness in this matter. They were distributed yesterday among our history, government, and economics students. * * * We are happy to have a part in this telling service of your group.

University of the Philippines, Manila—B. M. Gonzales, president

These volumes (100) were distributed among our various libraries and members of the faculties of our colleges of liberal arts and law, particularly to those teaching political science and law subjects. I am sure this great legal document will be useful to lawyers and students in the Philippines because our Government and institutions are patterned after those of the United States. Thanking the donor for his generosity. * * *

COLLEGES AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Excerpts from the chapter of that title from the book, *Colleges for Freedom*, by Dr. Donald J. Cowling (for 38 years president of Carleton College, Minnesota) and Dr. Carter Davidson (for 10 years president of Knox College; now president of Union College, New York.)

"Our colleges must face this task of education in American democracy with conviction and resolution. We have spent great efforts on the Americanization of immigrants, but have neglected to make the native citizen acquainted with his birthright. The liberal arts college believes in the supreme importance of the individual in a democratic society; with its chief purpose centering in the development of the individual, it is perhaps the best of all our educational agencies for implementing this belief in American democracy.

"There are rumors abroad that our American loyalties are moving away from individualism toward statism and bureaucracy. If this be true, then the task of the college is clear—to exert every effort toward returning America to faith in individual freedom and in democratic constitutional government.

"It is one of the main purposes of liberal education in America to develop men and women who understand what American democracy means—the assumptions on which it is based, its implications and responsibilities, and the necessary but limited place that government holds in such a way of life. Do our colleges today actually develop such leaders? Does the education which students in our colleges receive increase their devotion to American ideals and their faith in freedom as the way of gaining what men should have, or do they find all the other isms presented in such an attractive manner, and our own way so maligned, that their loyalties are shaken? Do the freedoms permitted to college students leave them confused and undisciplined, or do our young men and women come out of college with clearer minds and deeper faith because they have been unhampered by totalitarian restrictions?

"Every time this subject is mentioned some college and university faculty members begin to feel uneasy. They insist that the democratic spirit is a byproduct, not the result of direct indoctrination. As a matter of fact, they say, indoctrination is the denial of freedom, and therefore impossible in a true democracy. Americans, as a Nation, have shown themselves quite as patriotic as any other warring people. But, says the New York Times, our high school and college graduates are woefully ignorant of the facts of American history and the principles embodied in our Constitution; therefore, education has failed the Nation. * * *

"It is a recognized principle of psychology that our convictions and impressions vary in power according to their original vividness or intensity, their recency, and the frequency with which they are experienced or recollected. Our colleges, therefore, should seek to make their presentation of the essential ideas of American democracy an interesting and vivid experience for their students. * * * First of all, Americans are bound together by a common past, stretching back through more than three centuries on this continent, and stemming from an Anglo-Saxon tradition of a thousand years more. We have shared a common struggle and common dangers to become a Nation, and to keep that Nation united. * * *

"How does American democracy function? It is not chaotic license and planlessness, nor merely a device for voting and representation; rather it is a spirit of social behavior, refusing to give arbitrary power to any individual or group, but relying on free discussion and consensus of judgment. * * * What elements of the law should a citizen know in order to protect himself and his neighbor? How do American courts operate? What part can the average intelligent citizen play in the politics of his community, State, and Nation? What is peculiarly American about our public-school system, the relation of church and State and other institutions public and private? How has the American economic system come into existence, and what problems are before it for solution?

"Faith to the United States of America should merely serve to intensify our desire for a world of peace and harmony and cooperative brotherhood."

[Copy for inside front cover]

BACKGROUND

The educational activities of America's Future, Inc., began with the publication of a magazine, America's Future, which continued through 11 issues in 1938-39. It published three books by Samuel B. Pettengill, Democratic Congressman from Indiana, 1930-38—Jefferson the Forgotten Man, 1938; Smoke Screen, 1940; For Americans Only, 1944; total approximately 1,000,000 copies.

Beginning in January 1939, America's Future, Inc. syndicated Mr. Pettengill's column, attaining in later years a circulation of 1,000,000 through more than 100 newspapers.

A continuing activity is distribution to schools and colleges of Thomas James Norton's book, The Constitution of the United States; Its Sources and Its Application, selected by a committee of the American Bar Association as the best book on the Constitution. Sales had been negligible until the Committee for Constitutional Government took over the copyright.

Under an arrangement between America's Future, Inc. as publisher and the committee as a principal distributor, some 600,000 copies of the Norton book have gone into circulation. Countless essay contests have been conducted in schools and colleges based on required study of Norton on the Constitution.

[Copy for pages 1 and 2]

ON THE AIR

Broadcasting for America's Future was begun in 1940, when Mr. Max Fleischmann of Cincinnati suggested that Sam Pettengill's thinking should be brought to the man in the street more generally by radio than was possible through his newspaper column, his books and his occasional public addresses.

Seeming obstacles were (1) difficulty of raising enough money to buy radio time, and (2) doubt whether station owners would risk their licenses by extending facilities to a commentator so critical of New Deal ideologies. Actually, when Pettengill did broadcast, one radio station raised the question whether the Constitution of the United States was not a controversial subject on which it might be required to grant free radio time to the other side!

The doubt as to whether radio time could be bought for Pettengill might, it seemed, be dissipated by bringing his broadcasts under the constitutional guaranty of freedom of the press through sponsorship by an established publishing concern. The scope of America's Future, Inc., could be widened, its board enlarged, and it could apply for radio time and, if refused, could fight for the right—provided funds to finance the broadcasting could be raised.

Mr. Fleischmann agreed to risk the first \$5,000 to explore these possibilities, and, finally, a year's contract for time on a limited ABC network, cancellable at the end of the first quarter, enabled the Pettengill broadcasts to start before the 1946 summer season.

Mr. Pettengill gave notice on December 1, 1948 that he would have to devote himself to law practice and could not continue his weekly broadcasts in 1949 but would be willing to participate once or twice each quarter, as a volunteer, if a new program could be developed.

[Copy for p. 3]

TRANSITION TO "AMERICANS, SPEAK UP!"

Instead of projecting the voice and thinking of one speaker, America's Future presents in Americans, Speak Up! a different, but equally outstanding personality, each week. Radio time, which cost more than \$5,000 a week for the Pettengill talks, is now paid by local sponsors.

There is no talent fee, since all speakers are volunteers, and the acceptability of the program has been so widely established that men and women of outstanding national position readily accept the invitation to join the Speak Up Parade.

Change from straight discourses to the interview type of presentation, with a widely known radio personality, Bill Slater, acting as master of ceremonies, is proving to be an audience-holding feature. Also added are theme music and weekly prizes for the best brief letters on why listeners prefer the American way of life.

Creation and introduction of any new radio program requires large capital expenditure, organization, intensive sales effort and persistent follow-up. "Americans, Speak Up!" is no exception.

[Copy for pp. 4 and 5]

ENLARGING THE AUDIENCE

Increasing the number of stations carrying the program must be a constant objective—because—

1. The larger the listening audience, the greater the value of the program to sponsors and to contributors, both of whom support it partly or wholly as a needed public service.

Radio time supplied by local sponsors, or by stations carrying the program sustaining until sold to a sponsor, had at the end of the first 8 months of "Americans, Speak Up!" a commercial value of approximately \$275,000 a year.

A monthly expenditure by America's Future of \$30,000, carefully budgeted and economically spent, should treble the number of stations and raise to around \$300,000 a year the value of radio time used. Local sponsors, besides paying for the radio time, are required to make still more outlay on advertising and audience-building.

The talent contributed by the volunteer speakers, if it were purchasable commercially, should be appraised at not less than an average of \$1,000 to \$2,000 a week.

All these values, supplemented by the permanent benefit from distribution of printed texts of the broadcast, should eventually bring \$1 to \$4 of educational effort for each dollar that donors contribute to make the program possible.

2. The first cost of producing each program up to and including the cutting of the master transcription record is not increased or decreased by ordering additional copies ("pressings") to service additional stations. Each additional pressing costs 75 cents, plus packing charge of 20 cents. The maximum charge made by America's Future is \$5 per program for the largest radio stations \$2 for the smallest—average \$4.

[Copy for p. 6]

WHY "AMERICANS SPEAK UP!" CANNOT BE MADE COMPLETELY SELF-SUPPORTING

A "serious" or educational radio program such as "Americans, Speak Up!" is designed to sell Americanism rather than to sell merchandise. Entertainment programs, with mass appeal, are designed for this latter purpose. The sponsor of "serious" radio has a medium for reaching the higher levels of community and financial leadership.

"Americans, Speak Up!" is being sponsored in part as a public service, supported partly by contributors and partly by sponsors who recognize its value in shoring up the crumbling foundations under their own and under all other American private enterprise.

Also in many cases financial, insurance, and other businesses are proving that "Americans, Speak Up!" produces distinct and direct commercial values in advertising by building good will and attracting potential customers among thoughtful and influential listeners.

[Copy for p. 7]

SPONSORSHIP

America's Future has been successful in enlisting a wide range of business and civic interests to pay for local radio time. In the first 8 months the list built up to these:

One advertising agency	Nine insurance firms
Two associated industries	Six employers' associations
Three automobile agencies	Six manufacturing companies
One bakery	Three merchants' associations
Six banks	One meat packer
One clearinghouse association	One music distributor
Eighteen groups of small business firms	One plumbing company
Fourteen chambers of commerce	One real estate agency
Two department stores	Four steel, iron, oil companies
Two construction companies	Fifteen textile mills
Two lumber companies	One tire and rubber company
One hotel	Two public utilities

[Copy for p. 8]

GROWTH IS ESSENTIAL.

The first 4 months of intensive selling placed "Americans, Speak Up!" on well over 100 stations and brought widely commendation as the most effective of all radio selling Americanism. Still a continuing expense will be required to maintain its uniformly high quality and to keep it sold by steadily increasing its coverage and extending its influence.

PRINTED TEXTS

Wide distribution of reprints of each broadcast gives them permanence and vastly increases the influence of the original spoken messages. More than 2,000,000 copies of one of Pettengill's talks, What Henry Ford Taught America, were called for. Current examples are distribution of 8,000 reprints of each week's broadcast by the Manufacturers' and Employers' Association which sponsors "Americans, Speak Up!" at Evansville, Ind., and the J. I. Case Co., sponsoring on Rockford, Ill. and Burlington, Iowa, stations, using 2,000 reprints weekly.

Donors of \$10 or more receive reprints every 2 weeks, if requested, and every listener asking for a free copy is sent one. Small quantities are sold at four times bare printing cost and bulk quantities at three times printing cost, to cover handling and mailing expense.

[Copy for pp. 9 and 10]

RESELLING THE CONSTITUTION

One of the most appealing reasons for supporting America's Future is that it is doing an invaluable—and long neglected—service in promoting study of the Constitution. Large, tax-deductible contributions are made to educational institutions to enable them to purchase from America's Future, as publisher, copies of Norton's Constitution book for each student and faculty member.

On every broadcast of "Americans, Speak Up!" 1,000 free copies of the Norton book are offered to writers of the first 1,000 brief letters on why the listener likes to live and work in America.

BUDGET CONTROL AND FUTURE FINANCING

Ten years' experience has proved that it is possible to build a large, enthusiastic group of regular supporters. A substantial part of the needed income can be obtained by mail; the rest by enlisting fund-raising cooperation of selected community leaders in cities where the growing impact of the radio program opens new doors for local assistance.

All fund raising now requires greater intensity of effort and higher levels of approach than in the past. The entire job of financing cannot, as heretofore, be carried on by the limited staff of America's Future without fuller cooperation from those citizens who have the most at stake. This is the compelling reason for presenting this statement for consideration of both past and future donors.

Budget control and a strong finance committee cooperating actively with the organization that has brought it to its present recognized great usefulness, can establish "Americans, Speak Up!" firmly as a permanent American institution and keep it the strongest and most influential voice in defense of our private enterprise system.

[Copy for p. 11—inside back cover]

America's Future, Inc., a nonprofit, educational foundation incorporated under the laws of Delaware.

Trustees: _____

Officers: _____

Finance committee: _____

Statement of tax-deductibility.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
AND FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM,
New York 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM—CONFIDENTIAL, NOT FOR PUBLICATION

John T. Flynn's book, *The Road Ahead*, is the most important book of this decade. It exposes how, in secret, planners at top level in Washington have been working for a stealthy revolution in collaboration with labor monopolists. The legislation they have forced through fits together as the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle, each piece part of a general plan to drive America into collectivism exactly as have the Fabians in collaboration with British trade-unions in England.

This book has been put to test and found the most effective statement yet made to wake up the American people. Already it is a best seller in the book trade; has been widely quoted in the press and by men in public life as the most important book of recent times.

The Road Ahead can dispel the mass delusion that has been fastened upon national consciousness by decades of propaganda to bring about "the welfare state" as something desirable. It shows that, in reality, the mislabeled "welfare state" is a hand-out, pickpocket state, by which bureaucrats buy, with other people's money, control of the entire Nation and subject citizens to serfdom to the State.

Lenin wrote the introduction to John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*—saying "I hope that this book will be translated into all languages and distributed in all countries in millions of copies."

Karl Marx' *Das Kapital* was circulated in millions of copies in all countries to lay the foundation for the world-wide Communist movement. Now it is time to expose the fallacies of socialism and collectivism by reaching millions with *The Road Ahead*. If its message can reach the minds of the majority of average Americans, socialism in the United States will be stopped in its tracks.

Therefore, millions of copies of *The Road Ahead* must be distributed quickly to save our constitutional system of free enterprise. This book tells what you, as an American, can do to save this country from destruction.

The Road Ahead (at \$2.50 a copy in bookstores) will be read by hundreds of thousands through the book trade. But it should be read by millions.

The Committee for Constitutional Government has developed by long experience effective methods for such mass distribution, having put out Pettengill's books—*Jefferson, the Forgotten Man*—78,000; *Smoke Screen*—427,000 (in 4 months); *For Americans Only*—467,000 (5½ months); Norton's *The Constitution of the United States*—600,000.

The committee has acquired the right to put out a low-cost edition of *The Road Ahead*. Orders for printing the first 150,000 have been placed and the books will be delivered at the rate of 25,000 copies per day beginning December 5.

The goal should be to make *The Road Ahead* dominate national thinking and do its important job as the next session of Congress opens. One-half million copies should be placed in circulation by January 20, 1950. To accomplish this a second printing should be undertaken for delivery in mid-December.

Distribution should be made by the methods used with the Pettengill books, sending them to the opinion-molding leadership individuals of the Nation who wield the greatest influence and who will buy in large quantities and distribute in their respective circles. It should go to all physicians (150,000), all dentists (85,000), all lawyers (150,000), to clergymen of all denominations (100,000), to executives, directors and presidents of business enterprises large and small (150,000), heads of service clubs, farm leaders (40,000) editors of dailies, weeklies, religions, labor, business and periodical publications (17,000), to public officials, Congressmen, Senators, judges, governors, etc., (5,000), State legislators (7,500), and to everyone in a position to disseminate ideas; to foremen, supervisors, salesmen, insurance agents and when these have been reached, to housewives and industrial employees so that, if possible, every family in the Nation may have a copy.

An additional printing and distribution of 350,000 copies, 250,000 for immediate distribution to the above lists, 100,000 for stock to fill orders, can be financed if we can immediately find purchasers for 250,000 copies to be mailed to the above lists, or to lists supplied by purchasers.

Our tests with this book show tremendous public interest. We included a circular of the \$2.50 clothbound edition to a list of 40,000 which included 3,500 physicians. Hundreds have purchased single copies, scores multiple copies

ranging from 5 to 25. An Indiana surgeon bought 100 copies for distribution to his townspeople. In 10 days physicians have purchased more than 1,000 copies, indicating the great interest for the book.

From the committee's past experience, this public response indicates that the distribution of 500,000 copies by the end of January will bring about the purchase by those reached of an additional 500,000 within 8 months. By direct mail promotion, advertising and radio, we should be able to push the special edition to a total circulation of more than 1,000,000 by April 30, 1950, and another 1,000,000 by the end of 1950.

But, to finance this operation, we must sell for cash and delivery in December our first printing of 150,000 copies at 50 cents a copy. We will ship to you in bulk, mail at our expense to addresses you supply or to leadership individuals you designate, preferably in the order listed. The committee will bear postage and mailing cost, with supplementary material showing just how the books can be used most effectively, estimated at 12 cents per copy, pay royalty of 10 cents per copy and printing and production costs. As the committee is an educational, nonprofit organization, any small surplus can be applied to the further bulk distribution of the book.

Citizens in all walks, business leaders in all fields, must give their immediate cooperation if this program is to be carried through in volume adequate to stop Socialist planning and reverse the trends of national thinking. Great books have swayed the destiny of nations. Uncle Tom's Cabin molded public opinion during the years before the Civil War. Karl Marx's, Das Kapital, has been distributed since 1848 in millions of copies in all languages, while there was a wholly inadequate distribution of books explaining and upholding free enterprise.

Will public-spirited American citizens have the insight and drive to disseminate a book that exposes the fallacies of socialism and the welfare state widely enough and quickly enough to check and reverse the drive into socialism during the next 6 months?

Send this book to your friends and associates as a Christmas gift. Nothing you could select would be more timely, more effective, and more appreciated by any true American.

How many copies will you, your association and/or your organization buy and pay for immediately at 50 cents per copy? Make check payable to the Committee for Constitutional Government and designate where books are to be shipped in bulk, or supply addresses for individual mailing on which we pay postage. Or better still, allocate all or part of your purchase for distribution to the leadership lists enumerated herein. We will ship or mail the books you buy as rapidly as they come from the presses.

Our ability to place the order for additional 350,000 copies for December delivery depends upon the immediate purchase by you and others of 250,000 copies at 50 cents per copy.

After this special prepublication offer, the regular prices on the new fiber-bound edition will be as follows:

Single copy	\$1.00
2 to 15 copies, each.....	.70
25 to 100 copies, each.....	.60
200 to 500 copies, each.....	.55
1,000 or more copies, each.....	.50

(Tear here and mail)

To: The COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

205 East of 42nd Street, New York City 17, N. Y.

Herewith my order for your special edition of John T. Flynn's The Road Ahead, 208 pages at prepublication price of 50 cents per copy.

Clothbound book store edition (one copy \$2.50; 4 to 20, \$2.18 each; 25 to 50, \$2.00 each; 60 to 80, \$1.88 each; 100 or more, \$1.75 each; 500 to 800, \$1.67 each; 1,000 or more, \$1.63 each.)	-----	\$-----
	(How many?)	(How much?)

Total amount enclosed. Make check or money order payable to Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc.	-----	\$-----
	(How many?)	(How much?)

Shipping instructions

(Please indicate below method of fulfillment desired)

1. Ship copies ordered direct to me at address given below : -----
(Check here)
2. Send the books prepaid to the addresses furnished (Supply list on
separate sheet) -----
(Check here)
3. Send the books prepaid to names on the leadership list suggested -----
(Check here)

(Identify the list) (Check here)

Names can be selected from more than one list if desired.

Name----- Firm -----
Address----- City----- Zone----- State-----

(Distribute this "Memorandum—Confidential, Not for Publication" widely among your friends. Ten sets free, with "Gerard Letter" and "The Road Ahead" Order Form" postpaid anywhere. Additional quantities 1 cent per set to cover handling costs.)

OCTOBER 11, 1940.

AS PEGLER SEES IT—FLYNN'S NEW BOOK SHOWS SOCIALISM IS COMMUNISM

(By Westbrook Pegler)

On second reading, I sincerely believe that John T. Flynn's new book, a small one called "The Road Ahead—America's Creeping Revolution," is one of the greatest political pamphlets in our history.

Flynn awakens me to the realization that socialism is communism and that therefore the "planners," as our Socialists call themselves for disguise, are promoting the preparatory phases of communism.

As one who reads more political matter and more letters from thinking citizens than any but a few other Americans, I now realize that most of the Nation does not yet understand that the program of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations is socialism.

Not merely for the satisfaction of belittling the man, I must say that Mr. Truman has neither the education to understand what a calamity he is trying to inflict on his country nor the character to relent if it just appears to him that the prosecution of his plans would reflect him or his successor on the ticket of his party.

He is, as Bernard Baruch said, an ignorant man and, like many other bemused Democrats, he is advancing socialism because he thinks that socialism inflicted in doses in the guise of Government services to the people, and with a snarl that the opposition comes only from "special interests," will get their approval at the polls. He may be right.

It is bad enough that a party governing the United States should use the power of taxation to demolish our own form of government by deliberate impositions on the ignorance and selfishness of the people.

But it is a new wrinkle in revolutions that this American Government should actually wreak the same destruction in Great Britain by enabling a similar band of ruthless adventurers to wipe out the personal freedom of the people and reduce them to slavery to the state.

The American people surely do not realize that by the gifts of their money the Truman administration is maintaining in power the British equivalents of Henry Wallace, the late LaGuardia, Marcantonio, and Browder.

Yet that is the fact. Foreign invaders who have tried to conquer and enslave the British by force have failed. The planners who are making use of Truman are accomplishing that result in the fantastic garb of generous friends.

"To understand what has happened in Britain," Flynn writes, "we must be clear about the use of words. We must know what socialism means in England. We continue to use the words 'communism' and 'socialism' as describing two different ideas. As a matter of fact, the words were interchangeable until the Russian revolution.

"Russia is a Socialist country and Britain is a Socialist country. Socialists differ about the method of achieving socialism, about the extent to which a country's industries should be nationalized and about the forms of administration. Lenin had become disgusted with the softer approach of the old Social-Democrats, a favorite name for Socialist Parties in Europe.

"We have got into the habit of using the word 'communism' to describe the Russian organization," Flynn continues, "but that organization is a Socialist one. The Russians call themselves Socialists. Marx and Engels called themselves Socialists. The Russians style their country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"Socialist propagandists from Britain say they have socialized only 25 percent of the economic system and that 75 percent remains under capitalism. That is a clever distortion. Britain has 'nationalized' about 25 percent of her economic processes, but she has 'socialized' nearly the entire economic system.

"The State asserts authority to make the plans for all forms of business—farms, factories, mines, shops,

"It decides on production quotas and priorities on which raw materials are distributed, fixes prices, fixes labor quotas and wages, and determines who shall get credit at the banks and who shall not.

"The Government takes over the general planning and direction of all industry. It decides which industries ought to be nationalized and operated directly by the State and which should be left in private hands under State planning and supervision. The State takes the greater part of whatever profits are possible.

"The State has no intention of permitting all this to remain in private hands indefinitely. The constitution of the Labor Party commits it to public ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange—which means practically everything. A section of the party wishes to rush on to completion of this program. Herbert Morrison and his faction favor consolidating present plans before moving on. But there is no escaping the fact that they do intend to move on.

"What has all this done for and to Britain? The people cry out against impossible prices, scarcities, scandalously oppressive taxation, bureaucratic sluggards and oppressors. Her foreign trade is being washed away. Even with billions from capitalist America, she cannot settle foreign debts save by the slow extinction of her gold reserves.

"And as for her moral order, her people have seen those great freedoms for which Englishmen have fought for centuries, slowly withering away—freedom from seizures and searches without warrants, freedom to work where and at what they choose, freedom to engage in business and own property, to work their privately owned farms as they choose.

"The law says no man between 18 and 50 or woman between 18 and 40 can change occupations at will. The Minister of Labor has the power to direct workers to the employment he considers best for the national interest."

Flynn cites the case of a man who, as a protest, refused to pay his assessment in the national insurance scheme. He was a poor, superannuated pensioner, but he was fined more than 17 pounds and, if he had been unable to pay, would have been sent to jail—for defaulting an insurance payment.

"The Road Ahead" is, however, a study of the British tragedy under socialism only for purposes of illustration. It is essentially a great alarm against the same disaster which is now accumulating in the United States.

Flynn may be ignored by the people or frustrated by political bosses who are practical duplicates of the British destroyers. But I earnestly urge you to read it carefully—in class or circle preferably—and be warned.

SUGGESTION FROM JULIAN C. CATES

In the front of each copy of the Road Ahead insert three sheets of questionnaires addressed to Congress, one to each reader's Representative and two to Senators.

Questionnaire to cover the important points outlined in the book on which reader can express his vote for or against the enacted or proposed laws of a Socialist trend.

Request reader to send his "vote" direct to his Congressman.

Print questionnaire on heavy stock so it may be detached and mailed as a post card—if possible under a postage-to-be-paid arrangement. This may require a central receiving office in Washington for distribution to addressees. If this could be arranged with Congress it would provide a record of responses to each Member of Congress.

After wide distribution, follow up with radio and press drive to get readers to "vote."

Get industry to distribute copies to all employees, stockholders, and customers. Quick action is essential.

TEXT OF DODGER FOR MAILING TO SOUTHERN PINE ASSOCIATION LIST

You know the harmfulness of a 75-cents-per-hour minimum wage law now demanded by labor unions. It is the labor-union bosses, with their huge treasuries and pressure lobbies, who are pushing Congress to enact higher and higher minimum wage laws. If these labor bosses, misusing their huge funds as boodle bags in elections, are able to purge Congressmen who do not yield to their demands, it will be difficult in the next Congress to resist the enactment of a 75-cents-per-hour, \$6-per-day minimum wage.

Since deflation, not inflation, may soon be public enemy No. 1, such a law, raising many employees' wage rates above their productivity, would bring about widespread unemployment. This is particularly true in rural and Southern areas where mechanization is not feasible and where living costs and normal wage rates are much lower than in the unionized industrial cities.

Dr. Willford I. King, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government, recently made an exhaustive study of this question and presented his findings to the House Committee on Labor and Education. This report will soon be available for bulk distribution at low cost. For a copy, ask for Dr. King's Testimony on Minimum Wages, writing to—

Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN REPORTS—RALPH W. GWINN, TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 20, 1940

CHRIST AND LIBERTY

Christ was born in a world that was hungry. It had always been hungry. The people had little faith in their own capacity, under God, to provide for themselves. Their hunger tempted them to listen to the promises of false gods. Christ came to liberate them from such slavery and make them sons of God and joint heirs with Him.

Prior to His birth, the Old Testament story of the broken promises, devastation, and war of one heathen king after another, is seldom interrupted.

Even when Christ grew up in wisdom and stature, they did not listen to His messages of truth from the Word, or His rule of love and law for the good society. They preferred to submit themselves to the compulsions of whatever pagan, mortal men showed any signs of being able to provide for them what they wanted. To be heard at all, Jesus was compelled to perform miracles to provide drink and raiment and food and health for them. Because of these things, and these alone, they clamored to make Him King.

Over and over again, He showed that by following God's commandments, and dealing with each other as they would want to be dealt with, they could provide for themselves. Then only would they become a good and prosperous society. For these promises they hated Him.

Within a week after they were sure He had definitely refused to be the Messiah and exercise the power of the worldly political state to provide for them, as He had shown by His miracles He could do; they crucified Him. A week before, they had sung hosannas to him. They had fallen down and worshipped Him as they had worshipped mere heathen idols, Moloch, Balaam, and the Devil.

Christ was born to destroy completely such faith and worship. It was difficult, because the people were persuaded by the Devil and his cohorts, who profited by his rule and exploitations, to turn away from God and the pursuit of liberty. We can see how difficult it is today. The modern world listens to the same false promises the ancient world mistakenly believed.

Even Christ was tempted for 40 days, the longest temptation He ever had, to make a compulsory political or worldly state. Since He was good and would select good men around Him to be the government, it seemed possible that it would provide for the people better than they could for themselves.

Finally, He rejected this idea utterly. He withdrew to the mountain and when He was set, He taught that a good world was impossible unless each individual in it assumed for himself the responsibility, the discipline, the work, the creative and productive possibility within himself, and was governed, not by the compulsions of other men, but by the laws and love of God.

Christ's proposition for political, economic, and religious government of the people was scarcely undertaken until nearly 1,800 years later. Then a society of pioneer men and women in a new world, accustomed to governing themselves according to Christian disciplines, formed a government of strictly limited functions. It was to protect the rights of the people and their property and all their pursuits. By a most formal document, they made it impossible for their government to assume to be God and take responsibility for the people. They made their government poor and small, that its citizens might be free and great. Thus, they created a God-centered government for believing free men.

We rejoice at this Christmas time that we live in that little area which was in the beginning mankind's hope, and which remains the last hope of freedom on earth. As we gather around the tree which symbolizes that our liberty is heaven-sent, may we pray to be worthy of it and to be fit to maintain it.

HIGHLIGHTS OF OPINION ON THE EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM—AS REFLECTED IN THE ATTACHED ANALYSIS OF NATION-WIDE POLL OF EDUCATED AMERICANS

Seven to one against \$17,000,000,000, 4-year commitment.

Three to one against \$6,800,000,000 in 15 months.

Two to one against advances to governments; favor advances mainly or solely to private enterprisers.

Seven to one in favor of requiring foreign governments to pledge their assets to secure loans.

Eleven to one would restrict use of loans and require governments to guarantee loans to their citizens.

Nine to one against subsidizing European socialism.

Only 26 percent to 38 percent believe loans will retard Soviet's westward push.

Fifty-eight percent would confine loans to private enterprisers.

Seventy-nine percent would require repayment in American dollars.

Three out of five would conflate aid to relieving hunger and distress.

Eight out of ten would require reduction of Federal spending equivalent to appropriations for foreign aid.

COMMUNISTS PLAN TO OVERTHROW OUR COUNTRY¹

(By Aaron M. Sargent)

TEXT OF BROADCAST HEARD ON THE PROGRAM "AMERICANS, SPEAK UP"—BILL SLATER
MASTER OF CEREMONIES

SLATER. Speak up, Americans, before your freedoms fade away.

Speak up, Americans, it's time for you to have your say.

This is Bill Slater reminding you that it's a good old American custom—and a priceless American privilege—to speak your mind.

Our guest this week is a San Francisco lawyer, counsel for the committee on Americanization of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution—Mr. Aaron M. Sargent. He has conducted important investigations of Communist infiltration into textbooks and teaching; and what he can tell us will be another challenge to Speak Up, Americans * * * for America.

* * *

Mr. Sargent, since you talked with us about subversive textbooks, have you anything new or different that you think our listeners should know about Communist activities?

SARGENT. Yes. I have. The greatest danger to our country today is the lack of understanding of communism. Take the trial of the Communist Party leaders in the Federal court in New York City. We all know that these men were found

¹ America's Future, Inc., 210 East Forty-third Street, New York 17, N. Y., producers of "Americans, Speak Up!"

guilty—that Judge Medina gave their lawyers jail sentences for contempt. But hardly anyone knows the background of the agitation in that case, or the definite pattern established by Communist fronts for use in cases of this type.

SLATER. Mr. Sargent, everyone knows how they tried to wear out Judge Medina, but do you mean that they work according to a pattern set up by Communist fronts?

SARGENT. You will find, Mr. Slater, that these tactics are based on a manual issued a number of years ago telling workers what to do after an arrest. It tells them to bring the class struggle into the courtroom. It tells workmen that they are all prisoners in a class war.

SLATER. Will you tell us, please, some of the particular tactics recommended in this manual?

SARGENT. The worker is told to give no information to the police—to give his name and nothing else. He is told in particular not to give the name of any organizations he belongs to, or the names of his fellow workers. You can see that this device goes beyond any legitimate right of the citizen to withhold information that might incriminate him. The actual purpose is to make it impossible for the police to solve cases.

SLATER. Yes, that seems obvious. What next?

SARGENT. Workers are told to plead "not guilty" in all cases and always to demand a "working class" jury. They are told to expose the "anti-working-class activities of police, stool pigeons, and courts." That's an exact quotation from the Communist manual.

SLATER. Is there anything, Mr. Sargent, that would tie this manual directly to the tactics used against Judge Medina?

SARGENT. Yes, the readers of the manual are told that the dignity and sanctity of the courts is a device to paralyze the struggle against the capitalist system. They are advised to pack the courtroom and heckle the judge. I believe the Civil Rights Congress did all of this and a great deal more at the Communist trial in New York. Similar methods have been used for a long time to vilify committees of Congress and of State legislatures investigating communism.

SLATER. Do you mean to say that there is a concerted attack on the courts in all cases involving communism?

SARGENT. Yes, that's exactly what I mean. These agitations against Congress and the courts should crystallize our thinking. We are beginning to recognize them as part of a plan to make legislation and law enforcement impossible as against radical groups. Unless we establish some effective control, these agitations will result in the overthrow of constitutional government.

SLATER. The man in the street will certainly agree with you, Mr. Sargent, that this is serious and a threat to our form of government, but how do you meet the objection of people who say there must be no limiting of the freedom of speech?

SARGENT. Well, the courts certainly have the power to maintain order. They can cite attorneys for contempt. If necessary they can establish new rules of practice in criminal cases. Freedom of speech does not include the right to make a roughhouse out of a courtroom.

SLATER. No—but what else can be done?

SARGENT. We need a continuing investigation broad enough to identify the Communist fronts and connect up their tactics. Simple reports should be published and given the widest distribution. It should be the duty of every organization of citizens to study such reports and put the facts before their people. And we should get cooperation from our schools and adult-education groups.

SLATER. What do you find the schools are now doing to warn young people of the traps set for them by the Communists?

SARGENT. As far as I know, there is practically no instruction available. There are hundreds of books and pamphlets promoting socialism and communism. A great deal of such propaganda finds its way into the social studies. Our universities, public schools, and educational foundations on the whole do little to teach the dangers of socialism and communism.

SLATER. Have you an explanation, Mr. Sargent, of the reasons why this job is not being done?

SARGENT. I believe you will find, Mr. Slater, that it is one of the results of the so-called progressive system of education. About 30 years ago a professor at Columbia University started making speeches before groups of educators to induce them to use the schools for propaganda purposes. He thought our public-school system should be an agency to build a new social order. Before long

we had all sorts of propaganda finding its way into the classrooms. We stopped teaching—and began agitating. People with good intentions used the schools to advocate all sorts of projects and schemes.

SLATER. Did any of these courses touch on the question of civil liberty?

SARGENT. Yes, I know one pamphlet that recommended that school children debate the right to carry on in a sit-down strike. They are asked to decide whether investigations of the House Un-American Activities Committee are hindering the growth of democracy. Another publication contains propaganda in favor of court packing. A book used in the eighth grade contains pictures of mobs and mass demonstrations. It suggests that the Constitution is out of date and asks children to consider whether our Constitutional Republic should be supplanted by some other form of government.

SLATER. Isn't there an obvious relationship between this kind of education and the mass demonstrations against courts? How can the administration of justice continue unless there is sound public opinion behind the courts based on sound teaching in our schools? What is the matter with people who recommend this type of instruction and claim that it is good? Can you give us any light on that?

SARGENT. Now, Mr. Slater, your questions are getting to the bottom of our difficulty. We have a great many men and women in education who do not believe in the radical courses, but until recently conservative people have been silenced by the militant left-wingers whose false philosophy has brought confusion into our schools.

SLATER. Well, Mr. Sargent, can you identify that philosophy, and tell us something about the kind of people who believe in it?

SARGENT. They are, in many cases, scientifically minded people who go off the deep end. We all know that material problems in the fields of engineering, chemistry, medicine, and other scientific areas can be studied and solved by laboratory experiments. Solutions can be discovered by trial and error. Science is good in the study of those problems but it doesn't work when you take up questions dealing with government and human nature.

SLATER. Then, in the field of government, you would apply a different yardstick?

SARGENT. Yes, in that area, the only evidence we have is experience—as recorded by history. Ignoring history, these theoretical people began tampering with our form of government. They started to use the schools as a laboratory in which to debate and to test their theories. They forgot about history. They are producing graduates who are mentally confused. Haven't you noticed how often educated people have difficulty in making up their minds? Some educators refuse to teach history even when required to do so by State law. Persons of this type are easily misled by agitations directed against our courts. It is easy to make them believe that a man is not getting a fair trial by simply attacking the judge.

SLATER. Then, Mr. Sargent, you think unsound philosophy is one of our real troubles?

SARGENT. Yes; I do. We have people in responsible places today who do not believe in anything fundamental. Some of them think questions of right and wrong are only matters of custom subject to continual change. In practice this means that morality, measured by their standard, depends on a majority vote. You can see what that kind of thinking will do to our national character.

SLATER. Yes, and I can also see that this may explain the behavior of the sort of people who continually join and support Communist fronts.

SARGENT. Right you are, Mr. Slater. Our greatest problem today is the man or woman who challenges everything and believes in nothing—the irresponsible intellectual who would rebuild the structure of government by boring holes in timbers and cutting notches in the beams. I am referring to the person who will try anything once.

SLATER. And you want this tinkering stopped?

SARGENT. Yes, I do—and substantial, constructive rebuilding in its place. We want to make progress in this country. We have lost a great deal of valuable time on tinkering, and we need to rebuild America by reestablishing the principles on which our Government is based.

SLATER. Well, now, Mr. Sargent, how do you think that this can be done?

SARGENT. First by instilling into the minds of people, young and old, confidence in basic American principles. We know the difference between right and wrong but why don't we say so? Our faith in America is based on something more than the fact that we have more automobiles and bathtubs than they have in Soviet Russia. We have something to fight for—the principle that men are more im-

portant than the state. We should reexamine our philosophy, decide what we believe in, and then stand for it. The development of sound public opinion behind Congress and our courts should be the first move in our counter-attack against communism and socialism. Unless we carry on that fight now, we will lose the battle to support and defend constitutional government.

SLATER. Thank you, Mr. Sargent. Friends, I'm sure you will want to read and think about the facts that our guest has given us—so please stay tuned in.

* * *

Now, friends, the facts that Mr. Aaron M. Sargent has given us about the methods used by Communists to create disorders such as they perpetrated in Judge Medina's court are something to keep on file. For free copies of this interview drop a postcard to America's Future in care of the station to which you are now listening, or to America's Future, Post Office Box 1414, Grand Central Station, New York City. Ask for "Communism and the Courts."

And please ask your friends to listen next week, same time, same station, when another outstanding American will speak up about another problem that every American, young and old, must face * * * and solve.

This is Bill Slater saying good-by, and reminding you wherever you are, whatever you do, Speak up, Americans * * * for America.

* * *

This broadcast is typical of the series, "Americans, Speak Up!" Nationally-known men and women, each distinguished in his or her field, bring by radio and in printed text each week to the local community, messages dealing with present and future problems of our country. They all speak with a background of wide experience and with deep insight into the fundamentals of our free-enterprise system.

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You can greatly increase the effectiveness of this program by helping build quickly an everwidening listening audience. Ask others in your family, your friends and your associates to listen regularly. Send out postcards reminding them of the program broadcast time.

Request free copies of this folder to distribute to friends, clergymen, service clubs, and to leaders in your community and urge them to help enlarge the listening audience. Up to three copies per individual request free, postpaid anywhere; additional copies, 5 cents each; in bulk, 20 or more, 3 cents each.

For copies of this broadcast ask for Aaron M. Sargent on "Communists Plan to Overthrow Our Courts."

[As used March 9—Fort Worth Star-Telegram (morning and evening) & Press]

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM, A DIVISION OF THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, REMINDS YOU THAT YOU AND YOU ALONE CAN STOP SOCIALISM!—YOU ARE INVITED TO JOIN THE NATION-WIDE FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM MOVEMENT TO SAVE YOURSELF AND YOUR COUNTRY FROM THE CREEPING, STEALTHY ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

THE FIGHTERS' PLATFORM

Fighters for freedom believe every American citizen should insist that all elected representatives—city, county, State, or National—should pledge support to this 100-percent American program. They believe it to be the duty of every American, and especially of our officials and elected representatives, to—

1. Fittingly expose communism; deport or imprison all conspirators striving to overthrow our Government; and stop the march to fascism or socialism.

2. Restore the American incentive to work, own, and save, and the old rewards to individuals for producing more and better services and material goods; defend their human rights to hold, use, and dispose of all property honestly acquired; and protect the property and income of all citizens from seizure or confiscation.

3. Protect every individual's right to work where he will, his right to bargain and contract as he wishes, his right to quit when he will, if not under contract, and his right to go to and from his home and his place of business or occupation without interference by any individual, organization, or Government agency. Eliminate mass picketing, rioting, and terrorism. Restore and protect the right of every individual to enjoy freedom and the fruits of his own efforts.

4. Safeguard our system of free, untrammelled, competitive markets, and apply antitrust laws fearlessly and equally to all monopolies, both of business and labor.

5. Stop using taxpayers' money to compete against private enterprise.

6. Build down Washington's swollen bureaucratic Big Government; strengthen State and local governments and free them from Federal financial and administrative control. Reduce the Federal payroll by discharging needless jobholders. Stop the waste of public funds. Balance the budget.

7. Protest against politicians buying votes by promising Federal aid for education, socialized medicine, and public housing, which results eventually in Federal control.

8. Stop inflation—the process which, by cheapening the dollar, defrauds all thrifty Americans who have insurance policies, social-security cards, bank deposits, or investments. Stop deflation—the process which throws millions out of work and bankrupts employers. Encourage, not penalize, thrift. Keep American citizens solvent.

9. Abolish or reduce immediately those taxes which especially hinder saving and capital accumulation. These are essential for expanding old enterprises and providing new and better tools, and for financing new inventions and new risk-taking, job-making enterprises which assure increased production and higher income for wage workers and others. Limit by constitutional amendment the peacetime taxing power of the Federal Government.

10. Preserve the Constitution with its Bill of Rights, and oppose all attempts to violate it by legislation, usurpation, or evasion.

How You Can Help

2-year enrollment goal

Group A, grassroots fighters, \$2..... 1,250,000

Grassroots fighters receive periodical mailings on current issues, copy of Norton's great book *The Constitution of the United States—Its Sources and Its Application*, pamphlets, folders, and other informative literature for personal use and distribution. Men and women in all walks—college students, teachers, clergymen, farmers, white-collar workers, wage earners, can be particularly effective as grassroots fighters.

Group B, associate fighters, \$5..... 500,000

Associate fighters receive Paul Revere messages, 52 letters—bi-weekly mailings from Congressman Ralph Gwinn and Dr. Willford I. King, Norton's *The Constitution of the United States—Its Sources and Its Application*, pamphlets, folders, and other informative material on current issues.

Group C, cooperating fighters, \$10..... 250,000

Each cooperating fighter receives Paul Revere messages, 104 numbers in bi-weekly mailings, Norton's book and other books, pamphlets, dodgers, for personal information, and other distribution. Physicians, dentists, lawyers, stockholders, small-business men, farm leaders, heads of service clubs, editors, will profit.

Group D, sustaining fighters..... 50,000

Contributing or buying fighters for freedom literature in amounts of \$25 or more. All sustaining fighters receive literature enumerated for group C and special communications from time to time. The financial support they give in excess of \$10 makes possible the organizational work from State to State, and the printing of books, literature, press releases and the purchase of literature and advertising space.

(Cut off here and mail today)

FFF ENLISTMENT

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM,

MURRAY KYGER,

Treasurer, P. O. Box 2260, Fort Worth, Tex.

To help organize on a Nation-wide basis the grassroots fighters for freedom movement, and to carry on its work, I hereby pledge my moral influence and my best efforts to uphold its platform by voice, pen, and purse. I hereby promise financial support as a member of group (check one) A---- B---- C---- D----

I will project my personal influence as a citizen by—

1. Distributing among friends, associates, and in my circles, literature on constitutional liberty and economic freedom. I will also try to enlist at least five others to work in this cause.

2. Speaking up on issues threatening our Constitution and its Bill of Rights when occasion arises, I will exercise my constitutional right of petition and express my conviction to my representatives in Washington and other public officials.

Please send me _____ copies of your folders which I can use in an effort to enlist others. Also directions for starting the FFF movement in my group.

I hereby contribute \$2, \$5, \$10, \$25, \$50, \$100, \$250, but not more than \$400 to help carry the ad and organizing work across the Nation. \$ _____

(How much?)

Name _____ Address _____ City _____ Zone _____ State _____

THIS IS YOUR FIGHT—"THE ROAD AHEAD" IS DECADE'S GREATEST BOOK

John T. Flynn's new book, *The Road Ahead—America's Creeping Revolution*, is the most important book of this decade. It can dispel the mass delusion that has been fastened upon national consciousness by many years of propaganda portraying the so-called welfare state as something desirable.

This book proves, as no other document has, that the mislabeled "welfare state" is simply a hand-out, pickpocket state, in which bureaucrats misuse other people's money to buy control of the entire Nation and make citizens the serfs of the state.

If the facts of *The Road Ahead* can be projected into the thinking of the average American, socialism in the United States will be stopped short in its tracks. Therefore millions of copies of this great book must be distributed quickly. In order that this can be done effectually the Committee for Constitutional Government is printing a special, low-cost, fiber bound edition. Our goal is to distribute 1,000,000 copies in 3 months and 5,000,000 or more by the end of 1950.

This nonprofit, nonpartisan educational job is above party politics. Your help is needed.

The Road Ahead tells what you and every American can do to save our constitutional freedoms and competitive economic system from destruction!

It is time that all good, red-blooded Americans wake up to the reality that our very freedoms which Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and thousands of others fought and died for are in danger of being taken from us. This is no "cold war." The collectivists have been on the domestic battle front for years.

Public-spirited citizens, leaders in all fields, must give immediate help if this program is to be carried through far enough to stop the forces pushing us into socialism and to dispel the delusion that we can get something for nothing by giving Washington politicians control of our incomes and lives. Men and women of all walks, church, farm, and professional groups, service clubs, business leaders, physicians are helping by buying and distributing bulk quantities. You can help us now to carry one copy into every fifth home and farm in your county by making bulk purchases at low introductory price.

"I wrote this book to answer a question that practically everybody is asking: Where are we heading? I thought it was about time for someone to answer it candidly and with blunt facts."—JOHN T. FLYNN.

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Only organization, community by community, by patriotic men and women willing and determined to save themselves, can stop the undermining and eventual destruction of our Republic. Scores of thousands of these fighting Americans are

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Help others to get "Road Ahead."

How many copies will you, your association and/or your organization buy and pay for immediately at 50 cents per copy? Designate where books are to be shipped in bulk, or supply addresses for individual mailing on which we pay postage. Or, if you will help sponsor distribution of Road Ahead to community leaders, teachers, clergymen, and others, notify the Fort Worth Committee, P. O. Box 2260.

The hour is late—your and your children's liberty is at stake.

MURRAY KYGER,

Treasurer, Fighters for Freedom,

P. O. Box 2260, Fort Worth, Tex.:

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"AMERICANS, SPEAK UP!" PROGRAM No. 43

(Immediate newspaper release through radio station in advance of Dr. Norman Vincent Peale)

SECRET OF HAPPINESS

"Every human being wants, consciously or unconsciously, to find the priceless secret that opens the door to happiness and internal peace." So says Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, noted minister and author of the current best seller: *A Guide to Confident Living*.

Bill Slater will ask Dr. Peale how to find that secret, and he will reply that "faith is the answer—abiding faith in a Higher Power."

Dr. Peale will elaborate on the keys to happiness when he is interviewed this week on the radio program, "Americans, Speak Up!" He will tell Bill Slater, who is famous as a sports announcer, two stories out of the lives of track star, Gil Dodds, known as the Flying Parson, and Hal Newhouser, of the Detroit Tigers.

Dr. Peale is minister of historic Marble Collegiate Church in New York City and founder, with Dr. Smiley Blanton, of a soul and mind "clinic" that many

churches have duplicated. Together they have written another book, *The Art of Real Happiness*, which went to a third printing before its publication date this month.

"Americans, Speak Up!" is heard locally on ----- at ----- every -----

STEPS IN THE PROGRAM TO DISTRIBUTE THE BENKERT BROADCAST

- A. Folder to all railroad stockholders—several million.
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- D. Transcription on radio stations.
- E. Direct mail distribution with accompanying letter to all leadership individuals—168,000 lawyers, 160,000 physicians, 85,000 dentists, 40,000 farm leaders, presidents of corporations—large and small—100,000.
- F. Call Roy Nelson, president, New York Traffic Club, eastern representative Minneapolis & St. Louis Railroad. Have him distribute folder to members of the traffic club.
- G. Get background of Farley.
- H. Have Sprague write to J. K. Hook in Washington.

(?) E. A. R.: Do you want to refer to Gwinn in A Only.

PETTINOILL.

PAUL REVERE MESSAGES—INCLUDING BI-WEEKLY NEWS LETTER—DEFENDING FREEDOM AND THE CONSTITUTION¹

Release #78

THE ROAD BEFORE US

If you want to know where our political leaders are taking us, I suggest that you read John T. Flynn's new book, *The Road Ahead*. This tells the story of our creeping revolution with more complete detail documented and with more insight into the significance of the details than it has ever been told before. This book shows that behind all the confusing programs and misuse of words there is one real program—socialism. Mr. Flynn says that we, in the United States, are "following, not in the footsteps of Russia, but in the footsteps of England."

Mr. Flynn is a true liberal. He has devoted an active life to the study of our political and economic problems. He has been economic adviser to many congressional committees and is a former columnist of the *New Republic*. He is well aware of the sins of business, but he has learned, as so many of us have learned, that the danger we face today comes from a power vastly greater than anything business can wield.

More than 60 years ago, a small group of English intellectuals had a dream. They did not believe in revolution by violence. They saw that they could achieve the same objectives by the slow but sure methods of gradualism and deceit. So an organization known as the Fabian Society, that never had more than 4,000 members, planned and plotted England's downfall.

Mr. Flynn shows how the British lost command of world markets and of the high seas by artificial Socialist fixing of prices and wages; how the British worker was thus priced out of world markets, relinquishing them to the United States and Germany. Once every free Briton was master in his own house. Today he is merely a tenant of a Socialist landlord. Once he chose his job freely. He belonged to no master for centuries. Today, he must work at the job, live in the house, and be healed by the doctor assigned to him by the Socialist labor boss.

We are indebted to Mr. Flynn for his parallel between British socialism and the American variety of socialism. The British did not call their new order socialism at first. They call it nationalization. Now with pride and boldness

¹ Distributed by Committee for Constitutional Government, 206 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

they openly speak of themselves as the Socialist Party. So, in America, we started out calling our New Deal and Fair Deal "a planned economy."

The people rather liked the honest Socialist, Norman Thomas, but utterly rejected the Socialist program. Thomas has lived to enjoy the irony of telling the Democratic and Republican Parties. After the last Presidential election, when he saw most of a million Socialist followers go over to the old parties, he wrote the story in a magazine article entitled, "My Work Is Done."

Mr. Flynn shows how completely the little band of Fabian Socialists took over the liberal party of England. It is no more. His analysis of the facts in the crystal clear that the present Democratic leaders are but prisoners of the Socialists. He describes the battle that is going on in our church organizations, in our colleges, and our schools.

He shows how the parts of the world jig saw fit together and include America. He warns all Americans of the one big war against our civilization. "Every battle is everybody's battle."

If you, too, have been worried about what lies ahead and want to know what to do about it, I cannot recommend anything better than the reading of this enlightening book. Then volunteer like a good soldier and help organize, in the precinct where you live, the overwhelming forces for American constitutional freedom and against socialism, world variety. Today, there is a call to all to be worthy successors of the Americans who created this Republic, and to close ranks with today's Fighters for Freedom.

RALPH W. GWINN.

"There is a corporation we may all dread. That corporation is the Federal Government. From the aggression of this corporation there can be no safety, if it is allowed to go beyond the bounds, the well-defined limits of doubtful powers by this Government. It is, in my opinion, the danger of dangers to the future of this country. Let us be sure we keep it always within its limits. If this great ambitious, ever-growing corporation becomes oppressive, who shall check it? If it becomes wayward, who shall control it? If it becomes unjust, who shall trust it?"—From a speech by the late Senator from Georgia, Benjamin Harvey Hill.

Never was it more important for citizens in all walks to express their convictions to their Congressmen and Senators. If a column expresses your convictions, send it with a few words of approval. Ask us for a list of all Congressmen and Senators together with their committee assignments free upon request.

Please don't destroy—make this do multiple duty, pass it to some other thoughtful person.

(February 28, 1948.)¹

(Questionnaire: Miss Kimball file copy—important.)

WHAT EDUCATED AMERICANS THINK ABOUT THE MARSHALL PLAN

In January 1948 the Committee for Constitutional Government sent out to many thousands of physicians and lawyers, and to other thousands of its own friends and supporters a questionnaire designed to ascertain their views concerning the Marshall Plan for European relief. To date, more than three thousand people have taken the trouble to fill in answers to some or all of the 19 questions asked. In numerous cases, the answers were so qualified that it was impossible to include them in the tabulation. In many instances, some of the queries were left unanswered. The numerical analysis of the returns which is presented below² necessarily deals solely with those who gave definite, unequivocal answers to the questions as propounded. What is shown by the votes of those people who had clear-cut ideas on the particular queries which they answered? Here are the results:

1. Do you favor giving or lending to or in Western European nations, over a four-year period some sum such as the \$17 billions proposed under the Marshall Plan?.....	Yes	No
	203 (168)	2,491 (602)

¹ All matters in parentheses are pencilled notations.

² Tabulation made by Miss Betty Shapiro.

The vote is more than 9 to 1 (7 to 2) against any such long-term commitment.

	Yes	No
2. Do you favor giving or lending a smaller sum?-----	1,323 (200)	934 (347)

59 percent (46 percent) of those returning definite votes favored giving some relief to Europe, but, as one would naturally expect, the 1,323 persons favoring such a policy had various ideas as to the amounts to be disbursed. The votes of those 480 mentioning specific sums were distributed as follows:

	Votes	
Under \$5 billions-----	205	(47)
\$5 billions to \$9 billions-----	109	(40)
\$10 billions or over-----	70	(17)
	480	(110)

The sentiment of the voters is decidedly in favor of keeping the 4-year aid total below \$10 billions.

	Yes	No
3a. Do you think that the commitment should be made for 15 months only and for \$6,800,000,000?-----	528 (159)	1,494 (474)

The proposal to send to Europe \$6,800,000,000 in 15 months is rejected by more than three-fourths of those having definite views on the subject.

3b. Do you think that the 15 months' commitment should be for—

	Votes	
Less than \$2 billions?-----	88	(20)
\$2 billions to \$3.9 billions?-----	230	(43)
\$4 billions or over?-----	377	(62)
	695	(125)

Of the 1,987 voters who expressed definite opinions on the 15 months' commitment, only 695, or 35 (13) %, favored giving any considerable aid. Of this 35 %, somewhat more than half favored sending \$4 billions or more.

	Yes	No
4a. If you favor making gifts or loans, do you believe that the money should be advanced to governments?-----	431 (205)	1,751 (432)

	Yes	No
4b. If loans are extended, ought the advances to be made mainly or solely to private enterprise?-----	1,578 (351)	365 (203)

Those having definite opinions voted four to one (2 to 1) against advancing money to governments, and in favor of confining mainly or solely to private enterprise any loans which may be made.

	Yes	No
5. If governments receiving aid have assets such as oil reserves or American securities should they be required to pledge these for moneys advanced?-----	2,387 (643)	222 (58)

The vote is more than ten to one (7 to 1) for compelling foreign governments possessing valuable governmental assets to secure their loans by pledging these assets. Note that this vote does not necessarily endorse any confiscation of assets owned by private citizens.

	Yes	No
6a. Should money be lent without strings?-----	121 (60)	2,441 (649)

	Yes	No
6b. Should we as lenders impose restrictions on the use of any money advanced?-----	2,493 (658)	114 (56)

By a vote of more than twenty to one (11 to 1) those having definite opinions hold that we should regulate the use of any money lent to Europe. The "no strings" idea receives scanty support indeed.

- | | | |
|--|--------------------|----------------------|
| 7. Should money be lent to socialistic governments which by rationing, regimentation, and restrictive measures are producing industrial stagnation and stifling food production? | Yes
121
(74) | No
2,602
(666) |
|--|--------------------|----------------------|

The vote to bar lending money to socialistic governments engaged in regimenting their citizens is more than twenty-one to one (9 to 1), a very close approach to unanimity. European governments qualifying for aid under this limitation would be few in number.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|
| 8. Should we make loans mainly on the hypothesis that the use of the money will retard or block Russia's advance into Western Europe? | Yes
685
(228) | No
1,910
(500) |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|

- | | | |
|--|---------------------|----------------------|
| 9. Do you feel that a loan, if made, will actually tend to block the advance of communism? | Yes
805
(269) | No
1,600
(437) |
|--|---------------------|----------------------|

Only 26 (31)% of those expressing definite views believe that the Marshall Plan is likely to retard or stop the advance of the Russian Bear into Western Europe; only 33(38)% think that it will tend to block the onward march of communism.

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 10. Should money be advanced solely to private concerns the legitimate business activities of which are not seriously hampered by government controls? | Yes
1,633
(380) | No
645
(174) |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|

Of those having clear-cut views, 72 (58)% favor confining monetary advances to private concerns not seriously hampered by governmental controls. This ruling would, of course, bar loans to industries controlled by government.

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|--|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 11. Should we lend only to private concerns which it seems probable will repay the loans when they fall due? | Yes
1,593
(398) | No
656
(250) |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 12. Should we require each government to participate in or guarantee part of every loan to one of its citizens? | Yes
1,441
(455) | No
705
(188) |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|

71 (62)% of those expressing definite views believe that we ought to have at least a reasonable chance of getting our money back. They are not ready to "kiss it goodbye." Two out of three voters believe that we should reinforce this possibility by requiring each foreign government to underwrite at least partially, the loans made to its citizens.

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|--|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 13a. Should we require that all loans be repaid in American dollars? | Yes
1,572
(449) | No
602
(196) |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|

- | | | |
|--|--------------------|----------------------|
| 13b. Would payment in the currency of the recipient country be acceptable? | Yes
277
(87) | No
1,203
(318) |
|--|--------------------|----------------------|

72 (70)% of the clear-cut votes were cast in favor of requiring that money lent be repaid in American dollars. However, 159 (40) voters out of 2,420 (703), or approximately one in fifteen (17) believes that payment in goods should constitute a satisfactory settlement. Only one voter in five feels that payment in the currency of the borrowing country should be permissible.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 14. Should we supply food and other materials as emergency gifts, to overcome hunger and distress, and limit our aid to this? | Should
so limit
aid
1,559
(437) | Should
not so
limit
aid
956
(286) |
|---|---|--|

Five (3) out of eight (5) of those stating definite opinions believe that any aid sent should be confined to relieving hunger and distress.

15. Should it be required that, for every dollar appropriated for

	Yes	No
European aid, a dollar reduction in the Federal government's domestic expenditures be made to forestall inflation and higher taxes?	2,335 (574)	245 (151)

More than nine-tenths (nearly eight-tenths) of those voters taking definite stands insist that every dollar appropriated for European aid be offset by a dollar reduction in domestic Federal expenditures. Clearly, increased Governmental spending is not favored by this group.

On the other hand, they do favor the extension of emergency aid to those people in Western Europe who are hungry and cold.

As noted above, of those voting definitely more than 80% believed that loans should be made solely to private concerns. Typical comments of those holding this point of views are as follows:

"I think it is essential that all business recovery be handled by private loans to producing concerns or individuals in the various countries on a business basis. Of course, meantime, we should observe Question #14, supplying emergency gifts."—J. S. T.

"I believe the loans are essential in our own interests, provided they are managed on strictly business principles, controlled by men of proved business experience and integrity. The ideal way would be for the loans to be made by private firms to private firms as far as possible. Governments should be kept out of the picture as much as is practical."—G. H. F.

Many of those voting feel that any lending done should be by private concerns and not by our government. Typical expressions of this point of view run as follows:

"Capital financing of European countries, or citizens, should be done by private U. S. capital and not by the government."—D. E. C.

"I would like to have governments encourage loans from private concerns to private concerns without interference. I am also in favor of decreased Federal expenditures."—A. H.

"The American government has no right or authority to tax the American people to raise funds to throw away, give away, or to lend to anyone. If foreign governments or foreign corporations wish to borrow, they should borrow from private corporations who can name the terms upon which the loan is made."—C. R. H.

"I am opposed to government loans, for they have a tendency to become political and are seldom successful. When England loaned money to our country in its early beginnings, it was to private enterprise and these loans helped build up the country and were fully repaid. I have observed that the English loans are usually by individuals or companies organized for the purpose, and that they continue to be to private enterprise."—C. A. W.

Many of those making comments believe that we should not give charity, but should only help the Europeans to help themselves. For example:

"No money should be given or loaned except to make their nations self-supporting."—W. F. G.

"I believe we should have a recovery program and not just a "relief" program. However, I think its administration should be by a separate agency and every dollar ought to be made to do full duty."—R. E. O.

"A policy which aims at helping them help themselves should be tried, for perhaps a year, to give them a chance to show their good faith."—A. E. B.

Other commentators emphasize the importance of careful administration of any funds sent abroad. Thus:

"My idea is to give, since they will probably not pay back anyway, a reasonable amount for the following purposes:

"1. Food and supplies to alleviate suffering to some extent, carefully regulated, so that it will get to the people, instead of the politicians.

"2. Money, material, and machinery direct to associations and business firms, where it is believed that it will help them build up their own economy, and help them help themselves."—D. W. W.

"Peace cannot be obtained, or communism stopped solely by the use of money or thru the activities of governmental bureaus; more depends on the administration of a loan or gift than on the account in dollars and cents."—B. S. B.

"The aid should be administered along business lines, not thru the Executive Branch nor the State Department."—A. M. H.

A widespread opinion is that aid to Europe should be extended strictly on a charitable basis. Examples of this point of view are:

"If the people of any country are, for some reason other than the fact that they do not want to or will not work, in dire need of help to keep from starving or freezing, then there is every reason why the people of the rest of the world (not only the people of the U. S.) should aid them by and through private charities, existing or created for that purpose. This charity should not, however, be a continuing thing, supporting the people in idleness, but only on an emergency basis in the same manner as after a major disaster, such as earthquake, fire, or flood, and until such time as they are able to help themselves."—E. L. F.

"I favor making gifts of food and other materials to foreign governments for the purpose of overcoming hunger and distress. I favor making loans to private enterprises for the purpose of restoring the productive facilities of the country involved and making it self-supporting."—G. M. J.

"My sympathy goes out to the poor peoples of Europe and Asia. However, short of strictly emergency gifts to alleviate hunger and actual distress, I'm in favor of making all such donations thru agencies entirely familiar with needs and in position to control distribution of the actual gifts."—H. S. G.

Others believe that, in general, charity breeds mainly future trouble, and that Uncle Sam has neither the right nor the duty to play Santa Claus. Here are samples of this point of view:

"I am definitely in favor of aiding the destitute and needy, even at risk to ourselves; but I am opposed to the role of Santa Claus to the entire world, with little expectation of surviving ourselves, or at least escaping a greatly reduced standard of living in America. Industrial rehabilitation should be left to the people of Europe."—J. E. M.

"My previous experience as to giving, has been that it does not help recipients, and that it creates an envious, jealous attitude."—E. W. H.

"I do not believe the U. S. has any authority under the Constitution, to tax Americans to give or lend money to foreign countries, even for charitable purposes. If the U. S. is to help Europe, it should be through the Red Cross and voluntary contributions. Supporting foreign countries is not a function of the U. S. government."—M. A. R.

"I favor democratic government at home first, and, after and when we have satisfactory samples here, then let's try and spread it."—J. W. K.

The general conclusion must be that the type of European relief plan advocated by those replying to the questionnaire, is something radically different from General Marshall's idea of the correct procedure for rehabilitating Western Europe and preventing the spread of communism.

WILLFORD I. KING,

Chairman of the Committee For Constitutional Government.

February 28, 1948.

For additional copies, up to 3 free upon request, write: Committee For Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

To: Editors, Publishers, Columnists, Commentators and to all Members of Congress,

For immediate release.

THE ASSAULT ON FREE SPEECH AND A FREE PRESS

(Statement by Edward A. Rumely, Executive Secretary,
Committee for Constitutional Government)

There is on the federal statute books no legal definition of lobbying. For lack of it, a committee of Congress has the power to intimidate and silence the expression of opposition opinion on public measures.

Congress has thus far neglected to define lobbying, and the chairman of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, Representative Frank Buchanan of Pennsylvania, has declared publicly that his committee "has come to no conclusion" as to any definition of the term.

Any such definition, he said, "comes within the realm of the proper legislative committee of the House." And yet, at another time, Mr. Buchanan told members of his committee that he had a "definition" that should guide them. He read it to them, quoting from the Yale Law Journal of January, 1947: "any attempt by individuals or groups to influence governmental decision." This definition, he said, "is in my opinion, the one we should follow in our investigation."

ORDINARY CITIZENS IN JEOPARDY

For lack of legal definition of lobbying, the American citizen lives today in a no-man's land. He does not know whether what he does with respect to public measures, however lawful, is something for which he may be subpoenaed to Washington, his private papers rifled, and himself, friends and supporters be "exposed" or smeared as having done something shady and disreputable. However honorable and lawful his conduct may be, a conscienceless committee of Congress can always put an innuendo upon it.

This is a species of political blackmail that should not be tolerated in a free Republic. It exists for lack of a definition of lobbying. Free speech and a free press can be suppressed as well by such subtle means, as by Brown Shirts nailing shut the doors of a newspaper office, denying the publisher paper to print (as in the Argentine), or putting authors of political tracts in Siberian salt mines.

This political blackmail is "legal" only because there is nothing to make it "illegal." There is no definition of what is *not* lobbying, which Congress is bound to respect. It has unfettered power. But unfettered power has no place in a Republic.

ILLEGAL LOBBYING EASILY EXPOSED

There is lobbying that is illegal, such as bribing a Member of Congress. There is lobbying that is clearly lawful and yet within the legitimate power of Congress to investigate and legislate upon, such as who stirred up a flood of telegrams to support or defeat a pending bill. A Congressman is entitled to know the source of the telegrams, so that he can intelligently estimate their worth; whether they were paid for by the apparent sender as his own honest "petition for the redress of grievances," or whether the sender is a cat's-paw for a secret principal, such as Joe Stalin or a tycoon of organized industrial, financial or labor power.

The right of Congress to investigate such forms of lobbying must be clearly admitted. But we now go to the fundamentals of free government, which is government by public opinion. An examination of illustrative cases involving free speech and a free press will mark out the boundaries of action beyond which Congress should have no power to "investigate," intimidate, or introduce "thought control" in the United States.

Great books have made history. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" helped to mould public opinion, which led to the adoption of the "Civil War" amendments to the Federal Constitution. Certain of the novels of Charles Dickens led to the reform of debtors' prison laws. Tom Paine's "Appeal to Reason" fired the soldiers of the Revolution to continue their struggle.

Question: Were Julia Ward Howe or Dickens or Paine, or their publishers, or those who bought and circulated their books lobbyists? Did any of them do anything that a hostile Congress should be permitted to "investigate?" Much as we may hate the views expressed by Karl Marx in "Das Kapital," the distribution of that book should be equally free from political intimidation. For, as Justice Holmes said, freedom of speech does not apply only to the views the majority likes. It includes "freedom for the thought we hate." Otherwise, society has denied the benefit of criticism of old ideas and the growth of new ideas.

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS CONCERNED

Next, let us look at the position of newspapers and magazines in a land in which lobbying is not defined. Here are two newspapers—one New Deal, the other Republican or Dixiecrat; one pro-administration, the other, consistently anti-administration. The pro-administration paper need not worry—*so long as the administration is in power!* It is a fixed law of war and politics not to attack your allies! As the courts have said, "The majority protects itself," while it is a majority.

But here is the anti-administration or minority newspaper, called by the majority a "sheet" or "rag." Are its editorials attacking the administration, or bills pending in Congress, a form of lobbying? Should Congress have any power at all to suppress its editorials by any means whatever? Should it have any power to demand the names and addresses of the subscribers to the paper? Should it have any power by any means to hold this newspaper up to public obloquy; to bring pressure on its advertisers to withdraw advertising revenue? Or to cause its subscribers to boycott it?

How about a letter to the "Voice of the People" column? Or groups such as the "Committee of Correspondence" of the American Revolution? Or articles

published today like the "Federalist Papers" written for, and the speeches and tracts of Patrick Henry and others against the adoption of the Constitution in 1787? How about any tract, speech, letter, or company or institutional advertisement today on public measures like low taxes and economy in government, or protecting the thrifty against the robbery of inflation? Are they next in line?

Many have not the facilities for presenting their ideas and viewpoints. Have they not the right to buy and distribute books and literature produced by others, and if they do so, are they not under the same protection of the Bill of Rights as authors and editorial writers whose material they distribute?

INFRINGING ON CITIZENS' RIGHTS

Bear in mind that the American citizen has rights whose free exercise is beyond the power of government, direct or indirect. As Justice Jackson of the Supreme Court has said:

"The very purpose of the Bill of Rights was to withdraw certain subjects from the vicissitudes of political controversy, to place them beyond the reach of majorities and officials, and to establish them as legal principles to be applied by the Court. One's right to life, liberty, and property, free speech, a free press, freedom of ownership and assembly, and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote; they depend on the outcome of no elections."

Hitler consolidated his control over the German people, in part by his own propaganda, but equally by the suppression, by either direct or undercover means, of free speech and a free press in opposition to his program. His dark shadow lingers over the world. He taught others how to proceed.

We have the great rights of free speech; a free press; to petition for the redress of grievances; and to be secure in our persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable search and seizure. To preserve those rights against insidious impairment, we need a legal definition of lobbying; we need a "foul line" established so that Congress may pursue its legitimate activities, and the citizen be free from its illegitimate activities.

That definition is implicit in what has been written above. It is the distinction between what is direct and indirect, a distinction made by the courts thousands of times. Otherwise, as Chief Justice Hughes once said, "there would be virtually no limit to federal power."

THE REAL DISTINCTION

If the purpose and effect of the lobbying is upon the Congress, or a Congressman or Senator directly, that is on one side of the line. It may be wholly legal and honorable, yet it is something the Congress has the right to investigate. It may be buttonholing the individual Congressman; it may be Coxy's "Army" marching on Washington to demand the issuance of greenbacks. Whatever it is, if its impact is directly on Congress or one of its members, it is subject to investigation.

If, however, Mr. A writes a book, or an editorial, or a tract, or makes a speech on a public measure, leaving to the reader or hearer to decide what political action he should take, if any, that is on the other side of the line. That is free speech and a free press. It should be wholly beyond the power of Congress to investigate, suppress, or intimidate. If Mr. B, fired by the book or editorial, takes the matter up with his Congressman on his own initiative, Mr. B may be lobbying, but Mr. A is not.

If Mr. A, however, tells Mr. B, "Write your Congressman to support or defeat this bill," and Mr. B does so, then both are lobbying. Mr. A has put the thing in motion. It is like the legal doctrine of "proximate cause" in negligence cases.

In the one case, it is public opinion that is being moulded; in the other case, it is Congressional action that is being pressured. It ought not be hard for honest men to distinguish between Congress and the public.

MUST FREEDOM WITHER?

Unless a line is drawn along this boundary that separates the direct from the indirect, free speech and a free press must wither when politicians of the majority "turn the heat on." It is not ancient history that records what Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and Peron have done to human liberty.

The right of the loyal American to freely "have his say" before the public on any question must be preserved from any form of intimidation by any agency of government. Otherwise, the servant of the people becomes their master.

In the great case of *Grosjean vs American Press Co.* (297 U. S. 238), the Supreme

Court held that Huey Long had no power to silence opposition newspapers by a punitive tax on revenues. It said that the Bill of Rights forbids "any action of the government" designed to "prevent free and general discussion of public matters."

It has been my unwelcome duty as Executive Secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government, under the direction of its Trustees, to refuse compliance with demands by committees of Congress, which, we believed violated constitutional rights of ourselves and of all Americans.

INTRUSION THIRICE REFUSED

In 1938, agents of the Minton Senate Committee demanded permission to drag-net the files of the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, asking for "all records, papers, memoranda, books, and documents in your possession." We refused. We were not cited for contempt nor even reprimanded by the full Senate. The Senate, largely because of these unwarranted demands upon our Committee, refused to grant Senator Minton's request for additional funds and thus ended the Black-Minton Committee, which had harassed business for years.

In 1944, the Anderson Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures demanded under subpoena the names of all who had contributed \$100 or more to the work of the Committee for Constitutional Government. These names were refused. My citation for contempt was voted by the Anderson Committee. The House not being in session, the citation was referred by the Speaker of the House to the Attorney General. My indictment for contempt of Congress followed. My defense was that our Committee, supported by Democrats and Republicans alike, neither favoring nor opposing any party or candidate, was urging a philosophy of government, and that this was beyond the constitutional power of a congressional committee to investigate. The jury decided we were within our rights in refusing to comply with the subpoena, and brought in an acquittal verdict in 20 minutes.

The Buchanan Committee has been supplied practically all of the information it asked on 24 out of 26 points. We flatly refused to answer on the others, which demanded the names of purchasers of our books and literature. This, we contend, is a violation of the First and Fourth Amendments.

Chairman Buchanan has stated to the press that he will move on the basis of this refusal to cite me for contempt of Congress.

*If you agree * * **

that the fight the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., is now making to uphold your and every citizen's Constitutional rights is important, you should do your part and give now your much needed help to strengthen its position.

*Take these steps * * **

1. Inform yourself. Ask for Rumely statement to Buchanan Committee, June 6, 1950; and Rumely statement to Buchanan Committee, June 27, 1950. 2 copies of each free upon request.

2. Ask for "Needed Now—Capacity for Leadership and Courage to Lead," 48-page booklet, which carries in Chapter 8 the fight for right of privacy against Minton Committee. 1 copy free upon request.

3. Buy and read a copy of each of the books the Committee is distributing, and which arouse the anger of labor monopolists, collectivists and Welfare State and New Deal members of Buchanan Committee:

(a) Since one of the main reasons for the attack upon us is the distribution of more than 600,000 copies of John T. Flynn's *THE ROAD AHEAD* in 5 months, you should help immediately to increase the circulation by hundreds of thousands during the next 30 days. Buy at 50¢ each and distribute to friends and associates 2, 10, 25, 100 or more copies.

Each 10 copies or more you place will set up a chain reaction and induce others to distribute the book.

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1 to 5 copies.....	each.....	\$2. 00
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1 copy.....	\$1
2-75 copies.....	each.. 90¢
100-700 copies.....	each.. 85¢
1,000-2,000 copies.....	each.. 80¢
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5,000 or more copies.....	each.. 70¢

(d) For lawyers, editors, and others especially interested in the viewpoint of the Buchanan Committee, a limited number of copies of the official stenographic report covering Edward A. Rumely's three days' appearance before the Committee, more than 100 pages, is available. Ask for **MINUTES BUCHANAN-RUMELY HEARINGS**, price \$2.

You may wish to write to your Senator and/or Congressman, expressing your opinion of the stand the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., has taken, upholding the First and Fourth Articles of the Bill of Rights, and enclose a copy of this statement.

This fight for your own and your children's heritage of constitutional liberty can be won, but it needs your immediate help. Warn your representatives and public officials against whittling away your liberties.

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